



1969

## Liu Shao-Ch'i and "People's War": A Report on the Creation of Base Areas in 1938

Henry G. Schwarz

Western Washington University, [schwarz@wwu.edu](mailto:schwarz@wwu.edu)

Follow this and additional works at: [https://cedar.wwu.edu/history\\_facpubs](https://cedar.wwu.edu/history_facpubs)

 Part of the [Asian History Commons](#)

---

### Recommended Citation

Schwarz, Henry G., "Liu Shao-Ch'i and "People's War": A Report on the Creation of Base Areas in 1938" (1969). *History Faculty and Staff Publications*. 42.  
[https://cedar.wwu.edu/history\\_facpubs/42](https://cedar.wwu.edu/history_facpubs/42)

This Book is brought to you for free and open access by the History at Western CEDAR. It has been accepted for inclusion in History Faculty and Staff Publications by an authorized administrator of Western CEDAR. For more information, please contact [westerncedar@wwu.edu](mailto:westerncedar@wwu.edu).

**Liu Shao-Ch'i and "People's War":  
A Report on the Creation of  
Base Areas in 1938**

**Henry G. Schwarz**

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, EAST ASIAN SERIES  
RESEARCH PUBLICATION, NUMBER THREE

CENTER FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES  
THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

**Liu Shao-Ch'i and "People's War":  
A Report on the Creation of  
Base Areas in 1938**

**Henry G. Schwarz**

INTERNATIONAL STUDIES, EAST ASIAN SERIES  
RESEARCH PUBLICATION, NUMBER THREE

CENTER FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES  
THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

COPYRIGHT © 1969

CENTER FOR EAST ASIAN STUDIES  
THE UNIVERSITY OF KANSAS

Library of Congress catalog card number 74-627561

All rights reserved

*Manufactured in the United States of America*

Sole distributors in the USA & Canada

PARAGON BOOK GALLERY, LTD.  
14 East 38th Street  
New York, N.Y. 10016



## Foreword

This publication has two purposes. First, it presents an important document on the problems facing the Chinese Communists in creating resistance centers behind enemy lines during the early months of the war against Japan and the methods they used in dealing with those problems. The document is a report by Liu Shao-ch'i on the creation of Chin-Ch'a-Chi, formally the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border region, and other resistance centers behind Japanese lines. It was said to have been first published in the *Ming-jen chiangyen chi* (*A Collection of Lectures by Important Men*) (Yenan: K'ang Ta Political Department, March 20, 1939). It was reprinted in Chunghua minkuo k'aiquo wu-shih nien wenhsien pientsuan weiyüanhui, *Kungfei huokuo shihliao huipien* (*A Compendium of Materials on the Betrayal of the Nation by the Chinese Communists*) (Taipei, 1964), III, 294-315). Although I have not seen the original, a careful check has satisfied me that the Nationalist reprint is probably genuine. Second, the publication presents an essay which attempts to place the document in its historical setting.

My thanks go to Donald Klein for many helpful suggestions and criticisms, to my colleagues in the history department at Kansas who as members of the "Hatchet Club" collectively dissected an earlier draft, and to Miss Angela Fitzgerald and Robert Friesner for proofreading my manuscript. All have contributed importantly to this publication, but none shares my responsibility for any remaining errors.

HENRY G. SCHWARZ

Bellingham, Washington  
November 12, 1969

# Contents

Foreword .....	iii
<i>Part A: Essay</i>	
The Document and Its Significance .....	1
The Conditions .....	3
The Man .....	20
<i>Part B: Document</i>	
I. The Anti-Japanese National United Front in North China .....	31
II. Establishing Anti-Japanese Bases .....	36
a. The feasibility of establishing anti-Japanese bases and the future .....	36
b. How to establish anti-Japanese bases .....	39
III. Methods of Dealing With the Traitor Governments .....	45
IV. Propaganda Work Toward Enemy Troops ....	49
V. The Mass Movement .....	50
a. Labor unions .....	52
b. Peasant associations .....	53
c. Youth organizations .....	54
d. Women's national salvation organizations	54
e. Merchants' national salvation organizations	54
Glossary .....	59

## **Part A:**

### **ESSAY**

#### *The Document and Its Significance*

The rise of Communism in China covered a period of almost thirty years. If the student of modern China attempted to determine which single event or series of events during this period had been the most formative for the post-1949 leadership, he would be faced with a difficult choice. Some scholars might still feel that the civil war from 1946 to 1949 largely determined the shape of the post-1949 leadership. This view could be based primarily either on an alleged American failure to help the Nationalist government sufficiently (the "American loss of China" thesis) or on Chinese domestic conditions. Others might argue that the Communist movement was shaped in the 1920's by Comintern directives and by the vicissitudes of the alliance with the Kuomintang into a mold which has remained effective until the present. Still another interpretation holds that the formation of so-called Soviet bases in southern China around 1930 was the beginning of a distinctively indigenous form of Communism that has been the primary shaper of the present-day leadership in mainland China. Finally, there is the view that the war against Japan was the most decisive factor. Each of these interpretations has considerable merit because each of these events has manifestly contributed to the nature and orientation of the post-1949 leadership.

My own view is that the period of the war against Japan has had a greater and more lasting impact on the nature of the Chinese Communist leadership and on the policies and administration of the mainland since 1949 than any other event or combination of events before 1949. During the war, the Communists had established several outer base areas behind Japanese lines (see below).<sup>1</sup> The leaders of each base area formed small cohesive groups which changed little in membership during a long period of time (eight years), and shared extraordinary hardships. The cohesiveness and the length of time, if not the degree of

hardship, were unprecedented in the history of Chinese Communism. They were the ingredients of clusters of friendship, trust, and loyalty that were to persist long after the war.

Very little is known about the formation of outer base areas. The few scholarly studies touching upon Chin-Ch'a-Chi, which was the first outer base area formed in the winter of 1937-38, refer to periods either before or after its formation. Lyman Van Slyke in his study of the United Front, and Donald Gillin in his portrayal of Yen Hsi-shan, discuss to some extent the preparations for the coming war made by the Communists and by other anti-Japanese political forces in Shansi in 1936 and early 1937.<sup>2</sup> Eyewitness accounts such as Harrison Forman's and Jack Belden's cover a much later period—the final stages of the war and the post-war period. Their descriptions of the formation of Chin-Ch'a-Chi are *ex post facto* accounts based on interviews with prominent Communist leaders.<sup>3</sup> To the best of my knowledge, the only contemporary though unofficial accounts of the early months of Chin-Ch'a-Chi have been by the non-Communist newspaper reporter, Chou Li-po, and by the American military observer, Evans Carlson.<sup>4</sup>

Liu Shao-ch'i's report, as it was published by the political department of K'ang Ta in March, 1939 and then reprinted by the Nationalists, seems to be a verbatim record. It is not, therefore, well organized, as the reader quickly recognizes, and the numbering of chapters, sections, and paragraphs was so confused that I have taken the liberty of editing and polishing it. It is obvious that Liu had very little time to prepare a well-organized report and no time at all to edit it for publication after its oral presentation to the students of K'ang Ta. As shown later (see pp. 21-22), Liu was almost constantly on the move after the outbreak of the war. He went to Yen-an several times to attend important conferences, but as soon as his business there was finished, he returned to the various missions he had behind enemy lines during the war. The hectic and hazardous nature of Liu's wartime activities clearly made it difficult for him to find time to edit this important report. Perhaps this also explains



why his report was not immediately published in a central organ such as *Chiehfang* (Liberation), but, after a delay of one year, in the *Ming-jen chiangyen chi*, an organ of K'ang Ta, the school where he presented his report.

