

CHINA'S FIGHT *for*
NATIONAL LIBERATION



BY CHEN LIN

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by
CHEN LIN



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CHINA'S FIGHT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

BY CHEN LIN

FOR two years now the Chinese people have staunchly defended their country against the onslaught of the Japanese invaders. When the Japanese militarists on July 7, 1937, provoked an "incident" in Liukouchiao, they had prepared, at one blow, to crush the Chinese Republic and turn this great country into its colony.

What they did not reckon on was that China would show prolonged and determined resistance. The Japanese militarists assured everybody that the war would end with "lightning speed." By seizing Peiping, Tientsin and a number of other important centers in North China, Japan strove to "bring China to its knees," but it did not succeed in this. Striving, however, to break the resistance of the Chinese people by "a crushing blow," the Japanese army penetrated deep into the Northern Provinces of China and launched an offensive on Shanghai.

The Chinese army is showing ever greater resistance to the Japanese army. The military aim which the Japanese set themselves—to defeat the Chinese army—did not materialize even with the capture of such cities as Shanghai, Nanking, Taiyuan and Tsingtao. This convinced the Japanese plunderers that China had no intention of capitulating but, on

the contrary, was firm in its will to defend its national independence and existence. It was then that the Japanese strategists advanced a new plan of offensive, whose objectives are Hankow and Sian.

For the purpose of carrying out this plan the Japanese command has at the present moment concentrated vast naval, air and land forces in the Yangtze River valley in an effort to reach Hankow by river from the southeast. The present drive is being undertaken because the plan of advance on Hankow from the north—along the Peiping-Hankow Railway—has collapsed against the stubborn resistance of the Chinese troops. The Chinese air force, grown strong in the battles against its adversary, is bombing Japanese war vessels, while the Chinese land forces, both regular and irregular, are conducting extensive operations on both banks of the river. As a result, the Japanese advance has been delayed since the beginning of July.

The Japanese plan of advance on Sian (Shensi Province) has met with no better success. The fierce attacks of the Chinese troops in the adjoining province of Shansi has hindered the realization of this Japanese plan too.

Not relying entirely on military force, Japan is actively applying its time-worn methods of "seizing China with the hands of the Chinese themselves," using mercenary pro-Japanese elements among the bureaucracy and leading circles of the Chinese army. The Japanese militarists are acting through the traitors to the Chinese people, using primarily the Trotskyite bandits in order to sow disbelief among the Chinese people in their own forces, fill them with terror of Japanese imperialism, force China to capitulate and abandon armed resistance.

The Chinese people are only too well aware that the set purpose of the Japanese aggression is to conquer the whole of China and to transform its 450,000,000 population into colonial slaves of Japanese imperialism. This confronts the

Chinese people with one of two courses: resistance—and life, or submission—and death. And the Chinese people, in order to preserve its independence and existence as a nation, has decided to fight against the Japanese aggressors to the bitter end.

The intensity of the resistance of the Chinese people is getting greater and stronger every day. As a result Japan's new plan of offensive is also meeting with ever-growing obstacles.

The attitude adopted by the National government of China on the question of armed resistance to the Japanese aggressors has undergone considerable changes since the beginning of the war. Consequently, this period can roughly be divided into three stages.

THREE STAGES OF ARMED RESISTANCE TO THE JAPANESE AGGRESSORS

THE first stage lasted from the events in Liukouchiao until the beginning of military operations in Shanghai. The characteristic feature of this stage was that the Chinese government had not yet adopted a resolute position as regards armed resistance to Japanese aggression.

The Chinese government still cherished the hope that the "conflict" could be solved by partial resistance and had no firm intention of waging a war of defense on a national scale. A number of prominent Chinese politicians were of the opinion that at least five years, or under the best of circumstances not less than two years, would be required to make preparations for a general resistance on such a scale. Although the National government did order its troops to North China, General Sung Che-yuan attempted simultaneously to conduct peace negotiations with Japan. The Japanese aggressors took advantage of these negotiations to bring

up troops, make preparations for capturing Peiping and Tientsin, and launch an offensive on Shanghai.

The second stage lasted from the beginning of operations in Shanghai until the fall of Taiyuan and Nanking. In this period, the foremost people among the Chinese population, particularly the workers, soldiers and students, took up the slogan of the Communist Party of China that all classes and parties in the country should collaborate in this sacred war of national liberation. Under pressure of the masses of the people and with the Japanese army marching on Shanghai, the National government of China adopted the policy of organizing armed resistance on a national scale. A conference on national defense was called, military areas apportioned, reserves mobilized and considerable numbers of troops dispatched to the front. This period marks the beginning of a bitter war of defense on the Shanghai front and in North China.

Finally, the third stage—from the fall of Shanghai and Nanking up to the present time—has been marked by ever-growing activity on the part of China's armed forces, offensive action and initiative on the part of the Chinese command, the growth of partisan warfare and the extension of the base of the anti-Japanese national united front.

After the seizure of Nanking, Japan attempted, through the medium of the German ambassador to China, to force China to capitulate. The proposals of the Japanese aggressors met with support among certain pro-Japanese elements in China, who at that time were still holding government positions. These pro-Japanese elements who were bent on reaching a compromise, in conjunction with the Trotskyite bandits, those outright agents of Japanese imperialism in China, tried to induce the government to conclude a shameful peace. But the government and the commander-in-chief, Chiang Kai-shek, rejected the terms of agreement offered by Japan.

This was a crucial moment for China. The Communist Party of China and the foremost and most far-seeing leaders of the country were the decisive factors in fighting the traitors and overcoming the waverings of those who, disheartened by the losses suffered by the Chinese army and by the Japanese offensive, were inclined to adopt these shameful terms of capitulation.

At this critical moment, the Communist Party proposed a number of definite measures for strengthening the unified Chinese army. It proposed that a political department be organized attached to the general staff of the Chinese army; it actively helped to introduce universal military service and developed a widespread anti-Japanese movement among the masses of the people. The Communist Party proclaimed that it was ready to render every help to the government to set up a defense industry in China.

The example of the heroic struggle of the masses in the North and in Central China and the successful operations of the Eighth Revolutionary People's Army exerted considerable influence on the commanders of the principal sectors of the fronts, inducing them to display greater determination in offering armed resistance to Japan. The Communist Party succeeded in rapidly concentrating the former Red partisan detachments in the region of the central front and forming them into a new army—the Fourth Army—which was assigned to engage in guerrilla warfare in the enemy's rear on the Nanking-Hangchow-Shanghai sector.

The appeal addressed by the Central Committee of the Communist Party to the Chinese people, calling upon them to offer armed resistance in order to achieve a final victory over the Japanese aggressors, met with warm support and a ready response among the masses.

During this period Chiang Kai-shek issued an appeal to the people and the army in which the government and the army command proclaimed their readiness to offer consis-

tent armed resistance to the enemy. Quite a number of vacillating and irresolute commanders who had surrendered a number of towns to the Japanese without showing any resistance were dismissed from the army. The traitor Hang Fu-chu and a number of others whose treachery had undoubtedly facilitated the Japanese advance were shot. The Chinese people regarded these measures of the government as an achievement "equivalent to a big victory in the field and as a turning point in organizing determined resistance to the enemy." The adoption of these measures put an end to the activity of the compromising elements in the government apparatus. A political department headed by General Chen Cheng was set up at general headquarters.

Since the beginning of the war China has suffered a number of serious military reverses. The Japanese have seized considerable territory in North and Central China, including a number of large cities—Shanghai, Nanking, Peiping, Taiyuan, Tientsin and Wuhu—the population of which has been subjected to a reign of terror.

However, the seizure of Chinese territory has cost the Japanese very dear. According to the latest information, Japan has already dispatched 1,100,000 men to China. The losses suffered by the Japanese imperialists during the first twelve months of its predatory war in China amount to over 350,000 soldiers killed and wounded, no less than 600 military planes and upwards of thirty war vessels. The war of depredation in China is costing the Japanese about 900,000,000 yen a month.

In Japan the rise in prices and the repeated increase in taxes has considerably worsened the conditions of the working masses. During the latter months of the war the ranks of the unemployed have been swelled by over half a million people as a result of the closing down of factories and the catastrophic situation in the petty, semi-handicraft industries. The peasantry is in particularly difficult straits; the labor

shortage in the countryside and the rise in prices, especially in the prices of artificial fertilizers, is bringing in its wake a reduction in the area sown under rice, resulting in slow starvation. The chauvinistic frenzy of the early days has, in the main, spent itself. Deep dissatisfaction over the war is making itself felt in the country. Japan's man-power is limited, while the Mongolians and Manchurians conscripted in these subjugated regions only too readily come to realize that their place is on the other side of the front—among the Chinese people who are fighting for their independence and national liberation.

THE CAUSES OF CHINA'S MILITARY REVERSES DURING
THE EARLY MONTHS OF THE WAR

THE loss of a part of its territory can only be considered a temporary reverse for China. It by no means decides the issue of the war. The government, the people and all the anti-Japanese political parties of China soberly estimate the temporary reverses at the front and the important successes which have already been won in the cause of the war of defense.

China suffered a number of military defeats during the last century—in the opium war of 1840, in the war of 1856-1857 against England and France, in the war of 1884 against France, in the Sino-Japanese war of 1894 and in 1901 at the time of the Boxer Rebellion. The feudal rulers of China pursued a policy of capitulation to the conqueror. A general fear of Japan grew up in China as a result, and this feeling undoubtedly did much to influence the policy adopted by the Chinese government during the first period of the present war of defense. But this war of defense against Japan has roused all the people to fight for the integrity and inde-

pendence of China, has awakened the vast inherent forces of the Chinese people, has filled the government and the army with courage and determination, and has burst the bubble of "Japanophobia."

What is the cause of China's temporary reverses and losses in this war?

Imperialist Japan made lengthy preparations to seize China, arming itself to the teeth. China, on the other hand, was a semi-colonial country relatively poorly armed and poorly prepared for defense. And in order to offer successful resistance to the enemy it had to reorganize in the process of the war.

A fact of major importance during the first stage of the war was that for a long time China lacked internal unity.

In addition, a number of strategical and political errors were committed. In the first place, the Chinese government did not immediately resolve to offer determined armed resistance, and this enabled its adversary to concentrate its troops on Chinese territory, while China had not yet mobilized all its armed forces to resist the enemy. Then again the capture of such strategic points as Peiping and Tientsin enabled the Japanese army to launch an offensive westwards and southwards along the Tientsin-Pukow, Peiping-Hankow and Peiping-Suiyuan railways.

