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(1917 - 1949)
VOLUMES 5-6

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ANTI-JAPANESE DECLARATION FOR NATIONAL SALVATION

28 November 1935

[Text] Declaration to Resist Japan and Save the Nation issued by the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

Workers, peasants, soldiers, students, free lances, merchants, industrialists, the Northeast Revolutionary Army, the Northeast Volunteer Army, officers and soldiers of all armed units, and fervent determined patriots!

After the four northeast provinces, comes the loss of North China, half of the nation. Wishing to turn all the Chinese people into stateless slaves and all of China into a colony, the Japanese imperialist bandits, after annexing the four northeast provinces, are now swallowing all of North China, and even all of China.

Confronted with the destruction of the nation and extinction of the race, the Chinese people absolutely will not await death with their hands tied. Only by a general mobilization of the army, navy, and air force and the people of all of China for a sacred anti-Japanese national revolutionary war, in order to knock down Japanese imperialism and exterminate the biggest traitor in China since the beginning of history, will the nation of China gain a final and complete liberation.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China have continuously appealed to the people of the entire nation to unite and wage war against Japan. They sent the main force of their own Red Army on a long expedition of 25,000 li, undergoing all kinds of hardships to fight Japan in the North. The situation has become even more urgent. Now is the time to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, to unite, to struggle, and to confront the common enemies of the Chinese people with an unwavering determination; therefore, the Central Government of the Soviet

People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China do hereby declare to the people of the entire nation that, regardless of the political factions, armed units, social organizations, or individual classes, as long as they are willing to resist Japan, we will not only be willing to form a resist-Japan combat agreement with them, but also organize with them a resist-Japan coalition army and a national defense government. For the resist-Japan coalition army and the national defense government, we find the following 10 major outlines necessary.

- (1) Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-Japan expenses.
- (2) Confiscate the land and assets of traitors and spies and divide them among the workers, peasants, and disasters victims and refugees.
- (3) Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.
- (4) Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and commerce.
- (5) Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers, soldiers, and teachers.
- (6) Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.
- (7) Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.
- (8) Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.
- (9) Rally the workers and peasants of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan and all anti-Japanese strength to form a firm alliance.
- (10) Establish close, friendly relations with nations or states expressing sympathy for China's resist-Japan national movement or maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China appeal to the people of the entire nation to support our proposal and immediately send delegates to discuss the concrete measures. We believe that, as long as we can realize this proposal with one mind and by concerted effort, the final victory is ours.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission
of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China

28 November 1935

- ° "On the United Front--Our Proposal to Resist Japan and Save the Nation
in the Past Year" mimeographed (→ hand copied), January 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 2 OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE
CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

15 December 1935

[Text] In view of the active aggression by Japanese imperialism and the urgency of China's situation, the workers, peasants, and patriots of the entire nation are actively participating in the national revolutionary struggle and resisting the Japanese aggressors and their running dogs, Chiang Kai-shek and his gang. As a result of the rule of traitor Chiang Kai-shek and others, China's economy has sunk into a hopeless state, especially the rural economy, and the peasants of the entire nation have risen to resist and riot. The rich peasants have changed their attitude of hostility toward the soviet revolution and begun to show sympathy for the anti-imperialist and land revolutionary struggles. To expand the national revolutionary front to resist Japan and punish Chiang, the Soviet Central Committee has decided to revise the policy on the rich peasants.

(A) In regard to the land of the rich peasants, except the portion leased to tenants at a feudalistic high rent which must be confiscated similar to the land of the landlords, the land farmed by the rich peasants themselves or by hired help, regardless of the quality of the soil, will not be confiscated.

(B) The movable assets and the domestic animals and farm tools of the rich peasants, except items used for feudalistic usury, leasing, and exploitation of the peasants, will not be confiscated.

(C) Besides the unified graduated taxes, the local governments may not impose levies or special taxes on the rich peasants.

(D) Where the laws of the Soviet are not violated, the governments of all levels must protect the freedom of the rich peasants to engage in industry and commerce and to hire labor.

(E) In areas (prefectures) where all the land is equally divided by demand of the greatest majority of the masses, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the ordinary peasants.

(F) The rich peasants must be punished according to law when they violate the laws and orders of the Soviet; when they perform counter-revolutionary activities, they must be punished according to the Provisional Regulations for the Punishment of Counterrevolutionaries.

(G) The rich peasants still have no right to join the Red Army or any of the armed units (including the Red Guard), nor the right to vote.

(H) The Land Law and all other laws and orders promulgated previously which conflict with this order are hereby abolished.

(I) This order becomes effective on the day of its promulgation (in non-contiguous areas, on the day of its receipt). All decisions rendered according to previous laws before this order becomes effective will remain valid. There may be no reversal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

15 December 1935

° "Order No 2 of the Executive Committee of the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic," 15 December 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE INNER MONGOLIAN PEOPLE

20 December 1935

[Text] Dear people of Inner Mongolia! Currently we are at the critical moment of world changes. Are you willing to submit to the slaughtering and cutting by Japanese imperialism and Chinese warlords, become their cannon fodder, and perish, or will you rise to the occasion, vigorously exert yourselves, and strive for complete equality of the supreme Mongolian people with the nations of the world? You must choose between the two, and we hope you will decide promptly.

To occupy all of China, the ambitious and arrogant Japanese imperialism must first take Manchuria and Mongolia; to gain world supremacy, it must first occupy China. This barbarous scheme is now being gradually realized, and the first to suffer the consequences are the people of the Three Northeast Provinces and the five North China provinces and the entire nation of Inner Mongolia. The cunning and despicable Japanese bandits, with their sweet words and evil intent, are resorting to all kinds of fraudulent measures and borrowing "Great Mongolianism" to attain their goal of taking over all the land and assets of Mongolia and enslaving the entire people of Inner Mongolia. They are preparing to turn your soil into a battlefield and your people into cannon fodder in order to achieve their goal of attacking the Chinese Soviet People's Republic, invading the Outer Mongolian People's Republic and the Soviet Union, and finally destroying the Mongolian nation. If you do not believe this, you only have to look at the people of the three provinces of Korea and Taiwan who cannot use their own language, who have no freedom of residence, movement, farming, or raising livestock, and whose political and economic powers are entirely controlled by the Japanese. If you will then look at the military defense and military installations of Japanese imperialism in Chahar and its Hsing-an Head Office and all its other conspiracies, you will clearly see the unprecedented crisis confronting the nation of Inner Mongolia. Then there are also the Chinese warlords headed by the shameless Chiang Kai-shek who not only consider themselves the suzerain but have even designated the entire region of Inner Mongolia a province and driven the Mongolian people to

an area south of the Yellow River and north of the Yin-shan mountains, and constantly order minor warlords Ching Hsiu-yueh and Kao Shih-hsiu to take the pastures and salt ponds, in order to destroy gradually the Mongolian nation, serve as the road cleaners of Japanese imperialism, and hasten the end of Inner Mongolia.

In the several years of courageous fighting, the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet People's Republic and the brave Red Army units have dealt innumerable severe blows to Japanese imperialism and warlord Chiang Kai-shek. The Chinese Red Army has become an invincible force, especially the courageous Central Red Army. After an expedition of 25,000 li, it broke the world march record and successfully fulfilled the plan to resist Japan in the North. The fighting goal of the Chinese Red Army is not only to liberate the entire nation of China from the oppression of imperialism and the warlords, but similarly to struggle for the emancipation of other weak nations, and primarily it must help solve the national issue of Inner Mongolia. We feel that only when the nation of Inner Mongolia joins us in our fight before it can preserve the glory of the Genghis Khan era, avoid national perdition, step on to the road of national recovery, and gain independence and liberty similar to the nations of Turkey, Poland, the Ukraine, and the Caucasus. Therefore, this government declares to you:

(1) The entire area of the original 6 mengs, 24 pu's, and 49 banners of Inner Mongolia, the 2 pu's of Chahar and T'u-mo-t'e, and the 3 special banners of Ninghsia, whether changed to county jurisdiction or deemed grassy plains, must be returned to the people of Inner Mongolia and considered the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia. The names and administrative organizations of the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, and Suiyuan must be abolished, and no other nation may occupy or seize under any excuse the territory of the nation of Inner Mongolia.

(2) We feel that the people of Inner Mongolia have the right to solve all their internal problems, and no one has the authority to interfere by force in their living, habits, religion, ethics, and all other rights. Meanwhile, the nation of Inner Mongolia may organize according to its own desire. It may, according to the principle of self-determination, organize its own life and form its own government. It has the right to form alliances with other nations. It also has the right to establish its separate entity. In sum, the nation is supreme, and all nations are equal.

(3) All the Chinese, Moslem, and Manchurian nationals in Inner Mongolia must, according to the principle of national equality, develop democracy, so that all such minorities will receive the same treatment as the Inner Mongolians, and they must have the freedoms of language, religion, and residence.

(4) First of all, Pao-t'u-wan occupied by Ching Hsiu-yueh, the area occupied by Kao Shih-hsiu, and the two salt ponds must be returned to the Inner Mongolian people, and the vicinity of the Great Wall, such areas as Ning-t'iao-liang, An-pien, and Ting-pien, must be designated as a commercial zone, in order to develop trade between us.

(5) Our Worker and Peasant Red Army guerrillas, or any other armed unit, has absolutely no intention to attack the grassy plains, but neither should you permit transit of the troops of the Chinese warlords and Japanese imperialism through the grassy plains to attack us and hasten your own perdition. We wish to unite with you and form a defense and offense alliance, in order to knock down our common enemies.

In sum, as long as you realize the necessity of the liberation of the Mongolian nation, refuse to become people without a country, and have the determination to resist Japanese imperialism and the warlords of Chiang Kai-shek's China, then, regardless of whether you are aristocrats or ordinary citizens, we will render you friendly and substantial aid. The Mongolian people have always been known to the world for their courage and fighting ability. We believe that, once you consciously organize, wage a national revolutionary war, and oust Japanese imperialism and the Chinese warlords from the territory of Inner Mongolia, no one will have the audacity to claim that it is easy to take advantage of the sons of Genghis Khan. Please think it over carefully. And it is hoped that we will mutually send delegates to discuss our great cause. It is so declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government, the
Chinese Soviet People's Republic

20 December 1935

° "Declaration of the Soviet Central Government to the Inner Mongolian People" (mimeographed), December 1935

* "Analysis of the Current Situation," Theory and Practice Press, 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION ON CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION AND PARTY TASKS

Passed by the Chinese Communist Party Central Politburo

25 December 1935

[Text] I. Nature of the Current Situation

A fundamental change has occurred in the current political situation, demarcating a new era in China's revolutionary history. The manifestations are the attempt of Japanese imperialism to turn China into a colony, the pending expansion of China's revolution into a great nationwide revolution, and the imminence of the world revolution and war.

After annexing the four Northeast provinces, Japanese imperialism has now occupied all of North China and is preparing to swallow all of China, in order to turn China from the semi-colony of the various imperialists into Japan's colony. This is the basic characteristic of the current situation.

As the open and armed occupation of the four Northeast provinces aroused the anti-Japanese anger of the whole of China, Japanese imperialism has adopted a more subtle approach. It utilizes the Kuomintang Nanking government to issue orders and appoint certain Chinese traitor warlords and politicians as its agents in North China, with the intention of eventual direct armed occupation. Though the means is more cunning and vicious than that of "18 September," it is merely a transition stage to direct armed occupation and the establishment of a nation of North China and its puppet government. A second puppet Manchukuo government will be the inevitable outcome. The many warlords and politicians, rich gentry, compradors, and capitalists, constituting the major components of China's traitor clique, especially the pro-Japan factions among them, will serve as the constituents and supporters of the puppet government. Without this large group of spies and traitors, Japanese imperialism will not find it so easy to turn China into its colony.