The document's importance can hardly be overstated. It is the only extant official contemporary account of the problems and methods of creating outer base areas. It is not a later revision, as occurs all too commonly among the Chinese Communists and which, as demonstrated in cases where revised texts have been compared with the originals, can differ significantly from the originals in both form and substance. Nor are later official statements on the problems and methods of building outer base areas as detailed and comprehensive as Liu's report.

The document also raises questions about Liu Shao-ch'i's position in the early phases of the war against Japan. These questions have become crucially important during the past two years because the "Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution," as directed by the Mao group, has sought to destroy Liu Shao-ch'i's tremendous influence within the Party and the government.

We shall now turn to a brief discussion of the conditions in which the outer areas were created and of the man and his position within the Chinese Communist movement.

### *The Conditions*

In order better to understand the problems facing the Chinese Communists in the formation of outer base areas, a few words must be said about political and social conditions prevailing in China, particularly in North China, before the outbreak of the war against Japan. However, only the barest sketch of some of the most important characteristics of the Chinese state and society is possible within the scope of this essay.<sup>5</sup>

China, on the eve of the war against Japan, remained a patchwork of regional powers for four reasons. First, the Kuomintang, which had been the main force of the Northern Expedition and was essentially the sole political force behind the national government, had purchased its victory over the Peking warlord

coalition with political concessions to other warlords who had participated in the Northern Expedition.<sup>6</sup> Second, the Northern Expedition never touched vast areas of China, including the entire western half of the country and Manchuria. Third, the national government, once installed in Nanking, never could muster enough military force to cancel its political obligations to all regional leaders of China. Fourth, there was little popular identification with any government, central or regional.

As in other traditional societies, the vast majority of the people lived in particularistic social contexts that were centered on the family and seldom went beyond the county. The national government (or any regional government, for that matter) was not part of that particularistic world and thus not "real." As Barnett illustrates, as late as 1948 in Szechuan, where the national government had resided for six years (from 1938 to 1946), common people had never heard of Mao Tse-tung, and Chiang Kai-shek was just a name to them.<sup>7</sup> Only students and a relatively few other politically conscious persons took an active interest in national affairs. They probably did not constitute more than ten per cent of the population. Moreover, many of these members of the intellectual elite of China had become so frustrated by and disgusted with political disunity that they could not be enlisted by any of the existing governments. They disengaged from and participated in political affairs only sporadically and negatively, as in demonstrations and boycotts.

North China, and particularly Shansi province, where much of the nucleus of the future Chin-Ch'a-Chi base area was located, was disunited for all four reasons. Yen Hsi-shan had cooperated with the Kuomintang during the latter stages of the Northern Expedition. In fact, his troops were the first to enter Peking where, until then, the warlord coalition had its internationally recognized "national" government. His own province of Shansi was never touched by the Kuomintang troops during the Northern Expedition. Chiang Kai-shek never had enough military strength to subject Shansi to central control until the eve of the war against Japan. By then, other conditions had emerged that

made military force ineffectual if not irrelevant in subjecting Shansi to central government control (see below).

Popular attitudes toward politics and toward the various governments were even more sharply polarized in North China than in the rest of the country. North China had more politically conscious people than any other region. Two major reasons accounted for this difference.

First, the country's greatest universities and colleges were in Peking. The students of Peking and Tsinghua Universities and of dozens of other smaller schools in Peking and Tientsin followed the example set by their predecessors who had staged the great May Fourth Movement in 1919 in protest against what they had considered the "sell-out" of China at the Versailles Conference. Now, in the 1930's, the students in Peking once again seized the leadership of a movement. They wanted to arouse the national government and the people to resist further Japanese encroachments. They had a large and receptive audience in North China because of the great concentration of large urban centers there. In 1930 there were eighteen cities with over 100,000 inhabitants in North China compared to thirty-two in the rest of the country.<sup>8</sup>

Second, until the outbreak of the war, North China was the only region which was directly exposed to the Japanese threat. The Japanese Kuantung Army had occupied all of Manchuria in 1931. It established a puppet regime called Manchukuo and installed the last Ch'ing emperor, Aisin-Gioro P'u-i, as "chief of state." In subsequent years, the Japanese sought to create several buffer regimes between Manchukuo and the rest of China. The Peking-Tientsin area was neutralized by agreement with the Kuomintang government (The Tangku Truce of May 25, 1933), by which the latter promised to withdraw its troops from that area. However, the Japanese succeeded only partially in filling the vacuum. They tried to set up an autonomous government for the five provinces of Hopei, Chahar, Suiyüan, Shantung, and Shansi. Only the East Hopei Autonomous Council



under General Yin Ju-keng materialized from the Japanese efforts.

Along the northern periphery of North China, bordering on the Gobi desert, the Nationalist government attempted to keep the Mongols loyal by forming, in the spring of 1934, the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Political Council (*Neimeng tífang tzu-chih chengwu hui*).<sup>9</sup> This council, under the leadership of Prince Te, was soon infiltrated by Japanese agents who succeeded in winning over Prince Te. By the winter of 1936-37, Prince Te entered an alliance with the puppet regime in Manchukuo. Mongol troops with Japanese assistance clashed with Chinese forces in western Suiyüan and threatened to invade Shansi. Although the forces of Prince Te were pushed back to eastern Chahar, the threat of pro-Japanese Mongol secessionism did not diminish. In June of 1937, Prince Te formed an ostensibly independent regime.

Despite the Japanese threat and mounting agitation by students and others, areas of North China still free from Japanese military control remained disunited. Shansi was no exception. Although the national government claimed nominal control over Shansi province, the actual power resided in Yen Hsi-shan, the warlord who had ruled Shansi as his private domain since 1911. Situated between the Japanese and their collaborators to north and east, the Nationalist government to the south and the Communist base area at Yen-an to the west, Yen Hsi-shan sought to maintain his hold over Shansi by rigorously opposing the Japanese on one hand and by playing the Communists against the Nationalists, on the other. He was not very successful.