During the first stage of the war the Chinese army confined itself mostly to methods of passive defense instead of resorting to active defense, combining trench warfare with that of tactical methods. As long as it confined itself solely to trench warfare, the Chinese army, outclassed by the enemy in technical equipment, was unable to defeat it.

Another circumstance of very considerable import was that political work was not conducted on a sufficient scale among the masses of the population. At the beginning of the war of defense the Chinese government did not display the necessary determination in combating pro-Japanese elements

and traitors; nor were the progressive elements of the population enlisted in active work to a sufficient degree. In spite of the insistence of the Communist Party and a number of other organizations in China, not *all* the anti-Japanese groupings and parties have been enlisted in active work in the anti-Japanese national united front.

In the course of this war of defense, especially after the Japanese occupied Nanking, China achieved a number of important successes which enabled its army to display more initiative and activity, organizing successful resistance to the Japanese invaders.

In the first place, the war against Japan gave rise to a degree of internal unity unprecedented in the history of China. Ever since the Manchu dynasty was overthrown in 1911 China has been the scene of constant internal wars among the militarists, and beginning with 1927, when collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party ceased, the scene of a civil war that lasted ten years. A political struggle was also in progress between the central government of China and the local authorities.

The war of defense against Japan has welded together the progressive political parties of China, established a better understanding between the central government and the local authorities, enhanced the prestige and the power of the national government, and improved relations between the government and the people.

One of the foremost achievements of the war of defense against Japan is the radical change in the policy of the Chinese government.

THE RADICAL CHANGE IN THE POLICY OF THE
CHINESE GOVERNMENT

WHEREAS before the present war of defense the Chinese government pursued a policy of compromise and capitulation with regard to the Japanese aggressors, and within the country conducted an armed struggle against the Communist Party and the Chinese Red Army, now the policy of capitulation to Japan has been replaced by one of resistance, and the policy of fighting the Chinese Red Army and the Communist Party by a policy of collaboration with them, a policy of rallying all groups and organizations which are devoted to the interests of the national independence of China and are striving for the economic and cultural enhancement of the entire country. The Chinese government is today becoming a genuine government of national defense. Democratic measures are being introduced as far as possible in the interests of strengthening the country's defenses: a number of emergency laws have been repealed, certain liberties have been granted to the mass organizations, mass meetings are held on questions of national defense. After the Kuomintang and the Communist Party concluded an agreement on the establishment of an anti-Japanese national united front, the government released about 30,000 political prisoners, many of them Communists.

The struggle that has begun against traitors and saboteurs in the government apparatus is also a big step forward.

A National Political Council has been established, the first session of which was held July 6-15, 1938. Although this council is not yet a fully representative organ of the whole of the Chinese people, nevertheless, its very establishment, together with the introduction of elementary demo-

cratic liberties, is a considerable step forward on the road to democratization.

The National Political Council is composed of representatives of all the provinces of China including those which have been seized by the Japanese, representatives of all political parties and organizations (including seven of the leading figures of the Communist Party of China: Mao Tse-tung, Wang Ming, Tsing Pan-sing, Lin Chu-han, Wu Yui-chan, Tung Pi-wu and Teng Yin-chao), several representatives from the young people's party, the All-Chinese Association of National Salvation (a mass anti-Japanese organization which arose in 1935), the Party of National Socialists, peasant societies, military circles, etc. The task of the council is to muster China's most able and leading sons to help the government in its guidance of the country and the war. The representatives of the Communist Party on the Council stated in their letter that:

“... the establishment of the National Political Council during the war of liberation evinces that the political life of China is progressing towards democracy and that the united front of the parties and the people is developing still further. . . . We Communists, having in mind the possibility of developing the Council into a genuine body of people's representatives, will enthusiastically and sincerely participate in its work.”*

A most important result of the anti-Japanese national united front has been the organization of a single national army. Formerly the Chinese army was a weapon in the hands of the various militarists for the purpose of carrying on internecine warfare. The local troops were not subordinate

* See “Declaration by Communists, Members of the National Political Council of China, p. 61.

to the central command. The provincial troops did not possess properly trained officers, their equipment was not uniform, was unequally distributed, and so on.

Numerically, the Chinese army is one of the largest in the world. The forces subordinate to the central government in 1936 included 148 divisions and 48 special brigades of infantry, five artillery brigades, 21 artillery regiments, and five engineering regiments. Including its auxiliary forces and aviation, the Chinese army subordinate to the central government numbered 1,500,000 men. The provincial troops consisted of about 60 bodies of troops (brigades and divisions) numbering 700,000 men; formerly these units were actually not subordinate to the central command.

After the war against Japan started, a unified Chinese army was established for the first time, which has since become a genuine army of national defense. The provincial troops were mobilized for active service at the front and placed under the orders of the central command. After Hang Fu-chu and a number of other traitors were shot, relations between the local authorities and the central command improved considerably, and the prestige of the unified high command was raised.

The army has become a genuine national army. The defense of the country—that is what constitutes its ideal, its task. Gone is the old type of soldier who for the sake of higher pay left the service of one militarist to throw in his lot with another. The Chinese soldier of today declares proudly: "I am a soldier of the people." Its discipline, its contact with the population, its courage and devotion to the national cause, have won the army great prestige. The time when the population was terrified at the arrival of army units in their district is now a thing of the past. Today the population gives them a cordial welcome, organizes auxiliary detachments and wages a joint struggle against the aggressors. These changes in the sentiments of both the people

and the men are a major factor in the defense of the country and the development of the future democratic China.

Of prime importance is the abandonment of the former methods of passive defense, traditional for the old Chinese army, for more active operations. Today the Chinese army coordinates trench warfare and tactical maneuvering on the flanks with the activities of the partisan detachments in the rear of the enemy. Thanks to these methods the Chinese forces successfully held up for a long time the enemy's progress on the Northern and Southern sectors of the Tientsin-Pukow railway and won a number of victories near Taierhchwang. In the province of Shansi, Chiang Kai-shek ordered the Chinese troops to remain on the Northern bank of the Hwang-ho, and although the Japanese have approached the river, they dare not cross for in their rear are considerable Chinese forces which constantly harass them and strike blow after blow at their lines of communication.

And here, in the rear of the Japanese army, the Chinese people, on the basis of the collaboration of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, have driven the Japanese from a vast territory and restored the authority of the Chinese government. Over forty counties with a population of from five to six million people have been united under Chinese authority in the border regions of Shansi, Hopeh and Chahar provinces, in the rear of the Japanese. In April, 1938, a second "Central Hopeh Government" was set up in the center of the province. These governments, having organized a popular army of 200,000 men, are keeping the Japanese rear and lines of communication under constant threat, and are extending their territory and organizing the population for the struggle against the aggressors.

The Chinese army can also record a number of achievements in improving the technical knowledge of its forces. Political work which is now being consistently conducted in the army has served to enhance the political acumen and

national self-consciousness of the officers and men; discipline has been strengthened. The traditions of the provincial troops of the militarists are gradually disappearing.

The Chinese government devotes particular attention to supplying the army with up-to-date equipment and establishing reserves. It is successfully purchasing equipment abroad and at the same time carrying out measures to establish a munitions industry, as well as other industries, in the interior regions of China. Thanks to the devotion and heroic effort of the Chinese workers the government succeeded in evacuating a number of important enterprises from districts which were in danger of being occupied by the Japanese, and subsequently were partly occupied. The big arsenals in Nanking, Foochow and other cities were evacuated in good time.

The Chinese army now possesses an air force distinguished by its exceptional daring and initiative; its losses are invariably less than those of the enemy. The high ideological and political qualities of the Chinese air force, its splendid technique and daring were demonstrated to the world in the flights, unparalleled in the history of China, by Chinese airmen over the territory of Formosa and over big cities and ports in Japan, when Chinese airplanes scattered leaflets calling upon the civil population to resist the war of plunder against China, which is spelling ruin to the Japanese people.

The Chinese government is increasing and reinforcing its army by forming a number of new divisions and introducing universal military service to replace the former system of hiring soldiers. The methods of guerilla warfare, repeatedly proposed by the Communist Party of China, have been adopted on a large scale. Regular army units are more and more being used for this purpose in the enemy's rear; the partisan movement is being organized extensively among the local population. The partisan movement is developing not only in the zone of operation of the Eighth Army on the Northern front but also in Shantung, Kiangsu and Che-

kiang. The Japanese army is in constant danger of partisan attacks on the cities, railways and roads it has occupied. This compels the Japanese to maintain large forces in the rear for combating the partisan units. Taking into consideration the Japanese lack of reserves for conducting large scale operations in the main directions, this, of course, adds to their permanent difficulties.

THE EIGHTH REVOLUTIONARY PEOPLE'S ARMY AND THE
SPECIAL DISTRICT OF THE REPUBLIC OF CHINA

THE far-famed Eighth Route Army has all along played an enormous part in effecting the radical reorganization of the Chinese army, in establishing a fighting army of the Chinese people, welded by its single command and its single aim of struggle against the Japanese aggressors.

This army, formed from the units of the former Chinese Red Army, has behind it ten years of experience in conducting a successful tactical and partisan warfare under the most difficult conditions, often ending in victory over the many times superior enemy pitted against it. The Eighth Route Army grew up and was tempered in a constant, arduous and heroic struggle with the result that it has accumulated a wealth of experience in revolutionary warfare. The Eighth Route Army has perfect mastery of the specific methods of conducting an armed struggle against an enemy superior in technical equipment. This is based on the skillful combination of trench warfare, tactical maneuvering and guerilla warfare. Gaining from the experience of the Eighth Army, the entire Chinese army is mastering these methods, as a result of which the better-equipped, splendidly trained army of Japan, which had been making preparations for war for a number of years, cannot achieve the successes it had expected.

The Eighth Army began operations against the invaders under very difficult conditions. Its equipment was comparatively out of date and not uniform; it lacked not only heavy artillery, tanks and aviation but even mountain guns. The glorious victories won by the Eighth Army are due largely to the political consciousness, discipline and enthusiasm of its men, the flexible tactics and able leadership of its commanders, the daring and determination of all its combatants.