By its act of annexing North China and preparing to swallow the entire China, Japanese imperialism brings the great calamity of the loss of the nation and the destruction of the race to the 400 million Chinese people. This calamity forces all the Chinese who are unwilling to lose their country or to serve as spies and traitors to the only path available to them; they have to launch a sacred national war against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs, the spies and traitors. To defend their own nation, all patriotic Chinese people will fight the bloody war to the final end. This is the inevitable response to the venture of Japanese imperialism to destroy the nation and race of another country. After swallowing the four northeast provinces, a relatively small bomb, Japanese imperialism begins to swallow China proper, a gigantic bomb.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China singlehandedly has aggravated the internal conflicts of imperialism to an unprecedented extent. For its own goal, imperialism absolutely cannot tolerate Japan. A Pacific war is inevitable. Meanwhile, Great Britain wishes to acquire certain concessions and compromises from Japan so that it can devote its main force to its major enemies, the Soviet Union, America, and Italy.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has promoted the weakening and collapse of China's counterrevolutionary regime, first of all the regime of Chiang Kai-shek, the chief traitor. Chiang Kai-shek's consistent traitorous policy has not only caused him to lose certain social and mass bases, but also reduced his territory. His long struggle against the soviet, especially the five "encirclements" and his pursuit of the Central Red Army, has consumed, exhausted, and dispersed his forces. The dream of a fascist unification of China has declared final bankruptcy. The Fifth Kuomintang National Congress was actually a loot dividing conference unfavorable to Chiang Kai-shek. He can only rely more on betraying China to maintain his dying control, while such betrayal further hastens the destruction of his rule.

This situation aggravates further the contradictions and conflicts between the Chiang faction warlords and other warlords and increases the possibility of a war against Chiang on a new status of a new nature.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China occurs precisely at the time when China's soviet movement is shifting to a new situation. Since the Central Red Army withdrew from the central soviet area and certain soviet areas along the lower Yangtze suffered partial losses, with the new victories won by the Red Army on all fronts, the creation of new bases, the shift of the guerrilla war in the old soviet areas into counteroffensive, and the vigorous development of the new guerrilla warfare, the difficult time has passed. After a long march of 25,000 li stretching over 12 months, the Central Red Army defeated Chiang Kai-shek's pursuit, declared the bankruptcy of the encirclement, pursuit, blockade, and interception of imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek, broke the long march record of history, pointed out, by means of the

propaganda teams, the way to relieve misery and save the nation to more than 200 million people in the 11 provinces traversed by it, and, like a seeder, scattered the seed of revolution. The smashing of the third enemy "encirclement" in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas after the Central Red Army effected a junction with the 25th, 26th, and 27th Armies, demonstrated even more clearly the arrival of the new period of the soviet movement. In combination with the current new general revolutionary situation, it becomes an important component of the new situation of China's revolution. It points out that the ironclad strength of the Soviet Red Army exists in the great strengths of the Chinese people to resist Japanese imperialism and save China from the calamity of losing the nation and the race.

The act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has again awakened the Chinese people, made them realize the critical situation of the pending calamity, and stirred up a national revolutionary high tide. This high tide has been created after innumerable temperings in China's revolutionary history (mainly the great revolution of 1925-1927); it has been created when China already has its soviet revolutionary bases and the existence of a revolutionary situation; it has been created under the pending new cycle of a world revolution and war; it has been created when the Soviet Union already has the strength to overcome all the aggressive nations and aid the oppressed people. Therefore, it is extremely widespread and firm, and produces an interaction with the world revolution by mutually influencing and mutually aiding each other.

Undoubtedly, the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary high tide has not only awakened the more backward strata of the workers and peasants in the nation and caused them to participate actively in the revolutionary struggle, but also attracted the broad petty bourgeois masses and the intellectuals to the revolution. The total collapse of China's national economy, the millions who have lost their jobs or land, and the millions of disaster victims and refugees have closely linked the new anti-Japanese national revolutionary high tide with the daily struggles of the masses for salvation and survival and greatly expanded the stronghold of the national revolution and its mass foundation. The revolutionary wrath of the broad masses is fermenting in all areas of China, and begins to manifest itself again in the anti-Japanese demonstrations of the students in the large cities. In the counterrevolutionary stronghold, there are new vacillations, splits, and conflicts. A part of the national bourgeoisie, many rural rich peasants and small landlords, and even some of the warlords have become sympathetically neutral toward the budding new national movement, with the possibility of participation. The national revolutionary front has expanded.

Today's world is on the eve of a great revolution and a great war. The economic crisis of all the imperialist nations and the resulting revolutionary crisis make it impossible for imperialism to find another way to save the situation except war. Doubtlessly the danger of a second

imperialist world war exists in Japanese imperialism's large-scale attack of China and Italian imperialism's aggression of Abyssinia. Meanwhile, the national revolutionary wars waged by China and Abyssinia and the maturing of the revolutionary crisis in the imperialist nations and their colonies will doubtlessly lead to a world revolution. Currently, on the eve of revolution and war, we can clearly see the weakening of the world counterrevolutionary strengths and the rise of the world revolutionary strengths. In the future, the world war and world revolution will put an end to all the counterrevolutions in the world. Under such a situation, China's revolution is no longer isolated as in the past. The world revolution is an effective aid to China's revolution, while the latter has become a great factor in the world revolution. In the future, China will aid the world revolution with the noble position of the entire nation.

The same principle applies to the relationship between Japan and China. Under the leadership of the powerful Japanese Communist Party, Japan's workers and peasants and the oppressed nations (Korea and Taiwan) are preparing to struggle for the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the building of a soviet Japan. Thus, China's revolution and Japan's revolution are joined under the common goal of "knocking down Japanese imperialism." Japan's revolutionary people are the effective helpers of China's revolutionary people.

The situation is the same with the Soviet Union. Today's Soviet Union has the strength to overcome the imperialists which have the audacity to provoke it (the Second Five-Year Plan nearing completion; the power of the Red Army). When all the peaceful means toward Japanese imperialism are ineffective (several proposals to form a mutual nonaggression pact) and Japan actively provokes the Soviet Union, the latter is ready to hit the aggressor. Thus, China's revolution, Japan's revolution, and the Soviet Union's struggle against the aggressor are joined on the foundation of a common goal--knocking down Japanese imperialism, and the Soviet Union becomes the most effective aid to China's revolution.

China's revolution has a favorable environment and a brilliant future. Nevertheless, its main enemy, imperialism, especially the ferocious and arrogant Japanese imperialism at present, is prepared to confront it with determination and strength. In regard to China's counterrevolutionary group, as its ruling force is weakened more than ever before, it has no choice but to render greater service to the vicious tiger, rely on the wicked Japanese imperialism, and launch a desperate attack on the revolutionary people. When we consider the unbalanced development between this situation and China's revolution currently still in existence, we know that China's revolution has endurance. It points out to China's revolutionary people and their leader, the Communist Party, that they must be prepared for a long-term war against the enemy and to be ready for hard work! Without tens of thousands and hundreds of thousands of revolutionary soldiers, it will not be possible to bring about the final liquidation of the enemy. All strategies and all effort must be directed

toward organizing millions of people into the great national revolutionary battlefield. To prepare a great force is to prepare for the victory of the final battle.

II. The Party's Strategy and Line

The current situation tells us that the act of Japanese imperialism to swallow China has shaken the entire nation and the whole world. The relations among the political parties of all classes and strata in China's political life and the armed forces have again changed, or are in the process of changing. The national revolutionary front and the national counterrevolutionary front are in the process of yet another reorganization. Therefore, the party's strategy and line are to activate, rally, and organize all the revolutionary strengths of the entire nation to resist Japanese imperialism, the major enemy at the present time, and traitor Chiang Kai-shek. Regardless of who they are, what factions, what armed units, or what classes, as long as they oppose Japanese imperialism and traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they must all be rallied together to launch a sacred national revolutionary war, expel Japanese imperialism out of China, knock down the control of the Japanese imperialist running dogs, gain the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation, and preserve its independence and territorial integrity. Only the most extensive anti-Japanese national united front (the lower and the upper strata) will overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek.

Naturally, the different individuals, different organizations, different social classes and strata, and different armed units will have their different motives and standpoints in the anti-Japanese national revolution. Some wish to maintain their existing position, others wish to gain the leadership power of the movement and limit the movement within the realm permissible by them, and still others truly strive for the thorough liberation of the nation of China. Precisely because of such different motives and standpoints, some of them will vacillate or rebel right at the beginning of the struggle, others may become negative halfway and withdraw from the front, and there are those who wish to struggle to the bitter end. Nevertheless, our task is to rally not only all possible anti-Japanese basic strengths, but all possible anti-Japanese allies; it is to ask the people of the entire nation to contribute their strength, money, guns, and knowledge, so that not one patriotic Chinese is left out of the anti-Japanese front. It is the party's most extensive national united front, and the general line of its strategy. Only by this line will we mobilize the strengths of the people of the entire nation against the common enemy of all the people, Japanese imperialism, and traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

China's worker class and the peasants remain the fundamental motive power of its revolution. The broad petty bourgeois masses and the revolutionary intellectuals are the reliable allies in the national revolution. A firm alliance between the workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie

constitutes the basic strength to overcome Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors. In regard to a part of the national bourgeoisie and warlords, no matter how much they disagree with the land revolution and the soviet system, if they are sympathetic with or adopt a friendly neutrality toward the struggle against Japan and the spies and traitors, or if they directly participate in the struggle, it is favorable to the deployment of the anti-Japanese front, because it serves to weaken the total counterrevolutionary strength and increase the total revolutionary strength. To attain this goal, the party must adopt all kinds of suitable methods or patterns to win them over to the resist-Japan front. Not only thus, but even in the stronghold of the landlord and comprador classes, they are not all unanimous. As a result of the competitions among many imperialists in China in the past, various traitor groups have emerged, with conflicts and contradictions among them. The party must also resort to many means so that certain counterrevolutionary forces will temporarily take the position of not actively opposing the anti-Japanese front. The same strategy must apply to imperialists other than Japan.

When activating, rallying, and organizing the strengths of the people of the entire China in order to resist their common enemies, the party must firmly and steadfastly struggle against all tendencies of vacillation, compromise, surrender, and rebellion within the united anti-Japanese front. All those sabotaging the anti-Japanese movement of the Chinese people are spies and traitors, and we must all rise and attack them. The Communist Party must, by its own positive, thorough, and correct anti-Japanese, anti-spy, and anti-traitor words and deeds, gain the leadership power of the anti-Japanese front. And only under the leadership of the Communist Party will the anti-Japanese movement achieve thorough victory. In regard to the broad masses on the anti-Japanese front, their demands involving their basic interest must be satisfied (the demand of the peasants for land; the demand of the workers, poor people, soldiers, and intellectuals for improvement of their life). Only when their demands are met can the broad masses be mobilized to the anti-Japanese battlefield, the anti-Japanese movement acquire endurance, and the movement march toward total victory. Only thus can the party gain leadership power in the anti-Japanese movement.