Until the Japanese invasion of Shansi in September of 1937, Yen Hsi-shan ruled that province independently. After September of 1932, his grip on Shansi was no longer tight enough to prevent political agitation from within and military aggression from without. When the East Hopei Autonomous Government under General Yin Ju-keng was established in November of 1935, students and others staged large protest demonstrations in T'aiyüan, the capital of Shansi. Many of these demonstrators

had come to Shansi from the Peking-Tientsin area because of Yen Hsi-shan's known anti-Japanese stand. They may have also been attracted by the fact that Shansi remained independent of the national government, which an increasing number of politically active people considered unduly hesitant in taking on the Japanese. Yen had called off his vendetta with the Kuomintang government in 1931, when the Japanese occupied Manchuria, but, like the students, he became increasingly uneasy about Chiang Kai-shek's reluctance to stop Japan's political infiltration of North China by military force. Yen shared with many others the feeling that the Kuomintang would be willing to sacrifice Shansi if this would induce Japan to forego further advances toward the lower Yangtze valley, which was the central government's stronghold.

These three elements, the anti-Japanese demonstrations, Yen's anti-Japanese sympathies, and his cool if no longer hostile attitude toward the Kuomintang government, combined to arouse the interest of the Communists in Shensi, whose main force had recently completed its Long March from Kiangsi. In the first two months of 1936, a large Communist force invaded Shansi and occupied eighteen counties against totally ineffectual opposition by Yen's army. Yen tried to regain these territories by asking for arms from the Kuomintang. But, like everyone else, the Kuomintang was alerted to Yen's vulnerability by the ease with which the Communists invaded Shansi. Thus, the national government seized this opportunity to proclaim a drive to oust the Communists and subject Shansi to central control.<sup>10</sup> It reached its first objective but not the second.

That Shansi was not integrated into the administrative structure of the national government was due neither to Yen Hsi-shan's efforts nor to a reinvasion of Shansi by the Communists. The Kuomintang government left some troops in Shansi, but pulled out others which were needed for redeployment in other places. Thus, integration through forceful occupation was no longer possible, if indeed it was ever contemplated by the national government. But even if Chiang Kai-shek had attempted to

subject Shansi to central control through the use of force, and if he had had a large army to do it, and if Yen Hsi-shan had been submissive, which he certainly was not, the venture could not have succeeded. The presence of politically active and highly vocal groups in the cities would have made the position of the occupation force of the central government uncomfortable if not untenable. Moreover, these political activists who a short time later began to mobilize the peasants against the Japanese might have mobilized them against the central government troops.

The ouster of the Communist forces from Shansi by the Kuomintang armies did not put an end to the anti-Japanese agitation in T'aiyüan. On the contrary, this agitation increased in direct proportion to political instability in Yen Hsi-shan's domain. Secret agents of Japan, of the Communists, and of the Kuomintang government converged on Shansi and particularly on its capital. The presence of the Japanese agents, many of whom scarcely bothered to hide their identity and indeed at times strutted about in an imperious manner, were chiefly responsible for a rapid rise in the political temperature in T'aiyüan.

Yen Hsi-shan, who had created only in the previous year, 1935, a so-called Justice Promotion Corps (*Chuchang kungtao t'uan*) as a panicky response to the Communist invasion, now seemed to be dissatisfied with the organization's almost single-minded concern about the "Red Menace." Although sufficient documentary evidence is lacking, Yen Hsi-shan seemed to move toward a rapprochement with the Communists by summer of 1936. Various sources suggest that Yen made an alliance with the Communists in summer or fall of 1936.<sup>11</sup> In any case, it is certain that he started hiring known Communists to create a strong and viable anti-Japanese organization in his province. He placed his main trust in native Shansi men who were studying at Peking universities at the time.

The most prominent among them was Po I-po. A native of T'inghsiang county, he had joined the Communist Party in 1926. While engaged in underground work in Peking in 1932, he was

arrested and jailed for three years. Soon after he was released, he was either invited by Yen Hsi-shan or sent by the CCP North China bureau to T'aiyüan in September of 1936.<sup>12</sup> Po and other Communists quickly persuaded younger members of the Justice Promotion Corps to form a more militant organization, the Sacrifice National Salvation League (*Hsisheng chiu-kuo t'ungmeng*). With Yen Hsi-shan as its titular head, the League was inaugurated on September 18, 1936, the fifth anniversary of the Mukden Incident, which Japan had used as a pretext to occupy Manchuria.<sup>13</sup>

Yet despite its improved organization and its orientation toward a united anti-Japanese stand, the Sacrifice League remained ineffective in the rural areas of Shansi.<sup>14</sup> The reasons are not hard to find. Political consciousness was, after all, very much confined to the cities. In the countryside, appeals to patriotism and warnings against Japanese imperialism fell on deaf ears. Patriotism and imperialism were not part of the traditional world view of the peasantry of North China.

Thus the Sacrifice League spent most of its energies in the cities of Shansi. But, as mentioned earlier, the political situation in the cities was most complex. T'aiyüan and other urban centers teemed with spies, agents, and saboteurs of all political colorations. Some of the League's leaders felt that the best way for the League to gain the upper hand in such a setting was through increased militancy, discipline, and weapons. Toward the end of 1937, Po I-po and others persuaded Yen Hsi-shan to issue weapons and ammunition to a new elite force within the Sacrifice League called the Shansi Youth Anti-Japanese Dare-to-Die Teams (*Shansi ch'ingnien k'ang-Jih chiüehssu tui*) (35).<sup>15</sup>

Virtually nothing is known about the effectiveness of the Sacrifice National Salvation League before the outbreak of the war. It is fair to assume that the remaining time, about half a year, was too short to effect any impact on the politics and society of Shansi. The Japanese armies which had been near the borders of Shansi immediately invaded the province and captured T'aiyüan on November 4.



The government of Yen Hsi-shan lost almost all control over Shansi, but the Japanese were unable to create a puppet government to take its place. Topography was one obstacle in their path. The Japanese troops were able to occupy the major cities and the railroad lines and highways connecting them but they had difficulties in penetrating the mountain ranges. The T'ai-hang and T'aiyüeh ranges, located between the T'ung-P'u (Tat'ung-P'uchou) Line and the eastern border of Shansi, were neither excessively high (between 3,000 and 6,000 feet) nor particularly rugged. But very few roads led into them, and the few existing roads were in poor condition and easily blocked by resistance groups. For a highly mechanized army such as the Japanese, the mountains of Shansi were virtually inaccessible.

The other obstacle in the path of Japanese attempts to set up a puppet government in Shansi was the continued lack of popular involvement in politics. The Japanese could not exploit ethnic antagonisms as they did in Eastern Inner Mongolia because there were none in Shansi. Nor could they find any levers such as a widespread identification with Shansi or with Japan.