In 1937, immediately after the events in Liukouchiao the Eighth Army addressed a request to the Chinese government that they be sent out against the Japanese aggressors, and when a very tense situation arose in North China in August, 1937, the Eighth Army, under Chu Teh, was transferred to the Northern part of Shansi province.

The dispatch of the Eighth Army to the front attracted general attention and aroused enormous enthusiasm among the people and the Chinese troops.

From the first day of its arrival at the front the Eighth Army command took the following fundamental principles as the basis of its operations and of political work among the masses.

The first basic principle is that the army must wage war on the lines of tactical and partisan action, abandoning the trench warfare frontal defense tactics exclusively applied formerly throughout the Chinese army; it must strike at the enemy's flanks and rear; it must launch a partisan war in the immediate and distant rear of the enemy; destroy its lines of communication, strike at the reinforcements the enemy draws up, and coordinate its own actions with those of the other Chinese units. The command of the Eighth Army set out to show the rest of the Chinese army the correct strategy and tactics in the war against Japan.

The second basic principle is increased activity in organizing and arming the local population and establishing rallying centers of partisan warfare in the enemy's rear. The par-

tisan actions of the people must be combined with those of the regular army. The command of the heroic Eighth Route Army, and the Communist Party, which organized it and inspires it, are proving in actual fact that only by mobilizing and organizing the masses, by launching a partisan war with the active participation of the broad masses can the Chinese people offer lasting resistance and achieve victory over the Japanese aggressors. The measures taken by the Eighth Army directed the attention of the government and of the other Chinese army units towards organizing the masses of the people and developing the partisan movement in all districts in the vicinity of the front.

The third basic principle is political work within the army, close contact with the local population and increased activity in disintegrating the forces of the enemy.

Due to the enormous work that is being done in the Eighth Army, the able leadership of Chu Teh, the energy of the political department, the commissars and the Communist Party organizations, the Eighth Army has succeeded in creating a mighty core to serve all the armed forces of China.

The victory which the Eighth Army won at Pinghsinkuan (September 23-27, 1937) was China's first big victory in the war against Japan. The Eighth Army smashed the finest Japanese division—the Fifth Division—practically wiping out one of its brigades. After this successful operation it penetrated into the enemy's rear, surrounding its flanks and cutting off the Japanese communications in the Northern part of Shansi province. While other units of the Chinese army continued activities on the front, the Eighth Army was active in the enemy's rear. It captured over a thousand motor trucks and destroyed twenty-one airplanes; together with the partisans, the Eighth Army forces struck at the enemy reinforcements. As a result, over 40,000 Japanese troops stationed in the vicinity of Sinkou (north of Taiyuan) were

left without ammunition, fuel, and food supplies. Their artillery and tanks were put out of action. The enemy could obtain only very small quantities of food supplies and munitions by air. Thus, during the severe fighting in the vicinity of Sinkou, which went on for over twenty days, the Eighth Army placed the enemy in a very difficult position.

The Eighth Army is strong because of its mobility. The characteristic feature of most of the commanders is their initiative and the fact that they are accustomed to take independent action. The Eighth Army can rapidly concentrate its forces to carry out some big operation, but it can equally as well break up into small units to carry on partisan warfare. The Eighth Army often succeeds in defeating forces superior in number. It skillfully applies the method of a sudden flank attack on the enemy, as a result of which the enemy's losses are usually several times as great as its own.

On one occasion, when two companies of the Eighth Army were acting in the rear of an enemy unit of over 3,000 men, the enemy could not achieve success although in the course of a single day it fired over 1,000 shells and suffered at least 500 casualties. On another occasion a single company of the Eighth Army succeeded in defeating a Japanese unit of about 600 men without itself suffering any casualties. A battalion of the Eighth Army carried out a night attack on a strongly protected Japanese air field, and after a hand-to-hand fight with the guards destroyed twenty-one enemy planes.

The diary of a Japanese officer who was taken prisoner by the Eighth Army had the following entry: "When we come up against the Eighth Army our heads begin to whirl, because it always appears suddenly and one can never tell when it will come or go."

When it finds itself at a disadvantage, the Eighth Army strives to avoid big losses and effects a swift retreat, in order to draw on the enemy and deliver him a crushing blow.

The successes and victories of the Eighth Army have raised the spirits of the Chinese forces and filled them with the assurance of victory. The tactics of the Eighth Army enable the other Chinese units to study in practice how important it is to combine trench warfare with tactical maneuvers and partisan warfare. The Eighth Army is compelling the Japanese to abandon the outflanking tactics which they usually apply against Chinese troops, since by the Chinese sudden flank attacks it often wipes out entire enemy units. The Eighth Army has compelled the Japanese to scatter their forces and withdraw large units from the front to guard communications in the rear.

During the operations in the north of Shansi province the Eighth Army has never for a moment relaxed its work of organizing and arming the masses. In consequence of its intensive political and educational work, large anti-Japanese societies of National Salvation, a peasant league, a women's league, trade unions, self-defense detachments and other mass organizations have been established in the course of a month or two.

The Eighth Route Army has assigned a group of its men, long experienced in organizing partisan warfare, to work among the local population. These cadres lead the numerous partisan detachments formed in the region of its operations by the local population. The partisan units are armed not only with old guns and rifles left behind at some time by the Chinese troops, but to a certain extent also with modern arms captured from the enemy. The partisans are often short of arms, of warm clothes, and medical supplies, but in spite of this the number of these units is constantly growing, gaining in experience and strength, and profiting by their many engagements with the enemy.

Some of the units are gradually uniting into larger formations. Thus, in the border districts of the Shansi, Hopeh and Chahar provinces, several large formations of partisan units

have been created numbering from 5,000 to 6,000 men each. A military area headquarters has also been set up to provide a united command for these partisan units. This partisan area shows how new units should be formed in the enemy's rear. Partisan units often appear around Peiping, they tear up the tracks of the Peiping-Hankow railway, make surprise attacks on the Japanese forces around Tientsin and the Tientsin-Pokow railway, and strike telling blows on the enemy.

One of the most important results of the partisan struggle waged by the Eighth Route Army is that the other armies, profiting by its experience, have also begun to develop a partisan struggle in the enemy's rear. Numerous courses to train leaders of partisan units have been organized in the other armies. The Eighth Army often receives requests from other armies to supply instructors on the tactics of partisan warfare. Thanks to the Eighth Army the partisan movement has come to play an important part in the war of liberation that China is waging against the Japanese invaders.

The Eighth Army has retained its splendid traditions as regards political work among its personnel. Politically its men are considerably better developed than the soldiers in the other Chinese forces. The men of the Eighth Army are quite clear as to the aims of the war of liberation against Japan, they realize perfectly that only prolonged armed resistance can bring victory over the Japanese invaders. Political work in the units of the Eighth Route Army is conducted both on the march and during active service. The army implicitly obeys the orders of its commanders; it knows no cases of desertion. The relations between the commanders and the men are those of friends and comrades.

Every regiment or other large unit of the Eighth Army has its political department; the battalions have political instructors; the companies, political leaders; and the regiments, brigades and divisions, political commissars. The po-

litical leaders and military command of the Eighth Route Army, beginning with the battalion commanders, consist of Communists. Communist nuclei exist in all the units of the Eighth Army. The Communists make up about 20 per cent of the army, which consists largely of workers and peasants. A third of its commanders and men consists of workers, artisans and laborers, and the rest of poor and middle peasants and intellectuals.

The degree of activity and the internal unity of the Eighth Army arouse the respect of other army units. A Kuomintang newspaper correspondent who visited the Eighth Army headquarters to interview Chu Teh wrote in his article:

“When I reached the gates of the Eighth Army headquarters, I saw an old man dressed in a private’s uniform. This spectacled old man was reading a newspaper.

“The Chief of Staff introduced me to Chu Teh, and I was surprised at his simple and cordial manners. I had dinner with him; the food was the same as that served to all the men in the army. I talked to the men and to the cook and came to the conclusion that in the Eighth Route Army everybody, beginning with the commander-in-chief and ending with the rank-and-file men, the cooks and the stablemen, is bound by one common cause. I was much impressed with the *esprit de corps* of the Eighth Army and the educational work conducted in it.”

The Eighth Army devotes particular attention to demoralizing the enemy forces. The army’s political department publishes large numbers of leaflets and pamphlets in Japanese, Mongolian, Chinese and Korean. The local population, the partisan detachments, and also airplanes distribute this literature in the districts occupied by the Japanese. All the commanders and men study Japanese in order to carry on agitation among the enemy forces and to talk to the prison-

ers. In its appeals to the Japanese soldiers the Eighth Route Army points out that victory for the Japanese militarists will only worsen the condition of the Japanese workers and peasants, while the defeat of military fascist Japan will set free the forces of revolution and enable the working people of Japan to throw off the yoke of feudal capitalist exploitation. The Eighth Army exhorts the Japanese soldiers to ponder over what they are giving their lives for in the fields of China and to turn their bayonets against their age-old oppressors, against the militarists.

“Japanese soldiers,” one of these leaflets says, “come over to us! We will treat you well. Do not lay down your lives in the interests of the Japanese militarists! Let us conclude an alliance between the Japanese soldiers and the Chinese soldiers, let us put an end to the war!”

These leaflets put out by the Eighth Route Army are often found on Japanese prisoners and on the bodies of those killed. Some of the Japanese prisoners of war help to write the leaflets and pamphlets in Japanese and even ask to be allowed to stay in the Eighth Army and allow their families to come to China to avoid persecution on the part of the Japanese government.

A Japanese soldier by the name of Nakamura who was taken prisoner by the Eighth Army was certain that he would be put to death. He had been scared by the fabrications published in the Japanese press that the Chinese show no quarter to prisoners of war. After he had been for some time in the district of operations of the Eighth Army, Nakamura wrote an appeal to the Japanese soldiers in which he asserted that the men of the Eighth Route Army “treated him like a brother.” He wrote:

“The Eighth Army is an army of workers and peasants, in which all are welded by the common aim of struggle. I am moved to profound admiration by this

army. Japanese brothers! Why do we have to leave our wives and children and sacrifice ourselves in this war of aggression? We are waging this war in the interests of the landlords, capitalists and imperialists. Let us revolt against this bloody slaughter! Let us turn our arms against the militarists and overthrow their domination! Brothers! I hope that in the near future you will all shake the hands of our brothers, the men of the Eighth Army. I am grateful to the Eighth Army for the help it has given me."