III. The National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army

The most extensive and the supreme form of the national united front against Japan and the traitors consists of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. In view of the existence of sentiments unfavorable to the soviet system and the land revolution but favorable to the movement against Japan and the traitors, the situation of local Balkanization resulting from political and economic imbalance, the partial territorial success of the Chinese soviet political power at the present time, and the gravity of the acts of the spies and traitors, the national counterrevolutionaries, in their roles as accomplices to

Japanese imperialism, the organization of the National Defense Government and Resist-Japan Allied Army is not only feasible, but necessary.

The Chinese people adopt many different patterns to resist Japan and the traitors, and the degree of awareness of those participating in the anti-Japanese movement is not the same. The Communist Party members must seize all opportunities to activate, organize, and lead the struggles of all patterns and all degrees and channel them to the stage of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. All anti-Japanese and anti-traitor elements, regardless of which class, which political faction, which social organization, or which armed unit they represent, may join the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. The National Defense Government is the political power organization of the united front of all the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor strength throughout China and the united leadership organ of the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor national revolutionary war. In the class sense, it is an alliance of all classes under the common goal to resist Japan and the traitors.

To organize the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army promptly, and to give this government and army a broader mass foundation and greater armed strengths, the strategy of the Communist Party is not to wait for the spontaneous emergence of the anti-Japanese people's organizations and anti-Japanese armed strength before organizing them, but to direct its own members to activate all the patriotic elements and all the organizational, class, stratum, factional, production and mercantile, cultural and educational, student and teacher, modern and old fashioned, social and political, worker-peasant and petty bourgeois, national bourgeois, urban, rural, and armed strengths, initiate all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-spy and traitor organizations (resist-Japan association, anti-Japanese federation, etc.), organize all kinds and types of anti-Japanese and anti-traitor troops (resist-Japan volunteer army, the New 19th Route Army of the People's Revolutionary Army, etc.), and form political power structures (resist-Japan governments of the counties, districts, and cities, the people's revolutionary government, etc.). When such organizations, troops, and political power structures are assembled, and the strengths of the soviet and the Red Army added to them, we will have the organizations of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. After the formation of the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, we must, every day, activate new organizations, new local governments, and new troops, continuously eliminate the vacillating and renegade elements, and continuously absorb new strengths, so that the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army will become a government and an army which, instead of decadent, are vigorous and, instead of weak, possess a tremendous combat strength. As for some areas where resist-Japan governments and resist-Japan allied forces have sprung up freely without undergoing the party's activation and guidance due to the weakness of the party's strength in such areas, or without the

participation of the soviet and the Red Army due to their distance, the party organizations in such areas must actively aid, support, and participate in them. This is the concrete work line of the Communist Party to realize the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

As the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army are the most extensive and the supreme form of the organization of the national united front against Japan and the traitors, they must possess the most extensive action outline. The outline is as follows:

1. Resist Japan and save the nation; recover lost territory.
2. Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism in China for resist-Japan expenses.
3. Confiscate the land and assets of all the traitors and spies and divide them among the workers, peasants and disaster victims and refugees.
4. Relieve disasters and control flood; settle the people's living.
5. Abolish all harsh levies and vexatious taxes; develop industry and commerce.
6. Raise wages and rations; improve the living standards of workers, soldiers, and teachers.
7. Develop education; relieve students unable to attend school.
8. Realize democratic rights; release all political prisoners.
9. Develop production technology; relieve jobless intellectuals.
10. Rally the workers, peasants, and all oppressed masses of Korea, Taiwan, and Japan to form a firm alliance. Establish close friendly relations with nations or states expressing sympathy for China's national movement or maintaining a friendly neutrality.

The Communist Party must, in the process of the resist-Japan struggle, seek the realization of these outlines and, through these outlines, the realization of the party's 10 great outlines.

IV. The Soviet People's Republic

The most extensive united front against Japan and the traitors has its special significance today; it is the success of the soviet in many areas in China, which is fundamentally different from the period of the great revolution of 1925-1927. The success of the soviet movement led

by the Communist Party in many areas in China in the past 9 years has supplied a fundamental strength to the new anti-imperialist high tide, given hope to the people of all the nation, furnished live examples of seizing freedom, liberation, and independence from the hands of imperialism and traitors, laid the firmest foundation and base for the most extensive national united front, guaranteed the endurance and eventual thorough victory of the new great revolution, and provided the central support to the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army.

To gain a broad and powerful foundation for the national united front, the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic and its Central Government declare that its name is hereby changed to the Soviet People's Republic and that many parts of its policies, which are the policies of the Soviet Worker-Peasant Republic, are revised for better adaptation to the situation of resisting Japanese imperialism in its attempt to turn China into a colony.

Such revisions primarily manifest more fully that the soviet represents not only the workers and peasants, but the nation of China. The fundamental interest of the nation of China is the freedom, independence, and unity of China, and only under the firm policy of the soviet will such fundamental interest be gained and safeguarded and the enemies to such interest, imperialism and traitors, thoroughly overcome.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that it is willing to rally the broad petty bourgeois masses around itself and that it is willing to grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary petty bourgeois elements. The soviet will protect, as far as possible by its policies and powers, all the urban and rural small industry and commerce hit by imperialism and China's counterrevolution. The soviet has long abolished all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the Kuomintang warlords and promulgated the unified graduated tax favorable to the small producers.

The Soviet People's Republic declares that all intellectuals sympathetic to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement, whether they were Kuomintang members or worked for the Kuomintang government in the past, will enjoy favorable treatment from the soviet government. The soviet will give them work, relieve their unemployment, and furnish them the opportunity to develop their talent in culture, education, art, science, and technology. The soviet will grant refuge to all the intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters who have been expelled, scorned, or mistreated by Japanese imperialism or the traitorous Kuomintang government. (All of them may come to the soviet areas.) The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all the revolutionary intellectuals, writers, artists, scientists, technical personnel, and newspaper reporters (regardless of whether they are of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist background).

The Soviet People's Republic declares that all White army officers (regardless of rank) and soldiers who are willing to resist Japan and the traitors will have the right to receive favorable treatment from the soviet, and that the Soviet Red Army is willing to give work to all the unemployed soldiers rejected or disarmed by the traitorous Kuomintang government. Even those who once fought against the Red Army, once they lay down their arms, be they officers or soldiers, will receive favorable treatment. All the injured will receive medical attention. The soviet will grant the rights to vote and to be elected to all those White army officers and soldiers who wish to serve in the Red Army and are loyal to the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors.

The Soviet People's Republic and its Red Army propose to all the individuals, organizations, political factions, and armed units in the entire nation which wish to participate in the cause against Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors to organize together the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army. Regardless of what kind of armed units, the soviet and the Red Army are willing to form an agreement with them to resist Japan and punish the traitors, similar to the resist-Japan anti-Chiang agreement formed between the Soviet Red Army and the 19th Route Army in the past. However, in the past, the Red Army was unable to render direct substantial aid promptly to the 19th Route Army (nor did the 19th Route Army make a positive request) to repel Chiang Kai-shek's attack of Fukien, which was wrong. Hereafter, substantial aid must be rendered, as much as possible, to all the friendly units resisting Japan and punishing the traitors until the stage of direct combat coordination. To reach the goal of resisting the common enemies, the Soviet Red Army needs the victory and development not only of itself, but also of its friendly allied units.

The Soviet People's Republic revises its policy on the rich peasants. The assets of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Except that part used for feudal exploitation, their land, whether farmed by themselves or by hired help, will not be confiscated. When all the land in a village is equally divided, the rich peasants have the right to the same shares as the poor and middle peasants.

The Soviet People's Republic adopts a policy more lenient than before toward the national industrial and commercial capitalists. Where it is beneficial to both sides, it welcomes them to invest in the territory of the Soviet People's Republic and establish plants and stores, and it will protect their property and reduce the taxes as much as possible, in order to develop China's economy. In areas occupied by the Red Army, all industry and commerce beneficial to the anti-Japanese and anti-traitor movement will be protected so that the people of the entire nation will understand that the Soviet People's Republic not only safeguards political freedom but is the best place to develop China's industry and commerce.

The Soviet People's Republic declares to the overseas Chinese that it commends them for their patriotic activities in aid of China's revolution and that, though those like Chiang Kai-shek have long deserted the revolution, the Soviet People's Republic and the patriotic people of the entire nation have continued the courageous cause since the Taiping Rebellion and are determined to save China from destruction and turn it into a powerful and prosperous nation. The day of the national victory of the Soviet People's Republic is the time of the liberation of the overseas Chinese. All the policies whereby the Kuomintang government led the overseas Chinese to slavery must be thoroughly eradicated, and replaced with policies of active protection of the overseas Chinese. The soviet grants the privilege of refuge to all the overseas Chinese compatriots currently rejected or expelled by Japanese imperialism and other imperialist nations, and it welcomes overseas Chinese capitalists to develop industry and commerce in the soviet areas.

All the policy revisions are for one fundamental goal: Overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, seek the freedom, liberation, and independence of the nation of China, and strive for the national victory of the revolution.

To implement the policies successfully, to fight Japanese imperialism promptly, and to safeguard the leadership power of the national united front, the party and the soviet have a policy which has always been consistent but which requires a greater effort to make it more adapted to the needs of the national united front. It is to expand the Resist-Japan Red Army, to expand the resist-Japan guerrilla, to expand the territory of the Soviet People's Republic serving as the resist-Japan base, to smash the offensive of the traitor troops, to cleanse the resist-Japan path, to consolidate the resist-Japan rear, to thoroughly solve the land issue, to recruit the majority of the workers and peasants, to win over the traitor troops and Japanese imperialist soldiers, to propose to the minorities the formation of an alliance for common struggle, and to implement a flexible foreign policy.

The Red Army is the resist-Japan vanguard. Only the expansion, consolidation, and proper employment of this vanguard will assure the success of the anti-Japanese war. Today, the slogan to "struggle for the expansion of a 1-million-strong Red Army" must be closely linked to the urgent anti-Japanese war to avert destruction. To overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs China's traitors, the Red Army must be expanded to several million. But first it must be expanded to 1 million. The positive effort toward this goal of not only every Red director, soldier, local cadre, and soviet personnel, but also the revolutionary people of the entire nation, is most important. The elevation of the technical conditions of the Red Army, the improvement of technical and tactical education, the intensification and popularization of political work, the centralization of the leadership of the Revolutionary Military Affairs Commission, the assurance of material supply, and especially the

conformity of the strategy and battle direction with the correct principles (opposing adventurism when on the offensive; opposing conservatism when on the defensive; opposing escape-ism when shifting) are all indispensable conditions for victory.

Guerrilla warfare must be developed in the entire country, while stressing the areas occupied by Japanese imperialism and their vicinities, areas under traitor Chiang Kai-shek, and the resist-Japan bases (soviet areas) of the Red Army and their vicinities. All guerrilla troops must emerge as a part of the national war and closely link themselves with the land revolution of the peasant masses. Guerrilla warfare must be made to produce a great strategic effect in the anti-Japanese anti-traitor struggle. The party must make the guerrilla units the creators of resist-Japan bases (soviet areas); it must make all areas where the guerrilla troops are present establish resist-Japan people's revolutionary political power (county, district, and township resist-Japan governments, revolutionary committees, and even soviets) severed from Japanese imperialism and the traitorous control; it must make the guerrilla expand rapidly and become a resist-Japan revolutionary army; it must make the young students and revolutionary soldiers engulfed in the anti-Japanese tidal wave join guerrilla warfare in large numbers; it must unite all the guerrilla units, whether currently under the party's leadership or not, on a common foundation.