The Japanese had no difficulty, however, in finding individuals who were willing to cooperate with them and even more people who were quite content with staying out of the war altogether by not giving aid and comfort to anti-Japanese forces. Among those who openly cooperated with the Japanese in Shansi were Buddhist monks and paupers; moreover, much of the gentry, the traditional leadership in the rural areas, approved of their activities.<sup>16</sup>

Part of the credit for this kind of cooperation must be given to Japanese efforts. As Liu Shao-ch'i illustrated, the Japanese conquest was not only a story of burning, killing, and raping, but also of posters telling the people that Chinese and Japanese were basically alike (49). Even the occasional sweeps which the Japanese troops conducted did not alienate all the people from the Japanese, although casualties were inflicted on the civilian population. In the document Liu gives the example of a village in northern Hopei, where the people refused to let Communist

guerrillas in because they blamed the Communists for losses inflicted by the Japanese (49-50).

If the Japanese were unable to set up a province-wide government in Shansi, they were reasonably successful in utilizing the existing traditional form of local government, the *paochia* system. *Paochia* units, used in dynastic times to collect taxes and supervise the local population, were generally headed by members of the gentry. The Japanese relied on these elements to lead so-called maintenance committees (*weich'ih hui*), which were responsible for the internal security of a village. A second method of control was to mobilize all able-bodied men into so-called self-defense troops.<sup>17</sup> As Liu reported, these troops turned out to be unreliable. Some units ran away as soon as they were issued money and weapons. As Liu Shao-ch'i reported, the Japanese slowed down the defection rate by integrating puppet soldiers into regular Japanese army units and by using them on duty in garrisons where they could be closely supervised (48).

The sudden Japanese sweep into Shansi virtually eliminated the troops of Yen Hsi-shan and of the central government. While they suffered few casualties, these troops became so demoralized that most either fled or surrendered. Some small units withdrew into the mountains to take up guerrilla warfare.

The disappearance of all organized military resistance brought the Communists back into Shansi. In early September of 1937, units of the three divisions of the newly designated Eighth Route Army entered Shansi from the west. The 115th Division under Lin Piao marched to the Wut'aishan area, the 120th Division under Ho Lung went to Northwest Shansi, and the 129th Division commanded by Liu Po-ch'eng proceeded to the southeast.<sup>18</sup>

During the following month, units of the 115th and 129th Divisions established permanent bases behind enemy lines. Liu Po-ch'eng led three regiments of the 129th Division, with 6,000 veterans of the Long March, to set up a base in the T'aihang mountain range north of Ch'angchih.<sup>19</sup> After several months of resting and regrouping, they moved again in early 1938, infil-

trating the Japanese rear areas all the way to the Pacific coast of Shantung. On their way, they left small detachments behind to join local resistance groups. Because of their prior experience in guerrilla warfare, these men quickly rose to positions of leadership.<sup>20</sup>

The 115th Division was the first to clash with the Japanese when it fought at P'inghsing Pass on September 25, 1937. On October 23, the division's deputy commander and political commissar, Nieh Jung-chen, was ordered to establish the first permanent base in the Shansi-Hopei border area. Drawing from several units of the 115th Division, Nieh led a force composed of an independent corps, a cavalry battalion, and two incomplete regiments totaling about 2,000 men who, like Liu Po-ch'eng's men, were veterans of the Long March. They moved into the western edge of Hopei, and on November 7 they established the headquarters of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi military region.<sup>21</sup>

The formation of Nieh's military region marked the beginning of an eight-year period during which the Communists created fourteen major outer base areas. They were Chin-Ch'a-Chi, Shansi-Suiyüan, Shansi-Hopei-Honan-Shantung, Shantung, North Kiangsu, Central Kiangsu, South Kiangsu, North Huai, South Huai, Central Anhui, East Chekiang, Hupei-Honan-Anhui, Tung Chiang (the East River in Kwangtung), and Ch'üing Yai (the mountainous area on Hainan Island).<sup>22</sup> For several reasons, the most important of these was Chin-Ch'a-Chi, or officially the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Border Region. Formally established on January 15, 1938, it was the first organization of its kind and was, in Liu Shao-ch'i's words, "the first model for the whole nation" (38).<sup>23</sup> It served as a shield against Japanese attacks against the Communists' main base of Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia with headquarters at Yen-an. Chin-Ch'a-Chi was also important because toward the end of the war, its theater of operations had enveloped most of the North China Plain and the strategic railroad trunk lines.

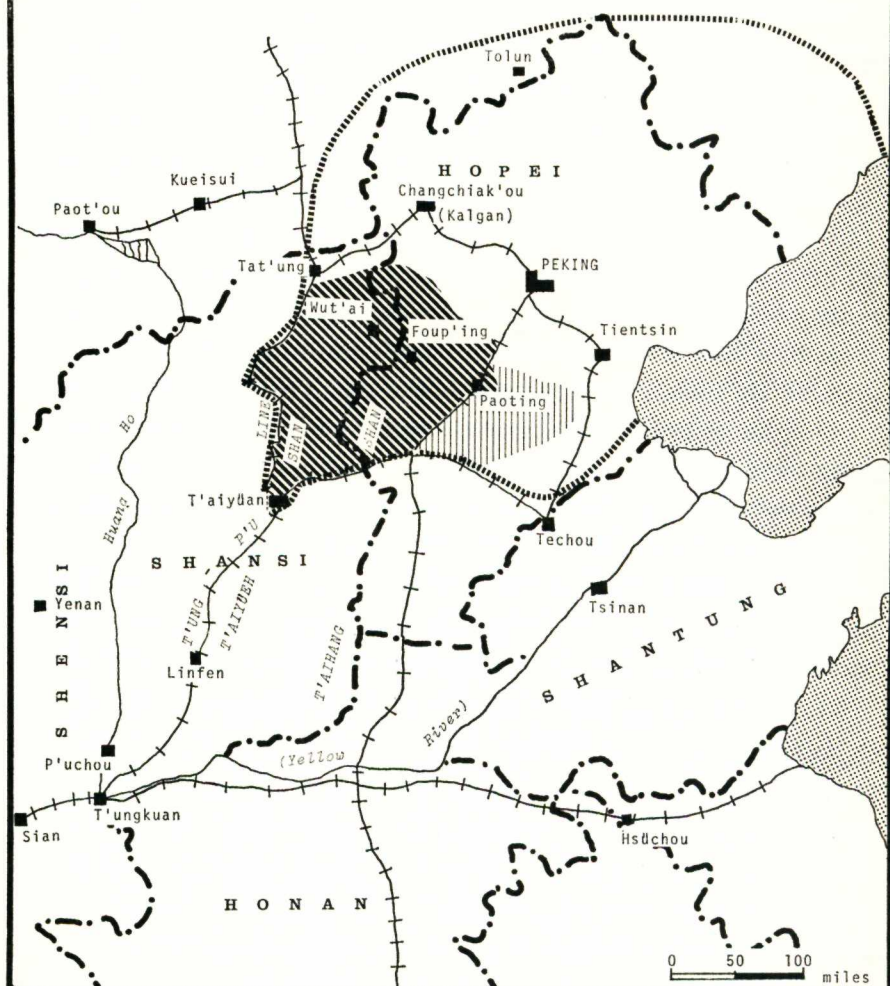
In the remarkably short time of about two months, Nieh Jung-chen and his troops were able to organize a conference