The Eighth Route Army has established very friendly relations with the local population. Before billeting their men in the homes of the local inhabitants, the commanders ask their consent. If any property is damaged in the houses where men of the Eighth Army are billeted, the owners are compensated in money. The population everywhere cordially welcome the men of the Eighth Army, invite them to their homes, give them food and bring them gifts. Of their own accord they repair the roads and assist in transporting supplies and ammunition in order to facilitate the movements of the Eighth Route Army. During engagements the local population help to transport the wounded and the trophies seized.

The Eighth Army has acquired considerable experience in recruiting new men. As a result of the good relations it establishes with the local population, its recruiting campaigns meet with warm support among the people. In the northwestern part of China one often hears people say: "When I join up I'm going to enlist in the Eighth Route Army. The Eighth Army has no corporal punishment, and it knows how to fight." The recruiting campaigns are usually conducted by special groups under the charge of political workers who carry on a vast amount of educational and mass work among the population.

These methods of replenishing the ranks—by means of

mass agitational work among the population—are being widely practised now all over China. As a result considerable reserves have already been organized.

Realizing the advantages of these methods, the Chinese government is gradually abandoning the system of pressing men into the service.

These new methods are being most successfully applied in the Special District of the Republic of China. The Special District, organized from what were formerly the Soviet districts, has a fairly large territory. All the peasants have been apportioned land and last year, as a result of the efforts of the government of the Special District and the peasantry, the area sown was increased by 20 per cent. On the initiative of the population a stock of grain for the Eighth Army was established in a very short time.

The workers in the Special District are organized in trade unions with a membership of 35,000. The printing plant, the arsenal, the needle shops and various other enterprises belong to the government. The population of the Special District includes also a large number of handicraftsmen. The young people here are organized in the Union for the Salvation of the Country which has a membership of over 60,000. The Pioneer organization numbers over 70,000 children.

The Communist Party set itself the aim of making the Special District a model democratic district. In this it has been successful, and the Special District is now an important link in the general system of the unification of all China. The government bodies of the Special District are elected democratically, with the Communist and Kuomintang organizations participating. At the present time, intensive military training is going on throughout the District. In case of necessity the units formed in the Special District can be mobilized as reinforcements for the Eighth Route Army. The self-defense units of the Special District number over 100,000 men, and the Young Guard units 50,000.

The Special District has a press of its own. The magazine *Chiehfang*, published in Yen-an, the capital of the Special District, enjoys great popularity throughout China. At the end of last year this magazine was the first to publish the *Ten Points of the Program for Resisting Japanese Imperialism and Saving the Country*, proposed by the Communist Party of China, which were later reprinted by many Chinese papers and were met with warm response and approval at the front.

The growing influence and prestige of the Communist Party of China, which initiated and consistently participates in the anti-Japanese national united front, are reflected first and foremost in the Communist Party press and the press of China's national united front.

The *Chiehfang*, the organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party, reaches a circulation of 30,000 and can be seen all over China. In January, 1938, the Communist Party began to publish a daily newspaper, the *Hsin Hua Jih Pao*, which reached a circulation of 50,000 after one month and is now the most widely read paper in China.

Recently, the political department of the Eighth Route Army began to publish a weekly called *The Vanguard*. Within a very short time the circulation of this weekly mounted to 10,000 copies. The vast majority of the magazines published in Shanghai, before the city was seized by the Japanese, popularized the policy and the measures advocated by the Communist Party in the war of defense against Japan. Over thirty magazines of the same trend appear in Hankow. Numerous newspapers and magazines published in Canton, Chungking, Chengtu, Sian and other cities readily print articles by Communists and popularize the part played by the Communist Party in the anti-Japanese national united front. All over the country the people show particular interest towards pamphlets and articles dealing with the Eighth Army. A very popular pamphlet, which was published in a mass edition, is that by Chu Teh, on the tasks of and life

in the Eighth Army. Quite a number of publishing houses themselves reprint in pamphlet form articles from the Communist newspapers and magazines, since such pamphlets rapidly acquire popularity all over the country and are very good sellers.

On the initiative of the Communist Party of China a new army—the Fourth Army—under the command of Yeh Ting, has been organized from the partisan units which up till recently operated in the various former Soviet districts of Central and South China (the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Chekiang, Anhwei, Hunan, Hupeh and Kwangtung). These partisan units remained in the districts when the main forces of the Chinese Red Army moved further west three or four years ago. They acquired a wealth of experience in partisan warfare under the most difficult conditions.

At the present time the major part of the Fourth Army is concentrated in the vicinity of Nanking, Wuhu, Shanghai and Hangchow. Another section is operating to the north of the Yangtze. A mass partisan movement is developing with particular intensity in the region of operations of the Fourth Army where recruiting for new units is proceeding with great success.

In July, the Fourth Army, in connection with the Japanese advance up the Yangtze River, began operations on a particularly wide scale in a most important sector—the triangle Shanghai-Nanking-Hangchow. The purpose of the Fourth Army's maneuver is not only to weaken the rear of the Japanese, which is of vital importance to them since it is through Shanghai and Hangchow that the Japanese supply the central front with munitions and reinforcements, but also to attack them on a wide front from the east in order to weaken their offensive on Hankow.

Between July 10 and July 14, new large units under the command of Han Ying broke through the Japanese line of

defense in the Shanghai district. Severe fighting took place in the immediate vicinity of Shanghai (Pootung) and near Chankchow—an important station on the Nanking-Shanghai railway. As a result of the stubborn fighting in this district Fourth Army units crossed the railway and tore up the track for several miles.

THE CHINESE PEOPLE IN THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE JAPANESE INVADERS

TENS of millions of Chinese people are participating in the war against the Japanese. In spite of the heavy toll of the war, the will to resist Japanese aggression and the determination to defend the national independence of China at whatever cost are growing among the Chinese people.

In its war against the Chinese people Japanese imperialism is resorting to the most atrocious and barbarous methods, endeavoring to break the resistance of the population by inspiring them with a horror of war. In occupied districts the Japanese troops set fire to houses, ruthlessly shoot down the civil population, sack homes and rape the Chinese women. The civil population of defenseless towns and villages is being subjected to the most vicious bombardments.

In retaliation for the activities of the partisans the Japanese army ruthlessly razes entire towns and villages, shoots down the inhabitants who have remained behind, and all who live on either side of the railways and highroads.

In a certain small town of 3,000 inhabitants in Shansi province, the Japanese slaughtered over 2,000, including even children, two and three years old. In a village with a population of over one hundred the Japanese either slew or burned every person in the town, regardless of sex or age.

After the fall of Nanking the Japanese shot over 40,000 non-combatants. The raping of Chinese women is a usual occurrence whenever the Japanese seize a Chinese town or village. In Anki county, Hangchow district, the Japanese army of occupation ran amuck and burned down almost all the large villages. Over 200 villages were razed by them in the vicinity of Paoting, Hopeh Province. Equally common is the looting of the Japanese army. For six days the Japanese looted the small trading town of Ancho, Hopeh Province. All the shops and stores were robbed and wrecked. The Japanese carted away from the town 500,000 Mexican dollars' worth of goods, a large part of which they had to abandon on the road to save their skins from the partisans who gave pursuit.

Nanking, Hangchow and Shanghai were pillaged, and many monasteries, including some in the charge of foreign missionaries, were demolished. Whole trains and shiploads of booty are being shipped to Japan from Shanghai, Nanking and Taiyuan.

The shooting of non-combatants, the air raids, violence and looting of the Japanese army arouse the profound indignation and hatred for the Japanese plunderers among the Chinese people. In the districts near the front and in those occupied by the enemy, the population is rising against Japan, engaging in the most varied forms of struggle and displaying the greatest persistence and heroism.

A mass movement to defend the country is growing throughout China.

The part of vanguard in this movement is played by the working class, particularly the workers in the war industries and transport. Disregarding the danger and the sacrifices involved, the workers repair the railway lines and bridges destroyed by the bombardments, thus ensuring military transports for the Chinese army.

The workers of Shanghai, Shantung, Peiping and of a

number of railways in districts occupied by the enemy are voluntarily organizing partisan units and are active in the anti-Japanese mass organizations. During the defense of Shanghai the Shanghai workers organized units for assisting the Chinese army and actively helped them to defend the city. Though lacking in military experience, those units, at a critical moment in the fighting, independently attacked the enemy and captured its machine-gun positions.

The peasants in the war zone and in the districts behind the enemy's line are also taking an active part in the war of defense against the Japanese. In the war zone they perform work of the greatest importance, supplying the army with horses and carts, transporting ammunition, supplies, and the wounded, building fortifications and repairing roads. Large numbers of peasants join the partisan units and other armed organizations in the enemy's rear. In some provinces a widespread peasant movement has developed; the peasants undergo military training as is the case, for example, in the provinces of Kwangtung and Kwangsi. But in a number of other provinces this is not yet done to a sufficient extent.

The Chinese intelligentsia, particularly the students, are also playing a significant part in the anti-Japanese movement. The students are taking an active part in the organizations for national salvation, are conducting widespread agitational and organizational work to mobilize the masses, and are joining the Chinese army in groups. At the present time, large numbers of students who have enlisted in the national army are being trained as quickly as possible; some of them are also being trained for political work in the army, others have joined the ranks and the partisan units.

A special organization of cultural workers which includes university professors, writers, actors and teachers exists in Hankow. This organization publishes cheap mass editions of literature, also schoolbooks. Its agitators and theatrical

troupes tour the fronts giving lectures and presenting plays to the men.

The poor people of the towns are joining the army, particularly in the districts threatened by the Japanese invaders. The women, too, and even the children, are taking an active part in the anti-Japanese movement; they have organized large numbers of Units for Aiding the Front, and have collected gifts for the men; they are organizing medical service for the wounded, and traveling dramatic performances for agitational and educational purposes at the front. A Pioneers' dramatic circle was formed in Shanghai of the children of workers and poor people, school children between the ages of eight and eighteen; notwithstanding the danger involved, this circle visits the front, performing its agitational skits before the troops and the local population.

The workers, peasants and the petty-bourgeois sections of the town population are taking an active part in organizing armed resistance to the Japanese aggressors.