It will not be possible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs China's traitors without expanding the territory of the Soviet People's Republic, i.e., the Red Army bases. Only when large sections of land controlled by the traitors are turned into soviet territory will the Red Army have a backing and the resist-Japan war its rear. We must strive for perfection in the many tasks within the soviet territory, enforce the correct policies, make the soviet territory impregnable and an area admired, cherished, and emulated by the people of the entire nation.

All attempts of the traitor troops to attack the resist-Japan bases and model areas of the people's political power must be ruthlessly repelled, smashed, and destroyed. To repel such counterrevolutionary attacks is the responsibility of not only the Resist-Japan Red Army and the anti-Japanese people of the soviet areas, but also the anti-Japanese people of the entire nation. The party must appeal to all the anti-Japanese people of all of China and of all the soviet areas to struggle in defense of their own bases, to resist the traitors' sabotage of the rear of the resist-Japan war, and to oppose the blocking of the Red Army by the traitors. Linking the civil war of China with the national war is a fundamental principle of the party's guidance of the revolutionary war.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the majority

of the millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, poor people, and revolutionary masses under the control of Japan and the traitors. The anti-Japanese anti-traitor national united front of the party and the Soviet Red Army must be expanded to all areas where the masses are found, and all the mass struggles must be raised from the low level to the high level, from the local to the national, and from the ordinary to the stage of resisting Japan and the traitors' political regime by force. Only when the struggles inside and outside the territory of the Soviet People's Republic are joined will Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors be overcome.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without recruiting the great majority of the worker class. We must build firm strongholds in the major enterprises of key cities, organize broad mass organizations by utilizing all open and semi-open possibilities, start from the concept of striving for victorious results (even very small victories) by assessing the concrete environment, activate, organize, and lead the worker masses in economic and political struggles, and give attention to the protection and education of cadres in the enterprises. We must accumulate the great strengths of the worker masses in preparation for a decisive battle. Striving for the leadership power of the worker class in China's revolution is the party's fundamental principle in the worker movement.

It will be impossible to succeed in overcoming Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors without the participation of the peasants, constituting 80 percent of China's population, in the struggle front. The Communist Party and the soviet must satisfy the peasants' demand for land and struggle for the thorough solution of the land issue and the elimination of the rural feudal oppression. Only thus will we be able to mobilize millions of the peasant masses to take up arms and march to the battlefield against Japan and the traitors, to furnish an inexhaustible source of reinforcement to the national revolutionary war, and to turn the main objective of plunder by Japanese imperialism and China's national counterrevolution, the peasants, into China's national revolutionary army resisting such plunder. In areas occupied by Japan and their vicinities, we must first confiscate the land and assets of spies and traitors and distribute them to the peasants. Thereafter, in the struggle process, according to the people's own experiences, we will intensify the struggle and undertake the thorough solution of the land issue. The party's fundamental principle is to link the land revolution and the national revolution.

Nor will it be possible to overcome Japanese imperialism and the several million troops of China's traitors without the aid of the soldiers. We must, on a broad mass foundation, undertake the work on the soldiers. The party must appeal to the people of all soviet and White areas, Red Army soldiers, and guerrilla fighters to strive for the disintegration of the traitors' troops. When the tens and hundreds of millions of

people unwilling to become stateless slaves persuade the millions of officers and soldiers unwilling to become stateless slaves by sincere advices, by communicating with their relatives and friends, by letters of reproach, and by agitating slogans, it cannot help but influence them. Our slogans are: Chinese will not fight Chinese! Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, and students, and defend China by force; unite the Red Army and the White army, and knock down Japanese imperialism and the traitors! Travel expenses to those who wish to return home; land to those who wish to farm; those wishing to resist Japan join the Red Army and the volunteer army!

By its own example and sincere slogans, the Soviet People's Republic tells the oppressed Mongolians and Moslems: Organize your own state! Japanese imperialism and the traitors are our common enemies. Unite and knock down the enemies!

On the foundation of not overlooking any possibility for victory over Japanese imperialism and China's traitors, the foreign policy of the Soviet People's Republic is to negotiate with all nations, factions, and even individuals opposed to Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors for the necessary understandings, compromises, diplomatic ties, and treaties of alliance. The Soviet People's Republic and its government do not shoot off arrows without selection of target. The Soviet People's Republic is willing to establish friendly relations with all those struggling in their own interest which is beneficial to the Soviet People's Republic's effort to resist Japan and punish the traitors.

All policies and all effort are for victory over Japan and the traitors. Anything against this goal will be rejected. This is the strategic line of the Communist Party and the soviet.

V. Closed-doorism, the Party's Major Danger

To overcome Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people, the Communist Party members must penetrate the masses, and participate in and lead all mass, national, and class struggles. Here, the key is the application of an extensive united front. Such a united front will, on the one hand, concentrate the maximum strengths against the major enemies and on the other hand, enable the broad masses, according to their own political experiences, to understand the accuracy of the party's ideas and rally them under the party's banner. The issue of the revolutionary leadership power must be more profoundly understood. To gain the leadership power in China's revolution, the Communist Party cannot rely only on the party's propaganda and agitation; it must make all the party members demonstrate leadership in their practical actions and daily struggles. It is not enough for them to perform work among the lower level masses (which is the main thing), but they must know how to conduct negotiations, discussions, compromises, and concessions with the upper level leaders of

other parties and factions who are connected with the lower level masses, in order to win those among them with whom continued cooperation is possible, expose finally the wavering, deceitful, and renegade elements before the masses, and expel them by the strength of the masses. For the party to gain leadership power, relying only on activities in the worker class (which is important) is not enough; the Communist Party members must perform their activities in the rural villages and among the poor people, soldiers, petty bourgeois, intellectuals, and even the revolutionary allies, struggle for their intimate interests, and convince them that the Communist Party is the representative of the interests of the majority of the people of China as well as the worker class and that it represents the entire nation. In all areas where the masses are found, regardless of how reactionary the leaders of such areas are, the Communist Party members must go there and perform revolutionary work. Only when the Communist Party members demonstrate that they are the most energetic and vigorous vanguard of China's revolution which nothing can stop, and not "holy disciples" conducting abstract discussions of communist principles, will the Communist Party gain the leadership power of China's revolution.

To make a bolder application of the extensive united front for the party to gain leadership power, the party must wage a firm struggle against the "leftwing" closed-doorism in the party. Under the present situation, closed-doorism is the party's major danger. The sources of closed-doorism are as follows: First is the lack of understanding of the current new political situation, which leads to the lack of understanding of the necessity to change the strategy to suit the new situation. Second is the inability to link the party's basic slogans and fundamental policy outlines with the current action slogans and political action outlines in practical actions. Third is the inability to flexibly apply Marxism, Leninism, and Stalinism to China's unique concrete environment, but turning them into rigid dogmas. Such closed-doorism tendency is manifested, in essence, in the fear of the enemies, the fear of the masses, and the lack of confidence in our own strengths, resulting in the fear to apply the strategy of an extensive united front. Actually, it is identical with rightwing opportunism. Its continuation will cause the party to become severed from the masses and relinquish its task of striving for the leadership power of China's revolution. Therefore, the party must firmly oppose "leftwing" closed-doorism, boldly apply the extensive united front, penetrate the millions of masses, have no fear of certain possible errors, and learn the technique of leading the masses in struggle. Naturally, in the struggle against "leftwing" closed-doorism, there must be no relaxation of the struggle against rightwing opportunism. Rightwing opportunism suppresses the struggle of the masses for their intimate interests, sacrifices the demand of the peasants for land and that of the workers, poor people, and soldiers for better treatment for the interests of the national bourgeoisie and the rich peasants and the partial interests of its allies, is afraid to use the weapon of criticism against the allies, and has no courage to lead the masses and

force the allies to proceed to a higher stage of the revolution. It may accept the influence of the national bourgeoisie, the upper level petty bourgeoisie, and the rural rich peasants and turn itself into their tail. There is no doubt that it is possible for the Ch'en Tu-hsiu-ism of 1927 to revive among some of the party units and party members in the new great revolution. The party must wage a firm struggle against such rightwing opportunism. Nevertheless, currently, "leftwing" closed-doorism is the party's major danger. The current opposition to the rightwing tendency is precisely for the purpose of successfully overcoming the "leftwing" tendency and thoroughly breaking down closed-doorism, so that the strategy of an extensive united front is correctly and boldly applied in all tasks. Then, the party will not be lagging behind the mass struggles, and the masses, beginning with the struggles for their daily intimate interests, will be elevated to the position of participating in the national revolutionary war to resist Japanese imperialism and its running dogs the traitors, the common enemies of the Chinese people.

VI. Expansion and Consolidation of the Communist Party

To accomplish the sacred mission shouldered by the Chinese Communist Party in the great historical era, the party must be expanded and consolidated organizationally. In the new great revolution, the Communist Party needs hundreds of thousands and millions of fighting members before it can lead China's revolution to thorough victory.

As the vanguard of China's proletariat, the Chinese Communist Party must absorb large numbers of workers and tenant peasants into the party and form a workers' backbone in the party. Meanwhile, as it is also the vanguard of the entire nation, all those willing to struggle for its principles, regardless of their background, may join the party. All the courageous fighters in the national land revolution must be absorbed into the party to perform the party's work in all aspects. Since China is an economically backward semi-colony and colony, peasants and intellectuals of petty bourgeois background often constitute a majority in the party. However, this does not lower in the slightest the Bolshevik position of the Chinese Communist Party. As proven by the facts, a party of such components can complete the glorious mission bestowed by the Comintern, the vanguard of the world proletariat; it can struggle arduously and persevere courageously. Among the communist parties in all the nations in the world, except the party of the Soviet Union, the Chinese Communist Party occupies a glorious advanced position.

We must struggle against the closed-doorism tendency in the party when developing the organization. Whether an individual can struggle firmly for the principles proposed by the party is the major criterion of membership. While attention must be given to the social composition, it is not the major criterion. The party must act as a smelting furnace of communism and temper the many new members willing to struggle for its

principles into Bolshevik warriors with the highest class awareness. The struggle between the two fronts in the party and communist education constitute one of the means to attain this goal. The party's ideological unanimity in Bolshevism is the concrete manifestation of its firm leadership of the proletariat. Closed-doorism on the issue of organization, which, instead of starting from the positive fighting needs, starts from the concept of fear, must be thoroughly destroyed. Innumerable active elements and mass leaders have emerged, or are emerging, in the great struggles of the national revolution and the land revolution. The party organization must, with warm welcome, open the door to them. The party does not fear the infiltration of certain opportunists. It assures the stability of its organization with the Bolshevik political line and iron discipline. It does not fear the uneven political levels of the non-proletarian party members; it will elevate them to the position of vanguard by means of the communist education.

Large numbers of cadres must be trained. The party needs thousands and tens of thousands of new cadres so that they can be sent group by group to all fronts. It is not necessary to teach them every item of leadership skills before assigning work to them, but what is necessary is to enable them to learn in struggle. We do not use the cadres and party members as we do machines. Instead, we cherish and trust them, assign them suitable work, and fully develop their talent and initiative. We do not treat them with the bureaucratic attitude. Instead, by means of persuasive explanation of the tasks and concrete instructions of the work, we vividly and vigorously link them with the party's leading organs. In regard to the errors of the cadres and party members in ideology or work, we do not discourage them lightly, call them opportunists, or even punish them. Instead, we conduct patient and repeated persuasive education. Errors in ideology and work are inevitable, but they can be corrected. The spirit of studying in Leninism and the tempering of experience in struggle are precisely the excellent means to correct errors. The firepower of struggle in the party must be directed toward those comrades who persist in their erroneous viewpoints and refuse to study, undergo tempering, or accept education. Organizational conclusions of a certain extent are only necessary for those comrades who have committed serious errors and cannot be convinced by persuasion. Nevertheless, all inner-party struggles and organizational conclusions must still contain the essence of party education toward the party concerned. Only when it comes to those opportunists who have consistently followed the wrong line, the party must not, because of their temporary expression of remorse, assign them important work.