which convened on January 10, 1938, in the small mountain town of Foup'ing in western Hopei.<sup>24</sup> This conference, called the Provisional Conference of Representatives of Parties, Troops, Governments, and People of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Region (*Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü tang-chün-cheng-min linshih taipiao tahui*), was attended by more than 200 delegates representing not only the Communist Party and the Eighth Route Army, but also the Kuomintang, Yen Hsi-shan's government, local militia units, and various mass organizations (37-8).<sup>25</sup> Chin-Ch'a-Chi's government which was elected at the close of the conference on January 15 reflected this diversity.<sup>26</sup> The chairman was Sung Shao-wen and the deputy chairman, Hu Jen-k'uei. Both were native Shan-si men. The Kuomintang was represented by Liu Tien-chi (also known as Liu Tien-ch'üan) and the Communist Party by Nieh Jung-chen, who was concurrently the area's military commander. Chang Su represented Chahar and Sun Chih-yüan, Hopei.<sup>27</sup> Both men were Communist Party members. Three additional members of the government were Colonel Lu Chang-ts'ao, who had been a Nationalist regimental commander and who was soon to turn Communist and become commander of the Shansi-Suiyüan base area, Lou Ning-hsien as the representative of the Sacrifice National Salvation League, and Li Chieh-yung.<sup>28</sup>

Even more impressive than the broad representation of the delegates was the geographic extent of Chin-Ch'a-Chi at the time of its creation (see map). According to Liu Shao-ch'i, it comprised thirty-nine counties with a population of 12,000,000 (38). Chou reported forty-four counties of which twenty-seven were relatively safe under the protection of regular Eighth Route Army troops and associated guerrilla units, and seventeen were defended by people's volunteers and guerrillas raised independently by Hopei peasants.<sup>29</sup> After their takeover of the mainland, the Communists claimed that by 1944 Chin-Ch'a-Chi had grown to 108 counties and 25,000,000 population.<sup>30</sup> Liu claimed that the guerrilla forces had grown to 100,000 (35), but I surmise that this figure might have been somewhat generous. At any rate,

# CHIN-CH'A-CHI and ENVIRONMENT



- CHIN-CH'A-CHI in 1938  
under the Eighth Route Army and its guerrillas (Chou, 2)  
under the people's volunteers and Hopei peasant guerrillas
- CHIN-CH'A-CHI in 1944-1945 (K'ang Jih, map 3)
- PROVINCIAL BOUNDARIES
- RAILROAD

Taylor reported a claim of 60,000 to 70,000 made by Sung Shao-wen at about the same time.<sup>31</sup>

The speed with which the Communists were able to establish Chin-Ch'a-Chi and to organize large-scale resistance groups was amazing in light of the manifest inability of the Kuomintang and the Japanese to do likewise. Two reasons for the difference between the Communists and the Nationalists in this respect are often mentioned by students of that period. First, the Communists had extensive prior experience in guerrilla warfare. Second, having the advantage over the national government of being relatively unencumbered by large-scale organizations, they could achieve the flexibility necessary for waging successful guerrilla warfare. But there were other reasons which are described in Liu Shao-ch'i's report.

As Liu makes clear, the political apathy of the peasantry, mentioned earlier, threatened to stymie the Communists as it did the Japanese, in filling the political void created by the flight of many government officials.

Like the Japanese, the Communists started organizing at the local level. Their mobilization committees (*tungyüan weiyüan-hui*), which assumed all political power at the local levels, appeared similar to the Japanese-sponsored maintenance committees in that both types were in charge of villages. But here the similarities ended. They differed radically in composition and methods. The maintenance committees remained basically unaltered from the pre-existing traditional *paochia* organizations; they were led by members of the richest and most prestigious families in a village. Most Communist-created mobilization committees, on the other hand, were initially headed by poor people who were dissatisfied with the status quo. These people were in favor of drastic changes in the methods of organizing local society for a protracted war against Japan.

Two other factors in the speedy creation of outer base areas were the presence of Communist organizers and the reentry into Shansi of the Eighth Route Army. Po I-po and others who before the outbreak of the war had been active in the formation of



anti-Japanese groups (see above) left T'aiyüan as the Japanese approached the Shansi capital. Instead of following Yen Hsi-shan in his retreat to Linfen (see p. 22), these Communist leaders fanned out into the countryside. Each led a Dare-to-Die team to a different part of the province. Po I-po, who had been the chief organizer of all such teams and of their parent organization, the Sacrifice National Salvation League, before the war, led several columns into the T'aiyüeh and T'aihang Mountains. Chang Wen-ang went to the west-northwest, Jung Tzu-ho (also known as Jung Wu-sheng) to the south-southwest, and Lei Jen-min to the north.<sup>32</sup> As soon as they arrived at their new destinations, they assumed command over special geographic areas, each comprising several counties.<sup>33</sup>

The three divisions of the Eighth Route Army which reentered Shansi backed up the demands of civilian Communist organizers. As Liu Shao-ch'i implied, the presence of the Eighth Route Army was a powerful persuader for Yen Hsi-shan. Initially demurring, Yen had little choice but to accept Communist "suggestions" to order a change in the tax laws and to establish a "National Revolutionary College" (*mintsu koming tahsüeh*) at Linfen (34).<sup>34</sup> The Eighth Route Army also enforced an order issued by mobilization committees to form militia units which every man between twenty-eight and fifty years of age had to join. By early 1938, every county in Chin-Ch'a-Chi was said to have already had some 40,000 to 50,000 men in militia units (42).

Emboldened by the presence of Eighth Route Army troops and by the dissatisfactions with their economic lot on the part of the newly installed local leaders, the Communists adopted some tough measures to stabilize the political situation and to mobilize the population. The radical land policy, first applied in the Kiangsi Soviet in the early 1930's, had been shelved shortly before the outbreak of the war as an apparent *quid pro quo* for Chiang Kai-shek's halting of all military campaigns against the Yen-an base area. However, when the mobilization committees took over, summary expropriations once again became common. The committees were given a free hand in redistributing land left be-

hind by owners who had fled. According to Gillin, these refugees forfeited their land and all other possessions.<sup>35</sup> Those who remained behind were forced to contribute either labor or money, according to the slogan "money from those who can afford it, labor from those who can render it" ("*yu ch'ien ch'u ch'ien, yu li ch'u li*") (43).<sup>36</sup> People who resisted the high-handed manner in which the mobilization committees exacted their tribute were branded as traitors and faced possible execution (44).