The national bourgeoisie of China has, since the beginning of the war of defense against Japan, been in favor of fighting the Japanese invaders. It desires victory over Japan, but lacks sufficient confidence in the possibility of a final victory. The Chinese bourgeoisie has lost many enterprises located in the big cities which were seized by the Japanese militarists and has suffered considerably from the pillaging by the Japanese army.

The Japanese are meeting with ever greater difficulties in finding the "personnel" for their puppet governments in the districts they occupy.

Even among the Chinese merchants, manufacturers and financiers the Japanese puppet-producers cannot find a single prominent personage willing to act as traitor to his country. The middle and petty landlords, under the stress of the barbarous policy pursued by Japanese imperialism, are now expressing their sympathy for the war against Japan,

and some of them are even supplying the partisan units with food. The Japanese imperialists, in their efforts to consolidate their domination in the regions they have seized, are looking for support among the reactionary landlords, part of the gentry, some of the old militarists, the mercenary officials and the declassed elements, making use of their Trotskyite agents for this purpose. In view of this, the Communist Party of China, which has the interests of the whole people at heart, is demanding a most determined struggle against all traitors and agents of the Japanese invaders.

The army and the civil population are displaying the greatest heroism and selfless devotion in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors. The Chinese army, in spite of its technical inferiority as compared with the Japanese, offered stubborn, heroic resistance to the Japanese attack in the bitter fighting for Shanghai, Nankow, Sinkou and Su-chow. The world knows of the single battalion—about 800 men—left in Shanghai during the evacuation of the Chinese forces to cover their retreat, ready to sacrifice itself to the last man. After the evacuation of the Chinese forces from Shanghai this battalion, surrounded by the enemy, held out for over a week of ceaseless fighting. The majority of this battalion succeeded in heroically breaking through the enemy ring. The splendid feats of Chinese airmen, of rank-and-file soldiers, of whole divisions and brigades are common knowledge.

The civil population too are fighting like heroes. In Tientsin a Chinese chauffeur who was taken prisoner by the Japanese and forced to drive a car under their orders, ran it into the river at the price of his life. In Shansi and Hopeh peasants, masquerading as women, lure Japanese soldiers to where the partisans are lying in ambush, or, after plying Japanese officers and soldiers with drink, seize and disarm them. These are not isolated instances; numerous

cases could be cited of the heroic struggle waged by the population in the districts occupied by the enemy.

The Chinese workers and white collar employees make monthly deductions from their pay for the national defense fund. Cases are known of Chinese citizens giving all they possess for the defense of the country: one rickshaw puller contributed a handful of dollars—all he had saved in three years. Chinese emigrants in America and other countries actively and systematically collect funds to help their country.

The Chinese people are realizing more and more profoundly the grave danger that threatens their country, they are coming to realize that the army alone is not enough to bring victory over the enemy. Resistance to the Japanese invaders is growing and so is the vigilance of the masses.

THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE TROTSKYITE AGENTS OF JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

OF ENORMOUS importance for the establishment of national unity is the consistent and determined struggle which the Communist Party of China is waging against the Trotskyite agents of Japanese imperialism. The Trotskyite bandits in China are directing their infamous activities against the unity of the country, against the anti-Japanese national united front, against collaboration between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang. The Trotskyite spies and diversionists have a number of times attempted to penetrate into the army, into the ranks of the Communist Party, the Kuomintang and other public organizations in order to destroy the national united front from within, to help their fascist masters.

The Trotskyite bandit Chang Mu-tao, who until his arrest

by the Chinese authorities was in the employ of the Japanese intelligence service and received from it a monthly allowance of fifty to a hundred thousand dollars for the Trotskyite gang, sent several Trotskyites into the Eighth Route Army to engage in espionage and disintegrating activities within it. However, the bandits were exposed. The investigation conducted in this case showed that the traitors did everything in their power to instigate desertion, to undermine the men's faith in the possibility of victory over Japan, to bribe the technical personnel of the army in order to obtain secret information on the disposition of the forces, and so on.

The Trotskyite spies also attempted to organize terrorist groups for the purpose of assassinating the leaders of the Eighth Route Army. The Japanese spies in the guise of petty traders often penetrate into the localities where units of the Eighth Army are stationed and supply the Japanese with information as to the movements of the forces, the numerical strength of the troops dispatched to the front, the available rolling stock, and so on.

In Tientsin the Japanese, with the assistance of the Chinese Trotskyites, established an espionage organization under the name of the "Eastern and Western Culture Society." In Kwangsi the Trotskyite traitors tried to prevent the dispatch of the provincial troops to the Shanghai front. In Hankow they made raids on the editor's office and printing shop of the Communist paper. Not far from Suchow, the Japanese set up a special unit of spies and diversionists who were to assist the Japanese troops in military operations and in undermining the Chinese rear. This unit was also led by Chinese Trotskyites, who attempted to establish contact with the Trotskyites in Hankow and Hongkong to secure certain information for espionage purposes. In Honan Province the Trotskyite Tsiang Lu-ying organized a bandit gang from among the riffraff and the Russian whiteguards

to fight against the Fourth People's Revolutionary Army.

In Canton the Japanese agents, in March, 1938, attempted to organize an uprising against the national government. The uprising was exposed in time and the conspirators arrested. The authorities also exposed several traitors who had signaled to Japanese planes during the air raids on Canton.

In Singapore the Trotskyite provocateurs are doing everything in their power to prevent the Chinese Defense Loan from being distributed among the large Chinese workers' population living there, because they know that the latter wholeheartedly support the struggle which their people are waging against the Japanese aggressors.

It is impossible to enumerate all the crimes of this contemptible band of underlings of Japanese imperialism.

The Communist Party and its press is playing an important part in exposing the Trotskyites as the direct agents of the Japanese aggressors, as vile traitors to their country. With the help of a number of indisputable facts the Communist Party of China has proved to the masses of the people that the Trotskyite bandits are traitors. The fact that Chang Mu-tao, the leader of the Trotskyite gang, was detained by the population and handed over to the authorities is clear proof that the masses of the people have begun a struggle against the Trotskyite traitors and fascist agents. Individual Trotskyite spies sent to the Eighth Army and to the Special District of the Chinese Republic were also exposed with the help of the men and of the local inhabitants.

The Trotskyite bandits in China are a handful of traitors and spies who have no roots among the people. But they are filled with hatred for the people and the republic and are ready to commit any crime. That is why the struggle against the Trotskyite bandits is one of the most decisive factors making for victory over the Japanese invaders.

At the insistence of the Communist Party and in accordance with the wishes of the masses of the people, the gov-

ernment has introduced punitive measures for corrupt officials, traitors and saboteurs in the government apparatus, which is also a considerable step forward in consolidating the unity of the Chinese people.

CHINA'S PROSPECTS IN THE WAR AGAINST JAPAN

THE longer the war drags on, the better will China be able to organize its forces, the greater will be its internal unity, the better will its forces be trained and equipped for the decisive conflict, and the greater will be the difficulties confronting Japan. Thus a long-drawn-out war is the key to China's victory over the Japanese aggressors.

A lengthy war will give China a number of advantages over the enemy. China possesses a vast territory, large natural resources and inexhaustible reserves of man-power. The fact that the Japanese have seized part of its territory and certain important centers has not disabled China from developing further armed resistance. The complex topographical conditions favor the development of a powerful partisan movement in the districts occupied by the Japanese. All the factors exist for increasing activity on the part of the population in this war of liberation, for ever greater internal unity and the creation of new forces and new reserves for a prolonged war.

In spite of its technical superiority, the Japanese army can retain in its hands only a narrow strip along the railways and certain large cities, in which the rule of the Japanese invaders is not stable. This is due to the fact that the Japanese army is waging a war on foreign and hostile territory and that its man-power reserves are limited. The longer and more scattered the line of the front, the more acutely is Japan bound to feel the lack of its man-power and material resources.

A lengthy war will utterly exhaust Japan's finances at a time when its dependence on imports of strategically necessary raw materials calls for large foreign currency reserves. In addition to the financial and economic tension, internal social contradictions and anti-war sentiments are growing in Japan among the population and in the army. Cases of reservists refusing to join up on mobilization are becoming more and more frequent. The wives and mothers of mobilized soldiers are protesting against the dispatch of their sons and husbands to the front.

These anti-war sentiments are having a profound effect on the morale of the Japanese army. Desertion is on the increase; there are frequent cases of large groups of soldiers refusing to leave for the front and of Japanese soldiers going over to the side of the Chinese army, sometimes in whole groups, taking their arms with them. These are now no longer isolated instances. There are scores of cases on record of Japanese soldiers who prefer to commit suicide rather than shed the blood of the Chinese people. A Japanese soldier by the name of Sikai who was subsequently killed at the front wrote home to his wife:

"I can't understand why I didn't receive your letters for such a long time. Over six months have passed since we were driven here. At first we thought, and that's what we were told, that after Shanghai would be taken we would all be sent home. But now nobody knows when we'll get back. The supplying of food to us has become far more difficult. We have to requisition it from the population. Many of my friends have been killed. God knows when it will all end."

Another Japanese soldier in a letter to his father wrote: "It's a cruel war! How much longer will it continue?"

Documents taken from the Japanese soldiers indicate that the Japanese army has already mobilized the sixth reserve.

The new replenishments, from the point of view of military and technical training, are considerably worse than the regular army units.

Very often leaflets published by the Communist Party of Japan, the Proletarian Party, the Young People's Party and other organizations are found on Japanese soldiers who are taken prisoner or have been killed. One of these leaflets states:

"More than 200,000 of our brothers have perished in the fields of Manchuria. They perished in the interests of the militarists, capitalists and landowners. We must not let ourselves be duped by the militarists and financiers. . . .

"Soldiers! Friends! The militarists are sending us to a sure death. We must rebel and in alliance with the Chinese soldiers crush our real enemies—the Japanese militarists and capitalists, and win eternal peace and liberty on the Far-Eastern Asiatic continent!"

Unwilling to fight, Japanese soldiers are escaping from the army to the foreign concessions, or, dressed in civilian garb, are hiding in the hills and villages. In the French Concession in Shanghai there are two hundred Japanese soldiers who deserted from the army. The district of Wusih numbers 300 deserters and in the Shanghai district as a whole this number swells to 1,500. Some who fail to desert commit suicide. When the Chinese troops captured Liyang they found in the local school the bodies of thirteen Japanese soldiers who had committed hari-kari. In Siehchiao twelve Japanese soldiers hanged themselves, in Tsiaochang-miao ten, in Nanyanchiao three, and so forth.