In this great era of struggle, the rallying of party cadres firmly around the party's leading organs possesses a determining significance. As the party must unite the entire party and lead the broadest masses to the war of national revolution and land revolution, it cannot succeed without many capable cadres serving as the links. The correct organizational line and cadre policy constitute the premise of this task.

The Chinese Communist Party Central appeals to the entire party and cadres to struggle for the firm implementation of the party's strategies and lines, spread the united front to the entire nation, build the National Defense Government and the Resist-Japan Allied Army, make the Soviet People's Republic the state of the entire people, make the Red Army the troops of the entire nation, make the party a great people's party, link the land revolution and the national revolution, and link the civil war with the national war. Long live the sacred national war!

Long live China's independence, freedom, and unity!

Long live the Soviet New China!

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ANNOUNCEMENT OF THE RESIST-JAPAN VANGUARD ARMY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S
RED ARMY

1 March 1936

[Text] The following is announced: As Japanese imperialism pursues an outrageous course in North China without restraint, as Chiang Kai-shek, Yen Hsi-shan, and Sung Che-yuan, with their servile attitude, follow their habit of fawning on foreigners, and as the destruction of the nation is imminent, the Military Affairs Commission of the People's Red Army of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China orders this army to march east and resist Japan. This army wishes to ally with all patriots and revolutionaries, without distinction of being new or old, factions, or background, as long as they are sympathetic with the resistance of Japanese imperialism, in order to pursue together the great cause of the national revolution. Wherever this army marches, it will protect the patriotic movements, the revolutionary people, the interests of the workers and peasants, the intellectuals, and the industry and commerce of the area. It advocates the cessation of all civil wars and the alliance of the Red Army and the White army, in order to confront Japan unanimously. It wishes to negotiate and reach agreements or understandings with all patriotic soldiers, whether they actively cooperate with this army to resist Japan or passively refrain from opposing this army and the patriotic people in their resistance of Japan. China's greatest enemy is Japanese imperialism. All the people of China must rise as one, unite, and defend the nation. If the skin be lost, how can the fur be laid on? If the nation perishes, what good is one's life? Raise the just banner in the nation; announce the punitive expedition in China! Those with strength must donate their strength; those with money must donate their money; those with guns must donate their guns; those with knowledge must contribute their knowledge. Making 1 man equivalent to 10 is our spirit; making 10 men equivalent to 1 is our strength. The nation of China will not perish; Japanese imperialism will fall. The destiny of success or failure is self-evident without need of argument. Those who fail to understand the great principles, but fawn on the foreigners and trample on the people, or even resist this army, are severing themselves from the people of the nation, and this army will

punish them as spies and traitors. Unite, workers, peasants, merchants, students and soldiers!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Down with spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national war!

Long live the new China of freedom and equality, and territorial integrity!

It is so announced.

P'eng Te-huai, Commander in Chief

Mao Tse-tung, Chief Political Commissar

1 March 1936

° "Announcement of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army" (mimeographed), 1 March 1936

* "Tou Cheng" [Struggle], No 96 (mimeographed), 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION AGAINST TRAITORS CHIANG KAI-SHEK AND YEN HSI-SHAN FOR BLOCKING THE EASTWARD MARCH OF THE RESIST-JAPAN VANGUARD FORCE OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S RED ARMY TO RESIST JAPAN AND FOR SABOTAGING THE RESIST-JAPAN REAR

5 April 1936

[Text] Patriotic compatriots of the entire China!

Since the loss of the five North China provinces in fact though not in name, the Japanese imperialist bandits are speeding toward the annexation of all of China.

At this critical moment of the nation and the race, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army have time and again demanded the cessation of all civil wars. All must unite to resist Japan together, without distinction of Red Army or White army. A national Resist-Japan and Save-the-Nation Congress must be convened to organize a National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army. The main force of the Red Army of the entire nation must concentrate in Hopeh to block the advance of Japanese imperialism. In view of the urgent demand of the entire country to resist Japan and save the nation, the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army organized the Chinese People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to cross the river and march east, resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and report to the anti-Japanese compatriots of the entire nation that it fought in the vanguard and vented a righteous anger. Yet, willing to serve as the running dog of Japanese imperialism, Shansi's Yen Hsi-shan has mobilized his entire armed forces to block the path of the Red Army to resist Japan. The outrageously wicked traitor head, Chiang Kai-shek, is helping him with up to 10 divisions of men against the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, and has ordered the troops of Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng to push north and sabotage our resist-Japan rear in the Shensi and Kansu soviet areas!

Look! When Japanese imperialism swallowed five North China provinces and the Japanese army and Manchukuo troops marched into Peking, Tientsin, Chahar, and Suiyuan, Chiang Kai-shek ordered his troops to withdraw completely from the five North China provinces. Yet when the Red Army marched east to resist Japan and threatened its security in the five provinces, Chiang Kai-shek transferred his troops to Shansi to attack the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. Today, everyone knows Japanese imperialism's new scheme to annex North China: It is the concrete implementation of the so-called Hirota's three great principles. The joint "anticommunist" agreement of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" is now being firmly carried out by traitor chief Chiang Kai-shek.

The Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Resist-Japan Red Army of China declare to all the patriotic compatriots in the entire China that Japanese imperialism plans to destroy China under the name of joint "anticommunism" of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and mobilize all the traitor troops against the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army. For the freedom, independence, and territorial integrity of the nation of China, we are determined to exterminate with our full strength the traitor troops blocking the path of our Vanguard Army to resist Japan and sabotaging our rear so that we will smash Japanese imperialism's new scheme to destroy China and strive for an immediate direct encounter with Japan. We also appeal to the patriotic compatriots of the entire nation to rise together, resist Japan and punish the rebellious, and support the eastern expedition of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, in order to save the nation from perdition. The victory of the Red Army in resisting Japan and punishing the rebellious is the victory of the patriotic compatriots of the entire nation; it is the victory of the nation of China.

Stop all civil wars; resist Japan together unanimously; create a resist-Japan people's front of all parties and all factions!

Oppose the "joint anticommunism" of China, Japan, and "Manchukuo" and the destruction of China!

Ally with Russia and the communists; resist Japan together for China's independence and freedom!

Convene a National Resist-Japan Save-the-Nation Congress; organize a National Defense Government and a Resist-Japan Allied Army!

Support the Red Army for immediate direct encounter with Japan!

Support the concentration of the main force of the Red Army of the entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!

Concentrate the army, navy, and air force of the entire nation in Hopeh against Japan!

Down with traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan blocking the Red Army from resisting Japan and sabotaging its rear!

Arm the people of the entire China; knock down Japanese imperialism; knock down spies and traitors!

Long live the resist-Japan national revolutionary war!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Resist-Japan Red Army

5 April 1936

- ° "Declaration Against Traitors Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan for Blocking the Eastward March of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army To Resist Japan and for Sabotaging the Resist-Japan Rear" (mimeographed), 5 April 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE MESSAGE FOR ARMISTICE AND NEGOTIATIONS FOR ESTABLISHING
ALLIANCE AGAINST JAPANESE AGGRESSION

5 May 1936

[Text] The Military Commission of the Nanking National Government, the entire army, navy, and air force, all parties, factions, organizations, and newspaper publishers of the entire nation, and all compatriots unwilling to become stateless slaves:

Ever since the Soviet Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Commission of the Chinese Red Army organized the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army to cross the river and march east, the Vanguard Army was victorious wherever it went, and the entire nation responded. Nevertheless, just when it occupied the T'ung-p'u railway and actively prepared to march east to Hopeh and make direct contact with Japan, Chiang Kai-shek sent over 10 divisions to Shansi, cooperated with Yen Hsi-shan to block its path to resist Japan, and ordered Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-ch'eng and the troops of northern Shensi to march on the Red area in Shensi and Kansu and sabotage our resist-Japan rear.

The Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army actually should concentrate its entire strength to wipe out Chiang's troops blocking its path, in order to attain the goal of direct contact with Japan. Nevertheless, after repeated consideration, the Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission feel that, in face of the national calamity, when we engage in battle, regardless of which side wins, it will be a loss to China's national defense strength and only please Japanese imperialism. Furthermore, among the troops of Chiang Kai-shek and Yen Hsi-shan, there are many patriotic soldiers who wish to stop the civil war and resist Japan together. Though obeying the orders to block the path of the Red Army, they actually find it an act against their conscience.

In view thereof, for the purpose of preserving the national defense strengths in order to carry out the war to resist Japan, for the purpose of firmly performing our proposal to the people of the nation to stop the

civil war and resist Japan together, and for the purpose of hastening the final awareness of Chiang Kai-shek and the patriotic troops under him, though many victories were gained in Shansi, the Worker-Peasant Democratic Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission are withdrawing the People's Resist-Japan Vanguard Army to the west bank of the Yellow River. By this act, they express their sincerity to the Nanking government, the army, navy, and air force, and the people of the entire nation. We hope, within 1 month, to cease all hostilities and negotiate for peace with all the armed units attacking the resist-Japan Red Army in order to attain our goal of resisting Japan together.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission hereby solemnly advise the gentlemen in the Nanking government: At the critical moment of losing the nation and the race, you should, according to reason, immediately repent and, with the spirit of "brothers quarreling within the walls will defend themselves against the outsiders together," stop the civil war on a national scale, first of all in Shensi, Kansu, and Shansi. Both sides must send delegates to discuss the concrete measures to resist Japan and save the nation. This will benefit not only you gentlemen, but also the nation and the state. If you persist in your erroneous ways and continue to serve as spies and traitors, your control will finally collapse, and you will be deserted and overthrown by the people of the entire nation. The proverb says: "When a thousand men point their fingers, you die without illness." It also says: "Lay down the butcher knife and immediately become a Buddha." We hope you will give the matter your serious consideration.

The Soviet Central Government and the Red Army Revolutionary Military Commission appeal to all the organizations, parties and factions, and people of the entire nation who are unwilling to become stateless slaves to support our proposal to cease hostilities and negotiate for peace and resist Japan together, organize an association to promote the cessation of the civil war, and send delegates to block the firing line between the two sides and to further and supervise the complete performance of our proposal.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission
of the Chinese People's Red Army

5 May 1936

° "Reference Material on China's Revolutionary History," Vol 3, Chinese People's University, 1957

* "Yenan Revolutionary Museum," Cultural Publishing House, September 1959

* "Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party in the Resist-Japan Period," "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, footnote 4

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE SOVIET CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE MOSLEM PEOPLE

25 May 1936

[Text] Dear Moslem brothers:

The second imperialist world war to redivide the colonies will soon break out. The people and land of China's five races are cut away in large sections by Japanese imperialism, which is now advancing toward Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Kansu, and Sinkiang. The calamity of the destruction of your roots and extermination of your race is imminent. Will you resign to destruction and division by others, or will you rise and fight and strive for the independence and freedom of the Moslems? The glory of the recovery of the Turkish Moslems will serve as the compass to all the Moslems and all the oppressed nations. At this critical moment, we hope you will rise up immediately!