Gillin (pp. 269-70) thinks that such accusations placed a "formidable weapon" in the hands of the mobilization committees and the Eighth Route Army. Liu Shao-ch'i, on the other hand, implied that these Draconian measures tended to undermine rather than strengthen the Communists' efforts to organize the people against the Japanese. Hence his warning that all "compulsory contributions are absolutely prohibited" (44). Likewise, the outright confiscation of wealth was to be stopped. Liu ordered the formation of "refugee property liquidation committees" (*nanmin ts'aich'an ch'ingli weiyüanhui*). These acted as caretakers of all abandoned property which was to be restored to its original owners upon their return (44).<sup>37</sup>

Liu's assessment was probably closer to the mark. More intimate knowledge of the Chinese peasants' social and psychological milieu gave the Communists the edge over the Japanese in their competition for popular participation in the war. But the charge of traitor could not have made much of an impact on the peasants without intensive indoctrination. In the context in which it was used, the word "traitor" presupposed a clear and strong identification with the nation on the part of the peasants. Most traditional societies lack such identification, and Liu Shao-ch'i's report would seem to confirm that this was the case in North China.

One might look upon the contact between the Communist organizers and the peasants as a meeting of two dissimilar world views. The organizers, many with urban backgrounds and all politically active, had a dichotomous world view which neatly divided all people into "we" and "they." Under the threat of an

invasion, most relatively modernized societies implicitly accept this dichotomous division. The only difference in this respect between the Communist organizers in 1937 and other modernized people was that the Communists, because of their combative ideology, meant "we" *against* "them." What they overlooked, as many other modernized people still do, is that in a traditional society there is a third alternative. The North China peasants in early 1938 did not consider themselves as belonging to either "us" or "them." Unless they were wooed rather than coerced, they would stay neutral in the conflict.

This possibility would have been fatal to the Communists' long-range strategy. As bitter as the war against Japan was, it was viewed merely as a prelude to the ultimate struggle against the Kuomintang for the supreme prize, China. Like the Japanese, the national government had overwhelming superiority in regular troops and materiel. The Communists could not hope to meet either foe on his terms. Politicization and mobilization of the civilian population was the only alternative.

Liu Shao-ch'i's report was mainly concerned with this alternative. His recommendations can be divided into two parts of uneven length. He had relatively little to say about military matters, partly because he had little personal experience, but mostly because he thought, and rightly so, that within the broad limits of the third alternative, military success was based almost completely on success in the essentially civilian task of organizing and winning over the people.

When the Japanese attack smashed Yen Hsi-shan's hold over Shansi, it created chaos not only in the political field but also in military matters. According to Liu, there were at least eleven different types of armed forces, including anti-Japanese bandits, Red Spears, and Black Spears, besides the Communist, Nationalist, and regional armies and their attached guerrilla forces (34, 41). Liu asked for unified local military commands to coordinate battle plans among the various forces (41). Fighting power was to be augmented by large-scale arming of the peasants. These militia units were to be part-time soldiers: when not working in

the fields, they were to be used in auxiliary positions such as medics, sentries, and demolition specialists. Because of the acute lack of arms at that time, the militia had to make do with kitchen knives, hammers, and other tools (42). Once the forces were coordinated and expanded, intensive political indoctrination was to be applied (35).

Liu devoted most of his attention to civilian matters. His detailed blueprint for involving the people in the war on the side of the Communists consisted of three main parts: (1) inducements for the people within base areas; (2) methods for winning over and organizing these people; and (3) methods for winning over pro-Japanese government officials and troops.

The inducements consisted mainly of the abolition of certain taxes which the people had considered unreasonable and of the reduction of land taxes and rents. The maximum rate for rent was set at thirty-seven per cent of the main crop, which was the figure first suggested by Sun Yat-sen but rarely enforced by previous governments. At the same time, the Communists promised to guarantee a fixed dependable income for landlords. Liu also thought that *paochia* organizations should be used as much as possible (40). The reason for the conciliatory attitude toward the former village leaders was that after the initial harsh treatment of landlords and other relatively rich people (see above), the Communist realized that optimum popular cooperation could not be achieved until the traditional village leaders were kept reasonably content.

Liu Shao-ch'i's suggestions for winning over the people within the base areas as well as government officials and troops working for the Japanese showed great flexibility. Liu revealed that many people refused at first to cooperate with the Eighth Route Army. He suggested a remedy for each of six different situations (31-3). In each case, Liu counseled forbearance and patience in the hope that eventually these people would voluntarily cooperate with the Communists.

The same patience was advocated toward officials and troops working for the Japanese. Far from being rigidly hostile toward



them, Liu stressed to the K'ang Ta students that they must make a sharp distinction between a small handful of incorrigible collaborators and the great majority, which for want of an acceptable alternative had been passively cooperating with the enemy. In a lengthy section (45-9), he gave several examples of the correct methods toward these persons. Basically, government officials were permitted to keep their jobs in maintenance committees as long as they kept the Eighth Route Army informed and did not actively support the Japanese. To ensure that maintenance committees remained innocuous, Communist agents, including graduates from K'ang Ta, were ordered to infiltrate these committees. The basic method toward pro-Japanese troops was not to engage them in battle unless forced to do so. As the anecdote about the "little orderly" was meant to show, every effort was made to persuade these troops that their basic interests lay with other Chinese such as the Eighth Route Army.

### *The Man*

The document also raises some intriguing questions about Liu Shao-ch'i himself. I will try to answer three: Where was he when Chin-Ch'a-Chi was created? In what capacity did he report on the creation of that outer base area? What was his influence in the Party relative to Mao?

Standard biographical dictionaries, such as *Who's Who in Communist China*, shed little light on these questions, which the current cultural revolution has made crucially important.<sup>38</sup> These sources report that Liu was secretary of the CCP North China bureau in 1936-7, so that it would appear that he delivered his report in that capacity. But *Who's Who* adds that Liu was "in charge of North Bureau work in Peking in spring of 1937; sec., central bureau; left Yen-an and on way inspected Shansi-Shantung-Honan Area, Sept. 1939."<sup>39</sup> The dictionary does not reveal when Liu was appointed secretary of the "central bureau." Without documentation, Warren Kuo claims that Liu was dismissed from his post as secretary of the North China bureau and reassigned as secretary of the central organization department after the Soviet Area Party Congress in May, 1937.<sup>40</sup>

A biography of Liu Shao-ch'i, remarkable both for furnishing data not obtainable elsewhere and for its muckraking investigation into Liu's private life, was published by a leading Red Guard organization in Peking in May, 1967.<sup>41</sup> This biography says that Liu was appointed in spring of 1936 as secretary of the CCP North China bureau, which was then located in Peking. Presumably going directly from the Yen'an base area, he arrived in Peking and Tientsin in April of that year and started directing underground work. He remained in the Peking-Tientsin area until April of 1937, when he returned to Yen'an to participate in the Soviet Area Party Congress, held from May 3 until sometime after May 20.<sup>42</sup>

Liu Shao-ch'i apparently returned to Peking immediately after the conference. When war with Japan broke out on July 7, he transferred the North China bureau to T'aiyüan. He was accompanied by Chou En-lai and P'eng Chen.<sup>43</sup> T'aiyüan was the seat of Yen Hsi-shan, governor of Shansi, who was then appointed by the national government as commander-in-chief of the Second War Zone, comprising all of North China. The Communists, while formally subordinating themselves to Yen's overall command, sought by various means to guide Yen's actions along lines they considered favorable (34, 50-1). The North China bureau under Liu Shao-ch'i, by being transferred to T'aiyüan, played the central role in this phase of United Front diplomacy.