Several cases are also on file of anti-war actions among Japanese units. In the middle of July a Japanese unit revolted in Amoy. Street fighting took place between the revolting troops and the Japanese military police. On May 10, Colonels Yasida, Issino, Okadi and ten soldiers were

sentenced to be shot by court-martial for anti-war actions and "Communist propaganda." Since the beginning of the war 27,000 Japanese soldiers have been committed for trial for refusal to fight.

The heroic resistance of the Chinese people is having direct effect on the movements of other nations subjected by Japanese imperialism. The people of Korea and Formosa are gradually taking up the struggle for their national emancipation. Not so long ago Kao-fei, the leader of the Formosan workers, organized and led an uprising of 7,000 miners. As can be seen, the Japanese rear is checkered with mines which are gradually beginning to blow up.

A fact of considerable importance, one which serves to strengthen the foreign policy position of China, is that the forces of the democratic front, fighting for the cause of peace against fascism and war, are growing daily throughout the world, that at the head of this front stands the mighty Soviet Union—that great friend of the Chinese people, that bulwark of peace and democracy. The working masses throughout the world are expressing their solidarity with China, which is fighting for its national independence against the Japanese aggressors. They are rendering China considerable material assistance.

The contradictions within the imperialist camp enable the Chinese government to obtain the military supplies it needs from Great Britain, France, the U.S.A., and even from Japan's ally—Germany.

These are all very favorable circumstances for China. But the most important and decisive condition for victorious armed resistance on the part of the Chinese people is unity within the country, the mobilization of all of China's national forces.

We must not, however, close our eyes to the difficulties and dangers that confront the Chinese Republic in the war of defense that it is waging.

These difficulties are due mainly to the economic backwardness of China, which up to the present time has had no war industry of its own; to the need for rearming and reorganizing the huge Chinese army *in the midst of a war*; to the inertia of the government apparatus which has not yet been entirely overcome, and to the capitulatory tendencies of the pro-Japanese elements in certain circles of the ruling party—the Kuomintang.

The main task which confronts China today is to create and train new armed forces, to effect the unity of all the progressive forces of the people, to organize without delay a war industry and to improve the technical equipment of the national army as a whole as well as the partisan units.

The guarantee of the Chinese people's victory over the Japanese invaders lies in a determined struggle against all defeatist and capitulation views and sentiments, in overcoming possible vacillations in face of the inevitable difficulties, and in consolidating and extending the anti-fascist national united front. China has a long and difficult struggle ahead of her but an analysis of both combatant forces reveals that there can be no doubt of the ultimate victory of the Chinese people.

THE ANTI-JAPANESE NATIONAL UNITED FRONT AND ITS TASKS

THE anti-Japanese national united front, established on the initiative of the Communist Party, is the chief condition for victory over the Japanese aggressors and the transformation of China into an independent, free, democratic state.

Its backbone is the lasting collaboration between the two most important and influential parties in China—the Kuo-

mintang and the Communist Party. Established in 1937 under the conditions of the war of national liberation, the anti-Japanese national united front is the result of the unanimous demand of the whole of the people of China who are striving for the unity of the country and who have realized that in unity lies China's main strength. And in spite of the machinations of the enemies of the people of China—the Trotskyites and other traitors, these agents of Japanese imperialism—to undermine the united front, the united front is growing in strength and breadth. Many national organizations are now affiliated to the national united front. The establishment of the united front has put new life into the activities of hundreds of workers', peasants' and cultural organizations. The activities of these organizations are now directed towards the defense of the fatherland, the improvement of the well-being of the masses and the democratization of the country.

The anti-Japanese national united front in China is the offspring of the people. Its establishment was enthusiastically acclaimed by the population while its measures are being ardently adopted by all organizations throughout the country.

The history of the establishment of the national united front, the history of the relations of the two main parties—the Kuomintang and the Communist Party—is briefly as follows:

In September, 1937, the Communist Party of China published a proclamation announcing the collaboration of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party; it reorganized the Chinese Red Army into the Eighth Revolutionary People's Army and transformed the Soviet district of China into the Special District. After ten years of bloody war, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party once again joined in collaboration. But there is a difference between the collab-

oration of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang as it existed in the 1925-27 period of the Chinese Revolution and as it exists now.

Whereas during 1925-27 this collaboration was based on a joint struggle (at a certain stage) against the domination of imperialism and against feudalism within the country, the main purpose of the present agreement between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is to fight foreign aggression, the aggression of Japanese imperialism, for the national independence and integrity of China. The purpose of the present agreement is war against the foreign enemy, the Japanese aggressors.

The Kuomintang has passed through a number of stages in the process of its evolution. At the time when the Communist Party collaborated with it in 1925-27, the Kuomintang, as an organization, represented a bloc between the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie and the masses of workers and peasants. At that time the Kuomintang played a revolutionary part; it came close to the petty bourgeoisie and the working and peasant masses, which gradually ousted the influences of the landlord and militarist elements from its ranks. But after it receded from the revolution in 1927, the Kuomintang adopted the line of struggle against the Communist Party, the reactionary line of merging with the militarists and landlords, who began to play a dominant part in the Kuomintang, while the workers, peasants and considerable sections of the petty bourgeoisie left its ranks.

Later on, under the pressure of the masses of the people and the influence of the widespread national liberation movement which seized all the sections of the Chinese people, the Kuomintang in 1936 gradually began to resume the position of a struggle for national liberation. As a result of this change in its internal and foreign policy, and also of its collaboration with the Communist Party, the progressive sec-

tion of the Kuomintang came to realize the need for reorganizing the work of the latter, eliminating a number of serious defects in organization and effecting greater democracy within the party. The rank and file of the Kuomintang have given active expression to their demand for democratizing the party, removing the conservative and vacillating elements from its leadership and strengthening collaboration with the Communist Party and all anti-Japanese parties and groups.

The Communist Party of China has done its utmost to support the progressive elements of the Kuomintang and their efforts to purge the Kuomintang of degenerate feudal elements.

When the present war of defense began, the Kuomintang directed the central government of China, had a strong army and a large press. The Communist Party of China was in control of the territory of the Soviet District and guided the Chinese Red Army.

The Communist Party has developed both ideologically and organizationally since the revolution of 1925-27. Its political influence and prestige among the people of China have considerably grown and consolidated.

"During the fifteen years of its existence," wrote Comrade Dimitroff in August, 1936, "the Communist Party of China has grown up into a powerful revolutionary party, steeled in the fire of the Chinese revolution, into one of the best Sections of the Comintern. . . ." *

Its leadership has become stronger, the Party has become Bolshevized, it has mastered the new strategy and tactics ensuing from the decisions of the Seventh Congress of the Comintern and the actual situation in the country, and these factors have been of decisive importance for the developing

* Georgi Dimitroff, "The Fifteenth Anniversary of the Communist Party of China," *The Communist International*, No. 10, 1936.

and consolidating of the anti-Japanese national united front in existence today.

It is not only the workers and peasants who are taking part in the war against Japan, but also the petty bourgeoisie and the national big bourgeoisie. In concluding its agreement with the Kuomintang, the Communist Party was guided by the fundamental slogan: *"Everything must be subordinated to the task of resisting Japan."* All demands must be fixed in the light of this principal and basic task and must be subordinated to it. The Kuomintang and the Communist Party, joined in the national anti-Japanese united front, are acting on the basis of a common program, providing joint leadership and bearing joint responsibility. What they are striving for is not to undermine each other by mutual struggle, but, on the contrary, to facilitate each other, to avoid and mitigate any differences that may arise within the national united front. The Communist Party insists that all anti-Japanese parties and groups be enlisted in active work in the national united front.

The collaboration of the Communist Party and the Kuomintang is based on preserving the organizational independence of these parties and on freedom of criticism, the latter to be friendly and not hostile in character. The collaboration of the parties in the national united front is directed, on the one hand, against capitulation and compromise and, on the other, against sectarianism. It is on the basis of these principles that the Communist Party of China at the very beginning of the war of defense proposed collaboration to the Kuomintang, it is on the basis of these principles that it trains its members, and it is these principles that it disseminates in the press and in its work of agitation.

In its appeal of December, 1937, the Communist Party of China declared that the collaboration of the Communist Party with the Kuomintang will be a lasting one, that they

agree on collaboration not only for the time when resistance must be offered to the Japanese aggressors, but will continue to collaborate after victory over the Japanese invaders, in order by their joint efforts to build up a democratic China.

The Trotskyite bandits, under cover of demagogic phrases about unity, supported the proposal that the Communist Party be liquidated—a proposal which proceeded from certain reactionary and conservative elements. The Trotskyite traitors, those direct agents of Japanese imperialism, utilized for this work of provocation both avowed adherents of Japan and people with little understanding of politics, who **in their naiveté supposed that the merging of various parties and trends into the Kuomintang would increase China's fighting efficiency in the war against Japan.**

The Communist Party has exposed the provocation that underlies these attempts. Comrade Mao Tse-tung declared in one of his speeches that the attempt to abolish the Communist Party on the pretext of establishing unity in the country would actually throw China back to the precarious situation that existed before the war of defense began, before all the progressive national forces of China were united. He pointed out that the collaboration which exists between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang at the present time has brought about the unity of all the nation's forces, united for armed resistance to Japan; that the Communist Party is fighting to realize the Three People's Principles of Sun Yat-sen (nationalism, democracy and the well-being of the people), which, far from contradicting communism, are fully compatible with the convictions of the Communist Party.

Mao Tse-tung said:

“We are striving for the realization of communism, but at the present stage we are carrying out the national-democratic revolution. And that is why the Com-

munist Party has advanced the slogan of setting up an anti-Japanese national united front and a united democratic republic. As for realizing the Three People's Principles, the Communists fourteen years ago, at the first Congress of the Kuomintang, together with the Kuomintang, adopted a decision that they should be realized, and these principles were being realized in the country in 1925-27 both by the Communists and by the Kuomintang. But unfortunately the rupture of the united front in 1927 delayed the realization of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles for ten years.