The Moslems suffered the oppression and exploitation of China's ruling class in the past decade or more, especially the harsh levies and vexatious taxes of Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government, which made the life of the Moslems unbearable. The Nanking government also frequently provoked ill feelings between the Moslems and the Chinese, to the extent of mutual slaughtering. It would then send troops to suppress them, causing the Moslem and Chinese people to lose all their energy, in order to benefit its cruel and greedy regime. In the past several years, the Kuomintang warlords headed by traitor Chiang Kai-shek recklessly capitulated to Japanese imperialism and attempted to sell all the interests of the Chinese people. With the fall of the four northeast provinces, the loss of the five North China provinces in fact if not in name, and the activity of the autonomy movement of southern Fukien, the Nanking government has now designated the four northwest provinces as an "anticommunist" zone. The entry of the Nanking troops into Kansu is the major step to destroy the northwest and suppress the independence movement of the Moslems, Mongolians, and Tibetans.

The Chinese People's Soviet Government and the People's Red Army Resist-Japan Vanguard Army have always considered the resistance of imperialism,

especially Japanese imperialism, and the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation and other small and weak nations their fundamental tasks. As the eastward march of the Vanguard Army against Japan is blocked by traitor Chiang Kai-shek, they feel that consolidating the rear defense, developing the resist-Japan base, and rallying all people and nations unwilling to become stateless slaves, primarily the minorities of the Northwest, in order to prepare for direct confrontation with Japan, are more important. Therefore, the westward march of the resist-Japan People's Red Army is not only a necessary step in the practical preparation against Japan, but also an excellent opportunity for the independence and liberation of the Mongolians, Moslems, and other small and weak minorities, especially the Moslems. Therefore, we solemnly declare to the Moslem people:

1. According to the principle of national self-determination, we advocate that the affairs of the Moslems must be completely handled by the Moslems themselves, that, in all Moslem areas, the Moslems must establish their independent and autonomous political power and handle all the political, economic, religious, custom, ethical, educational, and other matters, and that, in all areas where the Moslems constitute a minority, under the principle of national equality, the Moslems, with the district, township, and village as the units, must manage their own affairs and establish their own government.
2. According to the principle of the freedom of religion, we will protect Mohammedanism and the Ahongs and guarantee the absolute freedom of belief of the Moslems.
3. Armament is an indispensable condition of an independent and autonomous nation. We wish to rally all armed strengths of the Moslems and to help and develop them. We wish to arm the Moslems and form an independent "Moslem Resist-Japan Army." We hope that the Moslem armed forces will become one of the major strengths in the Resist-Japan Allied Army.
4. Abolish all the harsh levies and vexatious taxes imposed by the warlords, bureaucrats, and militia; improve the life of the Moslems.
5. Protect the Moslem language; develop the culture and education of the Moslems; start Moslem newspapers; raise the Moslem political and cultural levels.
6. The Moslems and Chinese must unite closely to knock down Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors.
7. Form an alliance with Turkey, Outer Mongolia, the Soviet Union, and other nations and states sympathetic with China's endeavor for the thorough liberation of all races and resist Japan together.

Dear Moslem brothers! Now is the time when the small and weak nations rise up and struggle for survival and strive for thorough liberation. You are situated between the already liberated Soviet Union, Outer Mongolia, and Turkey and the Chinese Soviet Red Army in the process of liberation. As long as you will become aware and rise up and struggle, victory will be yours. It is solemnly declared.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the
Soviet People's Republic of China

25 May 1936

° "Struggle," No 105, 12 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION ON THE NORTHERN MARCH OF ARMED FORCES FROM KWANGTUNG AND
KWANGSI TO COMBAT JAPANESE AGGRESSION

11 June 1936

[Text] Recently, Japanese imperialism's large troop reinforcement in Hopeh and Chahar for the direct occupation of North China, its organizing of nationwide smuggling to destroy China's customs system and national economy, and its launching of the autonomy movement in Fukien all prove that it is carrying out its plan to destroy all of China at an unprecedented speed. Not only failing to show the slightest resistance, but Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government assists Japanese imperialism in its aggression everywhere, suppresses all the resist-Japan national salvation movements of the Chinese people, blocks the eastward march of the Resist-Japan Vanguard Army of the Chinese People's Red Army, signs the "Sino-Japanese Anti-Communist Agreement," leads the wolf into the house, rejects the dissident in order to create an individual dictatorship, and enables Japanese imperialism to do as it pleases. At this time when the Japanese bandits and the shameless traitors are creating havoc in China, all the patriotic soldiers and compatriots with conscience and enthusiasm are filled with righteous anger, and they swear to struggle to the bitter end for the survival of the nation of China!

When Kwangtung and Kwangsi raise high the righteous banner to resist Japan and send their troops north, and demand that the Nanking government immediately send troops to resist Japan together, wherever their righteous voice is heard, the people of the nation become stimulated. On behalf of the resist-Japan people and resist-Japan Red Army, we wish to express our respect and support to the patriotic soldiers and compatriots of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and declare our desire to form a resist-Japan alliance to their authorities and struggle together. We appeal to the patriotic soldiers in the entire nation to rise up and respond to the patriotic compatriots of the nation, expand the resist-Japan and national salvation movement, and coordinate with the uprising of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. The current military action against Japan must be expanded to a sacred national revolutionary war of armed resistance of Japan by the people of the entire country. Meanwhile, we demand that the Nanking government immediately

repent, accede to the demands of Kwangtung and Kwangsi, and mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the whole China to march north and resist Japan. The Chinese People's Red Army is willing to concentrate in Hopeh, serve as the vanguard to resist Japan, and begin direct confrontation with Japanese imperialism.

Nevertheless, since Kwangtung and Kwangsi expressed their intentions, Chiang Kai-shek's Nanking government not only has not indicated any sincerity to accede to their demands, but has delayed time and again, and openly accused the authorities of Kwangtung and Kwangsi for provoking a civil war and destroying unity, while surreptitiously transferring large troops to block the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North and resisting Japan, provoking and alienating, and activating a civil war, in order to sabotage the resist-Japan front. In regard to such criminal acts of Chiang Kai-shek, the people of the entire nation absolutely refuse to become stateless slaves. The patriotic soldiers must immediately sever themselves from Chiang Kai-shek's policy to capitulate to Japan and march North to resist Japan together with the troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi and the Red Army!

The matter is urgent! Patriotic soldiers and compatriots of the entire nation must closely unite, concentrate their forces against Japanese imperialism, and attack together! More than ever before, the Chinese people urgently demand a firm resist-Japan united front. We must firmly oppose the Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting called by Chiang Kai-shek and his National Congress. We advocate the immediate holding of a national resist-Japan congress. We ask all the resist-Japan and anti-traitor political, social, and occupational organizations and armed units in the nation to elect their own delegates to the congress and immediately realize the following outlines:

- (1) Announce the severance of relations with and declare war on Japan; punish Manchukuo; recover the lost territory in the Northeast and North China.
- (2) Abolish all unequal treaties between China and Japan and cancel all traitorous loans.
- (3) Punish the spies and traitors who gave up power and territory and brought calamity to the nation and the people.
- (4) Mobilize the army, navy, and air force of the entire China for direct contact with Japan.
- (5) Confiscate all the assets of Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors for use as resist-Japan expenses.
- (6) Guarantee the freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, and forming associations to resist Japan and save the nation; release all political prisoners.

(7) Organize a national defense government and a resist-Japan allied army.

(8) Ally with all states and nations in the world treating us with equality; ally with all oppressed people in Japan.

These are the outlines to resist Japan and save the nation demanded by the people of the entire China, and they should be the outlines of Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to resist Japan. We sincerely hope that the patriotic leaders of the two provinces will courageously activate and support the people's patriotic movement to resist Japan, extensively arm and organize the resist-Japan people, cooperate with the people of the entire nation, and struggle for the thorough realization of these outlines. We believe that only when the resist-Japan armed forces and the resist-Japan people become one, and only when the resist-Japan armed forces become the armed forces of the resist-Japan people, will the great cause of liberating the nation of China initiated by Kwangtung and Kwangsi attain its final victory.

Support Kwangtung and Kwangsi in sending troops to march North against Japan!

All patriotic soldiers of China unite with Kwangtung and Kwangsi and hit Japan together!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's blocking of the righteous troops of Kwangtung and Kwangsi from marching North against Japan!

Call a national resist-Japan and save-the-nation congress!

Oppose Chiang Kai-shek's Second Kuomintang Central General Meeting and his National Congress!

Oppose Japanese imperialism's smuggling; confiscate all contrabands!

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Long live the resist-Japan united front of the people of the entire China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government of the
Soviet People's Republic of China

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Commission
of the Chinese People's Red Army

11 June 1936

° "Struggle," No 104, 3 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE SOVIET TO THE SOCIETY OF BROTHERS

15 July 1936

[Text] Gentlemen of the Society of Brothers:

Recently, the barbarous bandit conduct of Japanese imperialism, the sworn enemy of the nation of China, to annex China is becoming ever more fierce. Not only taking our four northeast provinces by force, but they are actually controlling all of North China. Not only utilizing smuggling to destroy China's entire economic life and aggravate the miseries of bankruptcy and unemployment, but they have resorted to their colonial system in Taiwan and Korea and sent 50,000 reinforcements to North China. All such political and economic measures are for the purpose of turning North China into a second "Manchukuo" and the base to attack the whole China. Japanese imperialism is in the process of carrying out unlawful aggression in China's northwest and Central and South China, wishing to turn the entire country into its colony and the 400 million people into its slaves and beasts of burden. The calamity of losing the nation and the race is imminent. Thirty thousand cattles hanging by a single hair, we are at the critical moment between life and death, between survival and perdition. Except the minority of traitors and spies, all the Chinese with any righteous feeling and all those unwilling to become stateless slaves are filled with a powerful anger and wish to wage a death struggle against Japanese imperialism! Recently, southwest military leaders Li Tsung-jen and Ch'en Chi-t'ang raised high the resist-Japan big banner, marched north, and demanded that Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking government send troops to resist Japan. The resist-Japan national revolutionary war has entered a new stage.

The Society of Brothers has always followed the principle of promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians, and hitting the rich to relieve the poor. It actively participated in the anti-Manchurian revolutionary movement of 1911, and the north Shensi revolution also received much support and participation of the Society of Brothers comrades. Comrades such as Hsieh Tzu-ch'ang and Liu Chih-tan were not only leaders in the Red Army,

but also models in the Society of Brothers. Such revolutionary spirit and glorious achievements must be brought to a greater light today, and the society must struggle for the salvation of themselves as well as China.

The Chinese Soviet People's Central Government has made declarations time and again, announcing its principle of national salvation and appealing to all those unwilling to become stateless slaves to unite together, without distinction of parties or factions or classes, and together fight our common enemies--Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors, in order to gain the independence and liberation of the nation of China. The Society of Brothers has always been an organization representing national patriots and the broad peasant and laboring masses. Oppressed by the government, the warlords, and the bureaucrats, branded as "low-class people," and slandered as "bandits," the society cannot exist in the open. The abuse suffered by the society from the hands of the ruling class is more or less identical with what we have suffered! As you advocated promoting the Chinese to eliminate the Manchurians in the past, we now advocate resisting Japan to save the nation; as you advocate hitting the rich to relieve the poor, we advocate hitting the local tyrants and divide the land; as you care not for money but for justice and associate with the heroes and tough guys in the world, we sacrifice ourselves to save China and the world and rally the oppressed and exploited nations and classes and strata in the whole world. Our viewpoints and principles are not much different; our enemies and our future are completely identical. Therefore, with great sincerity, we declare to all our brothers of the Society of Brothers of the whole country: Regardless of what misunderstandings and dissatisfactions between us in the past, we must now forget and discard them. We must unite under our common desire to resist Japan and save the nation, form a close and brotherly unity, and together save the nation from calamity with righteousness in our hearts. This is your sacred obligation and that of the people of the entire China!