As soon as he had resettled the North China bureau in T'aiyüan, Liu Shao-ch'i once again travelled to Yen'an to attend the strategy conference of the political bureau at Lochuan on August 22. The rapid advance of the Japanese armies toward T'aiyüan forced Liu to hurry back to the North China bureau and once again transfer it farther westward.<sup>44</sup> T'aiyüan was evacuated on November 4 by Yen Hsi-shan's command, Li Ch'ang's National Liberation Vanguard ( *mintsu chiehfang hsienfeng tui* ),<sup>45</sup> and other organizations as well as by Liu Shao-ch'i's North China bureau.<sup>46</sup> The new headquarters of Yen Hsi-shan and of the

North China bureau was Linfen in the south-west portion of Shansi, and quite close to Shensi and the Yen-an base area.

Available biographical data are not very detailed about Liu's whereabouts after that date, particularly in January of 1938, when Chin-Ch'a-Chi was created. It is known that he went to Yen-an later in November of 1937 to attend a conference of Party activists.<sup>47</sup> During his absence, he delegated routine work on the North China bureau to P'eng Chen. Whether he remained in Yen-an until March of 1938 when he delivered his report at K'ang Ta or returned in the meantime to Linfen is not known at this time. He may have travelled to Linfen, a relatively short distance from Yen-an and not yet endangered by Japanese forces, but I doubt that Liu went as far as Chin-Ch'a-Chi.

There are two reasons for this conjecture. First, Liu made no mention of any personal participation in the establishment of Chin-Ch'a-Chi in his report. Without accepting present-day charges by the Maoists that Liu was indulging at that time in self-praise,<sup>48</sup> I think that Liu would have made references to his presence had he actually been in Chin-Ch'a-Chi. In a report such as this, full of detailed, almost anecdotal examples, a personal note would have fitted in quite naturally.

Second, his known whereabouts at specified times tend to suggest that Liu was not in Chin-Ch'a-Chi in January of 1938. While it is theoretically possible for him to have done so, it is not likely that he travelled all the way from either Yen-an or Linfen to Chin-Ch'a-Chi and back to Yen-an in the relatively short time of three months. Chin-Ch'a-Chi was at the opposite end of the province from Linfen, and Foup'ing, where the inaugural conference was held, was still farther east in Hopei province (see map). Virtually the entire territory between Linfen and Chin-Ch'a-Chi was in Japanese hands, and travel there had consequently become hazardous and time-consuming.

The next question concerns Liu's position in the Party at the time he delivered the report at K'ang Ta. As mentioned earlier, the title of this report would suggest that he spoke as the secretary of the North China bureau to which he had been appointed

in spring of 1936. Warren Kuo claims, again without documentation, that Liu was dismissed from the North China bureau in May of 1937 and reassigned as secretary of the central organization department (see note 40 above). This alleged reassignment is probably identical to the undated reference in *Who's Who* to the "central bureau" (see note 39 above) inasmuch as the latter source also reports that Yang Shang-k'un was secretary of the North China bureau in 1937.<sup>49</sup> Li Ch'ang, the leader of the National Liberation Vanguard, reported, however, that Liu was still the secretary of the North China bureau in February of 1938.<sup>50</sup> Moreover, according to two other Communist publications, Liu kept that post until October, 1938, when he was appointed secretary of the Central Plains bureau (*chung-yüan chü*).<sup>51</sup>

The weight of the evidence leads me to the conclusion that Liu Shao-ch'i was still the secretary of the North China bureau and probably concurrently director of the central organization department when he made his report at K'ang Ta. His concurrent appointment in the latter organization may have been only for the duration of his frequent visits to Yen-an, which I described earlier. It should be added that the phenomenon of concurrently holding several posts has been exceedingly common among the Chinese Communists.

This leads us to the third question, Liu's influence within the Party relative to Mao. Liu's dual roles as head of Party operations in the entire North China area and as chief of the organization department of the entire Party made Liu one of the top Party leaders. The authoritative manner in which he tells the K'ang Ta students precisely what they could expect in the outer base areas and behind enemy lines and what they were to do seemed to reflect Liu's high position within the Party leadership. There has been reason to believe that by March of 1938 his influence had risen close to that of Mao Tse-tung, Chou En-lai, and Chu Te.

At the outbreak of the war, Mao's actual influence within the Party was undoubtedly greater than Liu's, although probably

smaller than the image presented to outsiders like Edgar Snow. But as soon as the war began, Liu Shao-ch'i's influence in the Party began to rise rapidly. It was in his area, North China, where the war began and where both the Japanese attacks and the opportunities created by the breakdown of Chinese administration demanded speedy and decisive solutions by the Communists. As secretary of the North China bureau and director of the central organization department, Liu Shao-ch'i had a voice and perhaps even the predominant voice in the formulation of these solutions.

His rapid rise into the top echelon of the Party also seemed to be indicated in a curious sentence in his report (36). He admonished the K'ang Ta students to "study especially well concrete working methods, not merely theories, not merely this one set of 'Unity of Contradictions.' " It is probable that this statement was directed against Mao Tse-tung who gave lectures on philosophical matters at the same school in July and August of 1937, which were eventually published as his famous essays "On Practice" and "On Contradiction."