"The policy which the Communists have pursued during these ten years corresponds on the whole to the revolutionary spirit of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. The Communists have never for a moment abandoned the struggle against imperialism—and that today is consistent nationalism; the Soviets of People's Deputies are models of consistent democracy; the agrarian revolution is undoubtedly one of the conditions for improving the welfare of the people."

Mao Tse-tung went on to explain on behalf of the whole Party why the Communists have proceeded from the work of organizing Soviets to the slogan of a democratic republic:

"The Chinese Communists, with the principles of Marxism as their basis, developed a general program of the first united front, a program of struggle for the realization of Sun Yat-sen's Three People's Principles, and that is why the Communists duly proposed, at the moment when the enemy invaded our territory, when the country's position became most difficult, that a national democratic united front be established, for that was the only means of saving the country from doom."

True to the teachings of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, the Communist Party of China is resolutely and consistently fighting for the realization of the policy of the anti-Japanese national united front, a policy which ensues from China's

present-day situation and conforms to Sun Yat-sen's Three Principles.

As far back as 1912, Lenin, in an article entitled "Democracy and Narodism in China," exposed the elements of Narodist utopia in Sun Yat-sen's teachings and platform, but at the same time he pointed out their vast progressive significance for such a country as China.

"A militant, sincere spirit of democracy," wrote Lenin, "pervades every line of Sun Yat-sen's platform. It reveals a thorough appreciation of the inadequacy of a 'racial' revolution. It does not betray a trace of the non-political spirit or of indifference towards political liberty, or any admission of the idea that Chinese autocracy is compatible with Chinese 'social reform,' with Chinese constitutional reforms, etc. It is the expression of complete democracy and the demand for a republic. It directly presents the question of the conditions of the masses, of the mass struggle; it expresses warm sympathy for the toilers and the exploited, belief in the justice of their cause and in their strength.

"What we have before us is a really great ideology of a really great people, which is able not only to bemoan its age-long slavery, not only to dream of liberty and equality, but is able also to *fight* the age-long oppressors of China." *

Lenin characterized Sun Yat-sen as a revolutionary democrat full of nobleness and heroism. Sun Yat-sen himself fought for a united front between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. As far back as the First Congress of the Kuomintang in January, 1924, Sun Yat-sen insisted on the unity of action of these two political parties. He stressed the necessity of this unity in his political testament to the

* Lenin, "Democracy and Narodism in China," *Selected Works*, Vol. IV, p. 306, International Publishers, New York.

Kuomintang. The Chinese Communists, adhering to the best democratic traditions of their people, are striving their utmost so that the Three Principles of Sun Yat-sen be really and consistently carried out. They remember the words of Comrade Stalin that

“ . . . the strength of the national movement is determined by the degree to which the wide strata of the nation . . . participate in it.” *

The policy of the Communist Party of China in establishing a wide anti-Japanese national front met with support among most of the progressive elements in the country and within the Kuomintang.

The recent Special Congress of the Kuomintang, held in March, 1938, and the session of the National Political Council which was held some time later, marked a step forward in matters of foreign and home policy and in the reorganization of the Kuomintang. The Congress proclaimed continued determined resistance to Japanese aggression, and adopted a decision on carrying out a number of democratic measures—freedom of speech, of the press and of assembly, and the right of association—provided these activities were in no way detrimental to the conduct of the war against Japan. The Congress also outlined measures for reorganizing the Kuomintang and adopted a decision of prime importance—the establishing of a National Political Council. The decision adopted by the Congress on organizing a national revolutionary Chinese Youth League was also of great importance.

No doubt exists that the measures outlined by the congress of the Kuomintang and the first session of the National Political Council will ensure the further growth of the forces

* Joseph Stalin, *Marxism and the National and Colonial Question*, p. 15, International Publishers, New York.

of the great Chinese people, on condition, of course, that they be resolutely carried out.

As the war against Japan proceeds, the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will grow and develop. The first year of the war has clearly proved that only by collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will China be able to offer successful resistance to Japanese aggression.

In his appeal to the people and in the interview he gave to foreign correspondents on July 7, Chiang Kai-shek made a number of weighty statements with regard to the necessity of a still closer understanding between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in the interests of uniting and saving the country. A split between these two parties would mean inevitable defeat for China in the war against Japan. The Japanese imperialists, the pro-Japanese in China, the traitors and Trotskyite bandits are doing their utmost to undermine the unity and solidarity of China, and, first and foremost, to abolish the collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Japanese imperialism is straining every nerve to undermine this collaboration. It is therefore the duty of the Chinese people to strengthen to the utmost the solidarity of the national united front and to manifest greater vigilance to the wrecking work of the agents of the Japanese imperialists.

The Communist Party of China is centering its attention primarily on organizing the broad masses—that solid foundation of the united front.

Owing to the establishment of the anti-Japanese national united front, the Communist Party was enabled to revive legal activities in a number of provinces and cities of China. The Party organizations in the provinces of Shansi, Shensi, Hopeh, Shantung, Honan, Kwangtung, Hupeh and Szechwan are very active, and often play the leading part in the partisan movement and the mass organizations. At the pres-

ent time the Communist Party is giving special attention to consolidating its mass work among the workers and to extending the influence of the national united front to the trade union organizations. The Red trade unions are now joining the Kuomintang trade unions and the Communists are carrying on much agitation and explanatory work to recruit new members for these unified trade unions.

Communists are working actively in the rear of the Japanese—in the districts they have occupied. In these districts too the Communist organizations are following the line of a national united front, organizing student unions, women's organizations, Societies of National Salvation, various other mass organizations and armed defense units.

The Communist Party is continuing its persistent struggle for purging the government apparatus of pro-Japanese traitors, for enlisting the progressive forces of the country in active work. These means will serve to improve relations between the central government and the local authorities and to bring the government even closer to the broad masses of the population.

Successful collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party makes possible the further democratization of the country and improved functioning of the government apparatus. All these activities of the national anti-Japanese united front are subordinated to a single goal, a single task—strengthening the defensive efficiency of China, welding the army with the people, building up reserves, training qualified and politically reliable cadres for the army.

The basis of the anti-Japanese national united front in China is extending more and more, the anti-Japanese movement is drawing in ever new masses of the population. There can be no doubt that the longer the war of defense drags out, the greater will be the will of the Chinese people to resist, the greater will be its organized forces.

Not to retreat before difficulties, but to organize ever new

forces of the nation so as to achieve complete victory over the Japanese vultures—such is the main slogan of the Chinese masses.

* * *

IN THE Far East of Asia, and in the Far West of Europe—in China and in Spain—the flames of war are raging, kindled by the fascist pirates. This is a war of the fascist brigands against the liberty and independence of the peoples, against universal peace.

The Spanish and Chinese peoples—the vanguard in the struggle against world reaction and fascism—are courageously defending not only their own national independence but also the cause of the whole of advanced and progressive humanity. On their side is the ardent sympathy of the broad masses of the people, of all honest people throughout the world. Fascism is plotting ever new villainies against the people.

“If the Japanese fascist militarists succeeded in subjugating the people of China,” states the manifesto of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the Communist International, “it would signify an unparalleled intensification and expansion of fascist aggression both in Asia and the Pacific Ocean as well as in Europe and in other parts of the world. On the other hand the victory of China will be a strong blow at the predatory plans of all fascist aggressors. Thus the war of liberation of the Chinese people is a vital, integral part of the general struggle of the world proletariat and the whole of progressive mankind against the tyranny of barbarian fascism.”

The war of national liberation which the Chinese people are waging against the Japanese aggressors is already in its second year. Hundreds of thousands of citizens of China

have given their lives defending their country from the depredations of these vandals. The fruits of many centuries of labor have been destroyed by the Japanese invaders. In the occupied districts the Japanese have instituted a reign of terror, of bloody carnage and mass slaughter.

But during this year of war the Chinese people have achieved what they lacked most—unity, the rallying of their forces. The experience of the past year has shown that the Japanese invaders will not achieve what they set out to do—to turn China into their colony.

“The country is now united,” declares Mao Tse-tung, “and we enjoy the sympathy and support of the democratic forces throughout the world. . . . Our forces, our might will undoubtedly grow in the process of the struggle. . . . China can never be destroyed no matter what forces Japan puts into the field.”

The Chinese people feel the support of the working people and all sincere democrats throughout the world. China—confident in its strength—is fighting for liberty, for the liberty of the whole of mankind.

The further support of China on the part of the whole of advanced and progressive mankind will not only inspire the people of China still more and serve as a pledge of the victory of China, but also be a valuable contribution to the cause of the struggle for peace throughout the world.

APPENDIX

INTERVIEW GIVEN BY MAO-TSE TUNG TO MR. WANG KUNG-TAH,
CORRESPONDENT OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

IN FEBRUARY, 1938, Mr. Wang Kung-tah, a correspondent of the American Associated Press Agency, arrived in Yen-an and obtained an interview with Mao Tse-tung. The text of the interview, as recorded by Wang Kung-tah and approved by Mao Tse-tung, was published in the *Chiehfang (Liberation)*, the organ of the Communist Party of China, in its issue of May 5, 1938, No. 32.

Question: At the present moment many people regard the prospects of China waging a war of defense with pessimism. What is your opinion?

Answer: I am inclined to be optimistic. Reverses and successes are bound to alternate in a war of defense: first there may be defeats, then victory is won. The side that is weak at the outset later proves to be strong—such is the usual, established trend of development.

During the first period of the war between Japan and China we could describe the general situation by saying that Japan was strong and China was weak. But from now on the position will be different: Japan's weak spots will gradually be disclosed and will grow, while China's forces will gradually increase and consolidate. Japan just now is again resorting to floating a loan. In the six months that it waged war in 1937 Japan spent 2,200,000,000 yen; it is said that this year Japan will spend another 4,000,000,000 yen, but actually this sum will probably be greater. This is

greatly undermining the national strength of Japan even now. Her international credits are falling, her state loans are depreciating, her plan of "a swift war and swift victory" has met with defeat.

The position at the front. China's front extends from Hangchow to Paoteh—a distance of several thousand li.* The Japanese are short of forces to defend the front. Thus the further they penetrate into China, *i.e.*, the longer the line of the front extends, the weaker the Japanese forces become. Japan has seized a number of railway lines in China, but it has to post troops to guard every station. Japan has already mobilized a third of its military forces for the war of aggression in China. If it wants to seize Hankow, Canton and other cities it will have to mobilize at least several hundred thousand more men, and then its position will be very precarious. This is the more inevitable since Japan is faced not only with China. The accentuation of Japan's international and internal contradictions is also a factor that will help to send Japan inevitably to her doom.