The Soviet Government is the government of the oppressed people of China. We undertake the responsibility of receiving and protecting all those abused and persecuted by the Kuomintang government. Therefore, the Society of Brothers may exist openly under the Soviet Government. We have established a Society of Brothers reception office to receive the heroic, courageous, noble, and righteous people. It is our hope, and we request and welcome the members of the society in all areas, either in person or by delegates, to come to us and discuss the plans to save the nation. We eagerly await and welcome you. We shout:

Bring forth the revolutionary spirit of the Society of Brothers of the past!

Unite, the Society of Brothers and the people throughout China, to hit Japan and promote China!

Long live the liberation of the nation of China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Chinese Soviet People's
Central Government

15 July 1936

° "Struggle," No 105, 12 July 1936

6080

CSO: 4005

DIRECTIVE ON THE LAND POLICY

22 July 1936

[Text] To make the soviet truly the center of unity of the people of the entire nation, all its current policies must embody a clear popular essence and a profound national quality. The land policy has always occupied the major position among all its policies. By carrying out the land revolution, it will not only relieve the peasants, constituting 80 percent of the national population, of feudal exploitation, but also encourage them to participate actively in the national liberation cause and reinforce the national revolutionary strength. Since the Central Politburo conference in December last year, the soviet has made many important changes in the land policy (such as the rich peasant and small landowner policies, the decisions on class analysis and certain special problems, etc.). Such changes have gained the support of the broad people and produced practical results in the soviet area. Nevertheless, to attain the goal of liquidating the feudal remnants and building, within all possibilities, a broad people's resist-Japan united front by means of the enforcement of the land policy, we must further scrutinize it and make the necessary changes.

Therefore, the Central has made the following decisions on this issue:

- (1) All the land and assets of spies and traitors will be confiscated in their entirety.
- (2) The land, grain, buildings, and assets of the landlord class will be confiscated. After confiscation, the landlords will be given land for farming and the necessary production tools and material. The quantity and quality of the land will be determined by the majority opinion of the local peasant masses.
- (3) The land of the following categories of small property owners will not be confiscated:

- (a) Free lances, technical personnel, teachers, medical students, small merchants, and handicraftsmen.
- (b) Workers who saved the money for the land by their own labor.
- (c) Small landlords whose living conditions are very inferior.
- (d) Those who were originally not landlords but were forced to rent their land out due to the loss of labor force.
- (e) Those who worked as hired help even though they rented out their own land.
- (4) The land belonging to resist-Japan soliders and those dedicated to the resist-Japan cause will not be confiscated.
- (5) The land and the surplus production tools (farm tools; domestic animals) of the rich peasants will not be confiscated. Where the division of all land is carried out upon the demand of the basic peasants, the land of the rich peasant landlords must also be included in the division, but the rich peasants must receive their shares according to the general rules of division (receiving the same shares as the peasants in general).
- (6) In regard to the land belonging to large farmowners and enterprisers (enterprise owners who do not rely mainly on land rent exploitation, but on hiring large numbers of help to farm their land or raise livestock), as their production pattern is rather progressive, they will be handled according to the rich peasant policy. Where the majority of the peasants demand division, the land, animals, and grain of the large farmowners and enterprisers must be surrendered for division.
- (7) In case of merchants who are also large landlords, their land is handled similar to the landlords in general, but the commerce part of their assets must not be infringed upon.
- (8) High interest loans are cancelled. The Soviet People's Government will promulgate a new loan regulation and restrict the interest rates in the soviet area. Nevertheless, commercial loans and loans between the laboring people are not included among those cancelled.
- (9) The leasing of land is permitted in the soviet area. However, regardless of the type of owner renting out land, the cruel and slavish leasing of the old days must be abolished. The leasing regulations promulgated by the Soviet Government must be observed without exception.
- (10) The living conditions of rural workers must be improved. The Soviet Government will formulate special regulations on rural hired help for promulgation and enforcement.

The foregoing decisions become effective immediately in the newly created soviet areas. In the old soviet areas where the land has been divided, the original method will be followed and there will be no change. The Soviet Central Government will formulate and promulgate the concrete and detailed regulations for implementation of the foregoing decisions separately.

Central, 22 July 1936

° "Selections of Current Event Discussions," Chih-hsin Printing Press,
1 May 1937

6080

CSO: 4005

OPEN LETTER FROM THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY TO THE KUOMINTANG

25 August 1936

[Text] Gentlemen of the Central Committee and the entire membership of the Chinese Kuomintang:

It has been a year since this party, the Soviet Government, and the Red Army published the declaration to resist Japan. Though our proposal to organize a national united front and rally all parties, factions, and fields to resist Japan together has won the support of the patriotic leaders and people of the entire country, as your party and your party government hesitate over its acceptance, the sacred national self-defense war, up till now, has not been launched. Meanwhile, the Japanese bandits take advantage of the gap and march straight in, taking a foot after gaining an inch. The tragic calamity of perdition is imminent. The entire nation is in a panic, unable to live through the day. Such grave danger of the nation and the people has been entirely caused by the erroneous policy of your party and your party government. Now is the critical moment of the nation and the race. This party cannot but again shout to you in desperation: Immediately stop the civil war; organize a national resist-Japan united front; launch the sacred national self-defense war; resist the aggression of Japanese imperialism; defend and recover China's territorial sovereignty; save the people of the entire nation from deep water and searing fire. If you continue the internal squabbles and refuse to shift the muzzle of the gun toward the outside, change the policy of concession to resistance, turn the situation of split to unity, and alter the condition of dispersal to unanimity, then the calamity and damage will be unimaginable, while your infamy will remain irrevocably through the generations. With an attitude of sincerity, we are writing to you gentlemen and the Chinese Kuomintang membership.

After reading the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting and the report of Committee Chairman Chiang at the meeting, we find that your Second Central General Meeting has not made an affirmative answer to the issue of averting perdition and seeking survival--an issue which has been worrying the people of the entire nation day and

night, and that it has not made a complete revision of the foreign policy of your party's Fifth General Congress--"before it is completely hopeless, peace must not be abandoned; before the final moment arrives, sacrifice must not be discussed lightly." It cannot but greatly disappoint the patriotic people of the entire nation.

In his report, Committee Chairman Chiang made a new explanation of the policy of your party's Fifth General Congress. He stated: "The Central's minimum limit in diplomacy is to preserve the integrity of territorial sovereignty. We absolutely will not tolerate the infringement of our territorial sovereignty by any nation; we absolutely will not sign any agreement encroaching upon our territorial sovereignty; we absolutely will not tolerate any instance in violation of our territorial sovereignty. To put it more clearly, should anyone wish to force us to sign anything damaging to our territorial sovereignty, such as the recognition of the puppet regime, that would be the time when we could no longer tolerate the situation, the time of our final sacrifice." Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation was extremely necessary, because the Chinese people never could figure out what constituted the minimum limit when "peace is completely hopeless" or when would be "the final moment of sacrifice." We admit that Committee Chairman Chiang's explanation shows certain improvement over the past, and we sincerely welcome such improvement. Nevertheless, basically it still cannot satisfy the demand of the people of the nation, because in his report, he also felt that "the diplomatic situation in the past 6 months has not reached the stage when peace is hopeless. Rather than being hopeless, one might say that there has been a ray of hope in the past 6 months compared with before. I daresay that the most recent diplomatic outlook has not reached the final moment." Therefore, he still hesitates to bring up the task of organizing a resist-Japan united front, and he still refuses to immediately launch a sacred national resist-Japan war. With Abyssinia's failure as an excuse, he continues the policy of concession. This is extremely regrettable. It is far too inadequate to satisfy the demand of the people of the nation. In view of the people of the entire nation, the fall of the four north-east provinces, the loss of the greater part of Chahar, the rampage of the East Hopeh Anti-Communist Autonomous Government, the puppetry of the Hopeh-Chahar Political Committee, the stationing of large numbers of Japanese troops in Hopeh and Chahar, the destruction of the economic power of North China, the open smuggling inundating the whole country, the desperate situation of national industry and commerce, the approaching bankruptcy of the state finance, the demolition of the customs authority, the general installation of Japanese special service organs in North China, and even the northwest provinces, the large scale attack on Suiyuan by Japanese and puppet Mongolian troops, the formation of the Inner Mongolian government, the unrestrained flight of enemy planes in China's territorial sky, the reckless conduct of Japanese tramps, the direct and indirect intervention in the students' patriotic movements and the people's patriotic expressions by the Japanese bandits, the massacre of large numbers of worker-peasant masses, the intolerable insults suffered

by many patriotic people, soldiers, police, and reporters, and even by many of the important members and government officials of your party, the forced withdrawal of troops defending the land, the alert of Tsingtao, the instigation of the South China autonomy movement, etc. were all tremendous losses to China's territorial sovereignty. In the view of the people of the entire nation, the Sung-hu [Shanghai], T'ang-ku, Ho [0149]-Mei [2734], and North China anti-communist agreements, and other unpublished written and unwritten pacts were all treaties involving the loss of sovereignty and territory. Therefore, in the view of the people of the entire nation, peace has long been hopeless and the final moment of sacrifice has long arrived. Short of launching the people and the armed forces of the entire nation to wage a resolute self-defense war, the total loss of China's territorial sovereignty cannot be averted.

Except by launching the strengths of the entire China to hit back firmly, the bandit plan of Japanese imperialism to destroy China definitely will not change. The changes in the pattern of aggression, the shifts in its direction, and the expression of the so-called "economic aid" are not for the purpose of ceasing aggression, but precisely for the purpose of facilitating it. Thus, should one feel that, after marching into Hopeh and Chahar, the Japanese bandits would concentrate on the economic aggression of the five North China provinces and therefore, there would be hope of peace, one would only be deceiving oneself as well as others. Should one think that the Japanese bandits would stop its aggression north of the Yellow River while we could enjoy partial peace south of the river, it would also be an illusion. Look! When you gentlemen are loudly proclaiming that peace is not yet hopeless, the Japanese and puppet troops of northern Chahar are advancing on a large scale against Suiyuan. After establishing special service organs in Suiyuan, Ninghsia, Inner Mongolia, and Kansu, Japanese imperialism built main and auxiliary airfields in such areas. It arbitrarily set up a consulate in Szechwan which led to the massacre of our patriotic compatriots. After reinforcing the troops in North China, the ferocious and savage Japanese army is poised for action, and minor confrontations occur frequently along the defense line of the 29th Army. The situation of North China is becoming ever more dangerous. Such espionage groups as the military investigation and economic investigation committees of the Japanese bandits travel arrogantly everywhere without restraint, entering every crack. Their espionage network spreads throughout the country, even within various organizations of your party and your party government. All these indicate that the situation is extremely critical. That peace is absolutely impossible and the resistance war absolutely inevitable is unequivocal. Your views are entirely wrong.

In the declaration of your party's Second Central General Meeting, you stated solemnly: "The prerequisite to defense against aggression is to concentrate all national salvation strengths under the direction of the Central Government, unifying the pace and consolidating the battle line. Therefore, the necessity of unity and discipline is an unshakable iron-clad principle. Meanwhile, the unity of the army and government and

military command is especially the minimum requirement of a modern nation." We fully agree that launching the maximum strength of resistance of the people of the entire country and concentrating and unifying the national salvation forces of the whole nation for the thorough victory of the resistance war are absolutely necessary. As early as the "18 September" incident, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army appealed to the people and troops of the entire country to wage a sacred national revolutionary war and expel Japanese imperialism from China. After the "28 January" Shanghai war, this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army proposed to the armed units of your party and your party government encircling and attacking the soviet area to stop the war, discuss peace, and resist Japan together. After the North China incident, we again proposed the policy of organizing promptly the most extensive resist-Japan united front to include all parties, all factions, and all fields in China. Innumerable times, we requested your party and your party government to stop all civil wars and resist Japan unanimously, and we suggested calling a resist-Japan national salvation congress elected by all the people and all the armed units willing to resist Japan, in order to formulate a plan to resist Japan and save the nation and to elect a unified nationwide national defense government and organize a resist-Japan coalition army for a large-scale resist-Japan war. We firmly declared that the Soviet Government was willing to become a component of such a national defense government and the Red Army was willing to serve under the general headquarters of the resist-Japan coalition army, to be in charge of certain designated front, and to guarantee the completion of all combat missions. All the proposals of this party and the Soviet Government and the Red Army are completely compatible with the demands of the people of the entire country and constitute the only correct policy to avert perdition and seek survival. The people of the entire nation have never been so urgent in their demand for the cessation of the civil war and for concentration and unity, in order to resist Japan together. Only the Japanese bandits and their agents will incite continued splits and continued civil wars, because only by so doing will the condition for the destruction of China be created for the Japanese bandits.

Nevertheless, the "concentration and unity" advocated by your party's Second Central General Meeting is actually putting the cart before the horse. You must know that the civil war and disunity of the past decade have been entirely a result of the erroneous policy of relying on imperialism followed by your party and your party government, especially the consistent nonresistance policy since the "18 September" incident. Under your slogan of "pacifying the internal before driving out the external," you have been waging the civil war continuously from year to year, launched innumerable encirclements of the Red Army, and suppressed with all your might the patriotic and democratic movements of the people of the entire country. Up till very recently, you have relinquished the northeast and North China and forgotten that Japanese imperialism is China's biggest enemy, while devoting all your strengths against the soviet and the Red Army, pursuing the internal squabbles within your own

camp, blocking the path of the Red Army against Japan, sabotaging the resist-Japan rear of the Red Army, ignoring the demand of the people of the entire nation to resist Japan, and depriving the people of their freedom and rights. Patriotism is a crime, and jails for the wronged are scattered all over the country; betrayal deserves reward, and the spies and traitors celebrate together in their official robes. To seek concentration and unity with such erroneous policies is truly looking for fish on a tree, and the result will be exactly the opposite. We now tell you gentlemen seriously: If you do not fundamentally change your erroneous policies, if you do not turn your hostility toward Japanese imperialism, but continue to aim at your own compatriots, then, even if you wish to barely maintain the status quo, it will be impossible. Concentration and unity and the so-called "modern nation" are mere empty words.

What the people want are the concentration and unity to resist Japan and save the nation, not the concentration and unity to flatter the foreigners and trample on the people. What they eagerly demand is a government truly devoted to the salvation of the nation and the people, a truly democratic republic. They demand a democratic republican government protecting their interests. The major outlines of such a government must be: First, it can resist external aggression; second, it can give the people their democratic rights; third, it can develop the national economy and reduce, or even eliminate, the misery of the people. When it comes to a "modern nation," these are the only outlines required by the colonial and semi-colonial China in modern times. The people of the entire nation, with an eager desire and a firm determination, are in the process of struggling for the realization of this goal, yet the policy of your party and your party government is completely opposite to the desire of the people. To thus seek the people's confidence is absolutely impossible.

The Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese Soviet Government, and the Chinese Red Army now solemnly state: We support a united democratic republic of the whole nation, a congress elected by general popular vote, a resist-Japan national salvation delegates' mass meeting of the people and the resist-Japan troops of the entire nation, and a united national defense government. We declare: Upon the formation of a national united democratic republic, the soviet area will become a part thereof, the delegates of the soviet area will participate in the national congress, and the same democratic system will be carried out in the soviet area.

We feel that the national defense conference decided upon by your party's Second Central General Meeting and the people's congress now being called by your party and your party government cannot fulfill the task of concentration and unity to resist Japan and save the nation. According to the national defense conference regulations passed by your party's Second Central General Meeting, the organization of the conference is limited to a minority of your party and your party government and its duty is merely to serve as an advisory organ to your party and your party government. That such a conference will not be able to accomplish anything or gain

the confidence of the people is extremely clear. Meanwhile, according to the "Draft of the Constitution of the Republic of China" and the "Organization Law and Delegates' Election Law of the People's Congress" passed by your party government, the people's congress which you gentlemen wish to convene likewise will not be able to accomplish anything or gain the people's confidence, because such a people's congress is merely an organ manipulated by your party and a few officials of your party government; it will be an accessory and an ornament of the few officials. Such national defense conference and people's congress possess not the slightest resemblance to the national resist-Japan national salvation congress (national defense conference) and the democratic republic of China and its congress advocated by this party. We feel that a resist-Japan national defense conference must include the delegates of all parties, all factions, all fields, and all armed units and become a power organ truly able to decide on plans to resist Japan and save the nation. A united national defense government will be created from the conference. Meanwhile, the people's congress must be a congress created by a general election by the people of the entire nation and serve as the supreme power organ of the democratic republic of China. Only such national defense conference and national congress will win the welcome, support, and participation of the people and place the great cause of saving the nation and the people on a firm foundation. Otherwise, no matter how fancy the terms, it absolutely will not produce any practical benefit or gain the consent of the people. The failure of the many conferences called by your party and your party government all along is the best evidence thereof.

The Second Central General Meeting of your party also stated: "The arrival of dangers and difficulties can be expected. We must not, because of the dangers and difficulties in national affairs, relax on the performance of our proper responsibilities.... In regard to the fate of the nation, this party will devote all its mind and talent and persevere from beginning to end." True, your party is the political party in control of the largest part of China's territory, and the political responsibility of all measures introduced so far must be shouldered by you. Under the Kuomintang government of one-party dictatorship, the Kuomintang absolutely cannot evade its responsibility. Especially since the "18 September" incident, your party has violated the public opinion of the country, deserted the interest of the nation, followed an absolutely erroneous policy, and led to the loss of almost half of China. Such responsibility cannot be shifted to anyone else. In our view and that of the people of the entire country, as close to half of China has been lost through your party, we cannot but charge you with the responsibility of recovering the territorial sovereignty. Meanwhile, many conscientious persons in your party have now awakened to the dangers of losing the nation and to the force of public opinion and begun to change, to feel anger and dissatisfaction toward those in your party who have brought misfortune to the party and the nation. The Chinese Communist Party sympathizes completely with such changes and eagerly welcomes the determination and awareness of

those members of the Chinese Kuomintang who are patriotic and conscientious and who preserve, and are in the process of stimulating, the heroic bearing of the nation of China. We welcome their spirit of sacrifice and reform in face of the national crisis. We know that many conscious and patriotic people exist in your Party Central and provincial party units, in your Central and provincial governments, in the fields of culture, education, science, art, journalism, industry, women, religion, medicine, and police, in all kinds of people's organizations, especially the broad troops, and among the new and old members of the Kuomintang and the leaders of all levels, and that such people are growing in number every day. It is extremely encouraging. The Chinese Communist Party members are ready at all times to associate with such Kuomintang members and organize together a national united front against the biggest enemy of the entire nation-- Japanese imperialism. We hope that these Kuomintang members will promptly form a controlling power in the party, overcome those members who disregard the national interest and serve as agents of Japanese imperialism, who are pro-Japanese spies and the worst and most shameful members of their party, and who constitute an insult to Mr Sun Yat-sen, revive the spirit of Mr Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary three principles of democracy, restore his three great policies of allying with Russia, the communists, and the workers and peasants, implement, with their "mind and talent," the three principles of democracy, the three great policies, and Mr Sun Yat-sen's last will, firmly shoulder the responsibility of continuing his revolutionary cause, resolutely expel Japanese imperialism together with the patriotic leaders and people of all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation, and struggle against the destruction of China, for the democratic rights of the people, for the development of the national economy to relieve the greatest majority of the people from their miseries, and for the realization of a democratic republic of China and its democratic congress and a democratic government.

The Chinese Communist Party declares to all members of the Chinese Kuomintang: If you truly do so, we will firmly support you; we will be willing to form with you a firm revolutionary united front, similar to the great united front against national and feudal oppression formed by the two parties in the first revolution of 1925-1927, because it is the only correct path to avert perdition and seek survival today.

Gentlemen and the entire Kuomintang membership, most likely you have not forgotten the glorious history of the cooperation between the two parties in the previous revolution. As a result of such cooperation, all national and feudal oppressors trembled with fear before us. The national oppressors at that time, especially Japanese imperialism, deeply realized that our cooperation would lead to thorough victory and to the complete liberation of China. Thus, they provoked and alienated, threatened and induced, and resorted to extreme measures, and finally they succeeded in provoking one side of the cooperation and put an end to the first united front. When you gentlemen look into your conscience in the deep of the night, most probably you will heave a long sigh of regret. Now everyone knows

that, had the Chinese Kuomintang cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party to the final end, China would not have been in such a tragic situation today; China would have been an independent and free country! Today, the people of the entire nation hope urgently that the two parties will renew their cooperation and save the nation. They believe that only a renewed cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and a general cooperation with all parties, all factions, and all fields in the nation will truly avert perdition and attain survival. Nevertheless, Japanese imperialism and the spies and traitors will inevitably again attempt to sabotage such cooperation, because they know full well that such cooperation will deal them a fatal blow. The "three great principles" centering on "anti-communism" proposed by Japanese imperialism to your party government is an attempt to forestall cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and to prepare to destroy any cooperation. However, the issue is very clear. Will you join Japanese imperialism and the spies to build an anti-communist united front—a united front of national perdition? Or will you join the Chinese Communist Party and the people of the entire country to build a resist-Japan united front—a national salvation united front? The moment of decision is here. Any hesitation or vacillation is a loss to the state and the nation and a gain to Japanese imperialism. The key to our cooperation is in the hands of your party. As stated at the Second Central General Meeting of your party, in regard to the fate of the nation, your party has a responsibility. If you are truly willing to shoulder the responsibility of saving the nation and seeking survival, now is the time to make the decision. Once the nation is lost, there will be no point in discussing cooperation. It will then be too late to regret! As for us, we have long prepared to send our plenipotentiary delegates to any place at any time and discuss the concrete measures with the delegates of your party, in order to form promptly a concrete agreement to resist Japan and save the nation, and we will firmly abide by such agreement.

Once the united front between you and us, the united front among you and us and all the parties, factions, and fields in the nation, is successfully formed, then you and us and the people of the entire country will have the right to shout: Let the spies and traitors and all the spineless slaves shout in face of the might of Japanese imperialism that "China is not capable of resisting Japan," but the children of the great nation of China will never surrender, never capitulate! We will struggle for the independence and liberation of the great nation of China to the last drop of our blood! China absolutely is not Abyssinia! The nation of China of 450 million will one day stand up majestically in the east, raise high the banner of final victory of the national revolution, and, hand in hand with all free and liberated nations in the world, including the nation of Japan except its imperialist elements, control the entire globe! Control the bright and brilliant new world! Let our enemies tremble in face of our united front, for victory will be ours!