Question: Do you consider that China's forces can constantly increase?

Answer: Judging from the experience of the last few months, we can say that if we succeed in correctly coordinating three types of war—tactical, trench and partisan warfare—the enemy's forces will inevitably find themselves in a very difficult position. In my opinion, what we must do now is organize a few more strong route armies numbering two to three hundred thousand picked men, deliver crushing blows to the advance guards of the enemy with the aim of destroying them by maneuvering tactics; in addition eighty to ninety thousand regular army men should be assigned to form twenty or thirty well-trained partisan regiments. Each

* A li is equivalent to about half a mile.—*Ed.*

of these highly trained regiments could consist of three or four thousand men.

These regiments should be given resolute and self-reliant commanders, political work in them should be improved, and they should be dispatched to the front between Hangchow and Paoteh. These regiments must use the breaches that would form in twenty or thirty spots along such an enormously extended front, in order to penetrate into the rear of the Japanese army. And if they act correctly, they will succeed in uniting with the population and setting up innumerable small partisan units; they will be able to establish anti-Japanese bases in the enemy's rear, rouse tens of millions of people, and provided they correctly coordinate their actions with the flanking operations of the regular armies, create insuperable obstacles for the enemy.

As regards trench warfare, it cannot serve as the main form of operations at the present time on account of our inadequate equipment. We must build up a defense industry of our own, so as to produce heavy armaments and anti-aircraft guns ourselves. At the same time we must take every step to import armaments from abroad, for they are indispensable in trench warfare. And we must wage energetic trench warfare, both defensive and offensive in nature.

Some people say that we advocate only partisan warfare. That is nonsense. We have always stood for coordinating tactical, trench and partisan warfare. At the present time tactical warfare is our main form of operations and the other two are auxiliary. In the future we must work hard to coordinate tactical with trench warfare. Partisan warfare has always been and will be an auxiliary form. But in a national liberation war in a semi-colonial country, particularly such a country as China, with its vast territory, partisan warfare will undoubtedly form a very important part of strategy.

The country is now united, and we enjoy the sympathy and support of the democratic forces throughout the world. But the unity we have achieved is not yet sufficient; we must consolidate and extend it. Increasing the country's military and political might is an indispensable condition for victory. Our forces, our might will undoubtedly grow in the process of the struggle. Such are the bright prospects we see before us.

Question: Does the Eighth Route Army stand in danger of being entirely surrounded by the Japanese and would not the latter in this way be able to rout or even utterly destroy it?

Answer: At the present time the Eighth Route Army is waging a widespread partisan struggle in the following four large districts:

The first district covers the locality traversed by four railways—the Peiping-Hankow, Peiping-Suiyuan, Chengting-Taiyuan and Tatung-Puchow railways—and the regions adjoining it on the north and east. This district is inhabited by a population of 12,000,000, who are fighting vigorously against Japanese imperialism. They are all closely connected with the Eighth Army. This district is one of the most important centers of resistance to Japan, and there the Eighth Army is already firmly established. At present the enemy is intensifying offensive operations in this district, but nevertheless it will not be able to dislodge the Eighth Army, let alone destroy it. A number of units of the Eighth Army acting independently are already approaching the region of the Tientsin-Pukow railway.

The second district covers the northwestern part of Shansi—the districts to the south of the Peiping-Suiyuan railway, to the west of the northern sector of the Tatung-Puchow railway, and to the east of the Hwang-ho River.

The third district covers the southeastern part of Shansi and the southwestern part of Hopeh Province, that is, the

districts lying between the Peiping-Hankow, Chengting-Taiyuan and Tatung-Puchow railways.

The fourth district lies in the southwestern part of Shansi Province.

The Eighth Army everywhere acts in close contact with the local population and constantly cuts the lines of communication in the rear of the Japanese troops. It has already won a large number of major and minor victories and has considerably reduced the enemy's offensive force. In these districts China has lost only a number of railways and certain cities, retaining the rest. This example graphically proves that if it adheres to this method of warfare China can never be destroyed no matter what forces Japan puts into the field. The districts now occupied by the Eighth Army will continue to serve as a powerful center for launching a counter-offensive against the Japanese army and for a struggle to retrieve China's lost territory.

Question: Do you think that the present collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party will be lasting?

Answer: Yes, I do. The split that took place between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party in 1927 was against the Communist Party's will. The Communist Party never wanted a split with the Kuomintang. During the last ten years, the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and the entire Chinese nation have been taught by bitter experience where division of forces leads. This experience will undoubtedly help us to become still more united. The purpose of our present and future collaboration is a joint struggle against Japanese aggression and joint work in developing the country. If we observe these conditions, if the party with which we now have friendly relations is as sincere as ourselves, our collaboration, controlled by all the people of China, will naturally be of a lasting nature.

Question: In its declaration on the situation in China the

Communist Party proclaimed that the purpose of collaboration between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party is not only to wage a joint struggle against Japanese aggression but also joint work in developing the country after victory over the aggressors has been achieved. The question arises, however, how two parties can collaborate in developing the new state if they represent two different classes.

Answer: China is a semi-colonial country, its existence as a nation is endangered. Nay, more, China is faced with the danger of being turned into a colony of Japanese imperialism. And though different parties represent different classes, their situation under the prevailing conditions is alike. As a result they can collaborate not only in the struggle against the Japanese aggressors, but in developing the country as well. However, their collaboration must be based on a definite program. It must be based on principle, and productive of results, not forced and formal. No political party following definite principles would allow that. Collaboration based on a definite program and principles resembles the heartfelt friendship of genuine friends. Only such a heartfelt friendship can be lasting.

Question: How do you picture the democratic republic advocated by the Communist Party?

Answer: In the democratic republic which the Communist Party advocates, parliament will be elected by our people, who refuse to be colonial slaves. Elections will be based on universal suffrage without any restrictions. Ours will be a democratic state. In broad outline it will be that state on whose establishment Sun Yat-sen insisted long ago. It is along these lines that the Chinese state must develop.

Question: Is the Communist Party satisfied with the present central government? Does it consider a provisional National Assembly necessary?

Answer: We support the present central government since

it is pursuing a determined policy of struggle against Japanese aggression and is heading armed resistance to Japan. But we hope that this government will be extended and enlarged, and that certain necessary reforms will be carried out in its home policy so that this policy may even more effectively further the interests of the war of defense. We have proposed the convocation of a provisional National Assembly, advocated in his time by Sun Yat-sen, since we think that it would further national unity and would increase our forces in the war of national defense. We are ready to do everything that really answers the interests of the war of defense.

Question: Is the Communist Party of China directing the struggle against Japan waged by the volunteer army of the three northeastern provinces (Manchuria)?

Answer: It is true that the Communist Party of China has established close contact with the volunteer army operating in the northeastern provinces of China. Thus, for instance, Yang Tsin-yiu, Chao, Shan Chi, Li Kun-kuen and other prominent leaders of the volunteer army are Communists. The successes they have achieved in organizing determined resistance to Japan are generally known. In these provinces too a national united front is now being realized. Besides the Communists there are also other groupings—various military units and mass organizations. They have already united on the basis of a common program of action.

Question: What is your general opinion of the position adopted by the U.S.A. with regard to the Japano-Chinese war?

Answer: The support that democracy in the U.S.A. is giving the cause of international peace, the condemnation of fascism by President Roosevelt, the sympathetic attitude of the American papers towards the resistance that China is

offering to Japan and, in particular, the support the masses of the American people are giving the Chinese people in their struggle against Japan—all this we welcome and are grateful for to the American people. But we hope that the U.S.A. will go further, that it will unite with other states to wage a practical struggle against aggressors. It is time for China, the U.S.A. and all other states fighting against aggressors to unite for the purpose of resisting the enemies of universal peace.

DECLARATION BY COMMUNISTS, MEMBERS OF THE NATIONAL
POLITICAL COUNCIL OF CHINA

THE *Hsin Hua Jih Pao* has published a letter by Mao Tse-tung, Wang Ming, Tsing Pan-sing, Lin Chu-han, Wu Yui-chan, Tung Pi-wu and Teng Yin-chao, the Communist Party of China's representatives on the National Political Council.

The letter states:

“We, seven members of the Communist Party, have been approved as members of the National Political Council. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has sanctioned our acceptance of the government appointment. The establishment of the National Political Council during the war of liberation evinces that the political life of China is progressing towards democracy and that the united front of the parties and the people is developing still further. Although the Council, both in the method whereby it was established and in its composition, is not yet an absolutely representative body of the people, nevertheless, its authority and functions in uniting all the forces for armed resistance

to the enemy show that in its political life China is more and more effectively developing as a democracy.

"We Communists, having in mind the possibility of developing the Council into a genuine body of people's representatives, will enthusiastically and sincerely participate in its work. We presume that our active participation in the Council will facilitate strengthening the forces of defense of the Wuchang cities (Hankow, Hanyang and Wuchang).

"The purpose of the Communist Party of China in participating in the Council is to collaborate with the Kuomintang and other parties and groups in order to carry out the concrete proposals and measures which aim at achieving complete victory in the war of national liberation. The representatives of the Communist Party will cooperate with other parties and groups so as to defeat the Japanese invaders and create the foundation of an independent, free and happy new China.

"In order to achieve this aim the fighting capacity of the army at the front must be strengthened and guerilla warfare conducted on a still larger scale. The political apparatus must be reorganized, the formation of popular organizations in the various provinces must be encouraged, the masses must be organized and mobilized in order to take an active part in the armed resistance. In the sphere of the national economy: national defense industries must be established rapidly, finances must be improved, industrial output increased and effective measures must be adopted to improve the conditions of life of the people. The growth and consolidation of the anti-Japanese united front will depend on the application of all these measures."

In conclusion the letter states:

"The Communist members of the Council do not repudiate responsibility on the pretext that the members of the Council are not elected by the people. We realize deeply

that the members of the Council are the servants of the people, consequently we will resolutely strive to realize the desires, hopes and demands of the people of China. The unanimous demand of the people is that national unity be strengthened and the Japanese invaders driven out of China. We hope that our fellow countrymen will assist us and criticize us if we commit any mistakes. We hope that all the members of the Council will fulfill the desires of our people."

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