Mao's position within the Party leadership was far from being unchallengeable, and Mao was subjected to ridicule by his peers for his first bungling steps into Marxist-Leninist ideology. According to Sheng Shih-ts'ai, then governor of Sinkiang, two Communist leaders indicated to him in November of 1940 that Mao Tse-tung's attempts at writing on ideology did not impress his co-leaders. Fang Lin, the Eighth Route Army representative in Sinkiang, spoke of Mao's "dialectics" as being "full of errors." Chou En-lai, who shortly thereafter passed through Sinkiang on his way to Moscow, said in a characteristic understatement that Mao "might have missed some of the theoretical points."<sup>52</sup>

Liu's remarks are probably the first instance when one of Mao's co-leaders openly criticized his ventures into philosophical writing. Liu's remarks probably had a big impact because they were made at the same school where Mao had lectured only seven months earlier to the same students.<sup>53</sup>

Whatever Liu's opinion may have been about Mao's qualifications as a writer on philosophical subjects, his criticism was



probably directed against Mao's apparent failure to deal with the problems of building outer base areas. I say "apparent" because we cannot be entirely certain that Mao did not devote time to these problems. Not surprisingly, one of the main themes during the last few years and particularly during the cultural revolution has been the claim that Mao had been the main guide for the successful formation of outer base areas during the war against Japan. The claim may possibly be true. But if Mao was indeed deeply concerned with the creation of outer base areas, his concern was not reflected in his voluminous writings of the period that he chose to have included in his *Selected Works*. If he ever lectured, as Liu had, on the tasks of building outer base areas, his lectures cannot be found in his selected works.

The first two statements by Mao after the outbreak of the war, "Fantui Jihpen chinkung ti fangchi, panfa ho ch'ientu" ("Policies, measures, and perspectives for resisting the Japanese invasion") (July 23, 1937) and "Wei tungyüan ich'ieh liliang chengch'ü k'ang-chan shengli erh toucheng" ("For the mobilization of all the nation's forces for victory in the war of resistance") (August 25, 1937) were substantially identical appeals to the nation as a whole.<sup>54</sup> Anti-Kuomintang polemics dominated both essays. The small portion devoted by Mao to the all-important problem of organizing the people was the most perfunctory section of all. His discussion of how to "improve the people's livelihood" was no discussion at all but a list of points such as "abolish exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies" and "reduce rent and interest." Mao had nothing to say on mass organization or, most importantly, on the creation of outer base areas.

While Chinese government armies were fighting heroically against the Japanese at Shanghai and his own co-leaders of the Communist Party were busily deploying their troops for the expected Japanese onslaught toward the Yen-an base area, Mao Tse-tung felt the urgent need to write a short piece on how to combat liberalism, "Fantui tzuyu-chuyi" ("Combat liberalism") (September 7, 1937).<sup>55</sup> On September 29, 1937, he wrote another essay on what he considered to be urgent tasks, which showed no

interest in base areas, mass organization, and similar steps to stem the Japanese tide in North China. It was instead a lengthy recapitulation of Kuomintang-Communist relations since the 1920's.<sup>56</sup>

When the Japanese armies were about to capture T'aiyüan, capital of the strategic province of Shansi, which adjoined the Yen'an base area, and when Liu Shao-ch'i assumed the task of evacuating the North China bureau, Mao Tse-tung's chief contribution was an interview with a British newspaperman in which he again talked about relations between the two major parties.<sup>57</sup> When Shanghai and T'aiyüan fell to the Japanese, Mao spent several pages to urge "the nation" not to capitulate, but he had almost nothing to say about practical ways to stop the Japanese.<sup>58</sup> He referred only once to problems within outer base areas when he said that "warlordism" within the Eighth Route Army must be stopped. What Mao meant by "warlordism" was what Liu called "signs of corruption and arrogance" (35). In light of Mao's apparent disinterest in the problems facing his co-leaders who were building outer base areas at that time, it is safe to say that the initiative in combating this tendency came not from Yen'an but was taken by the base commanders.

Among Mao's various writings dated in the first year of the war, only one small section of one essay was devoted to the problem of outer base areas. In his "K'ang-Jih yuchi chancheng ti chanlüeh went'i" ("Problems of strategy in guerrilla war against Japan"),<sup>59</sup> one of the nine chapters (Chapter VI) was on the "establishment of base areas." This essay, written in May of 1938, is the only document on which Mao can be compared with Liu Shao-ch'i. Like Liu, Mao pointed out that the establishment of base areas was vitally important under conditions of a protracted war. But unlike Liu, Mao almost completely avoided a discussion of specific problems and recommendations.

The most revealing difference between the two men lies in the priority of conditions which they attached to establishing base areas. Mao mentioned only three conditions: military force, the coordination of regular military forces with other



armed units, and the winning over of the people. Mao, who at various times has been praised as the chief advocate of the mass line and the people's best friend, placed the lowest priority on the people. By contrast, Liu Shao-ch'i in his report at K'ang Ta, specified five conditions, two of which dealt with the people. Most important in Liu's opinion were political conditions, by which he meant "a government carrying on vigorously the war of resistance [and] able to organize, arm, and guide the masses in the resistance against Japan." His third priority went to social conditions under which "the broad masses must be organized, trained, and armed. These masses must be able to cooperate with the troops and government in order to fight with unity and coordination" (36).<sup>60</sup> Liu's deep appreciation of the people's importance was revealed in another part of his report where he stated categorically that "the most important task of the day is: Motivate the masses of North China to enter the battle of resistance against Japan, to take up arms and struggle against the Japanese and establish strong anti-Japanese bases in order to fight the Japanese for a long period" (39).

Those students of K'ang Ta who were destined for duty in outer base areas and behind enemy lines and the Communist leaders there needed specific instructions for specific situations. We do not know whether Mao supplied such instructions, but we do know from this document that Liu did.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. The term "outer base areas" denotes bases established during the war and distinguishes them from the North Shensi area which became the headquarters of the Communist movement in October, 1935 and remained the only major base until shortly after the outbreak of the war.

2. Lyman P. Van Slyke, *Enemies and Friends: The United Front in Chinese Communist History* (Stanford, 1967); Donald G. Gillin, *Warlord: Yen Hsi-shan in Shansi Province, 1911-1949* (Princeton, 1967).

3. Harrison Forman, *Report From Red China* (New York: Holt, 1945); Jack Belden, *China Shakes The World* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1949). See also Claire and William Band, *Two Years With the Chinese Communists* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1948); Michael Lindsay, *Notes on Educational Problems in Communist China, 1941-47* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1950); Nym Wales, *Red Dust* (Stanford, 1952); and U.S. War Department, *The Chinese Communist Movement* (July, 1945), edited by Lyman P. Van Slyke (Stanford, 1968).

4. Chou Li-po, *Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü yinhsiang chi* (*A Record of Impressions of the Shansi-Ch'ahar-Hopei Border Region*) (Hankow: Tuchu shenghuo, 1939) [Hoover Library No. 4292.24/7203.13.]; Evans Carlson, *Twin Stars of China* (New York: Dodd,

Mead, 1940). Chou, accompanied by Carlson, toured Chin-Ch'a-Chi for about two months.

5. Readers who are not China specialists and who wish to learn more about the political and social conditions in China between 1911 and 1937 may turn to dozens of English-language books. A highly selective list includes the following major works (in addition to books cited in this essay): Brandt, Schwartz, and Fairbank, *A Documentary History of Chinese Communism* (Harvard, 1952); Jerome Ch'en, *Mao and the Chinese Revolution* (Oxford, 1965); Ch'ien Tuan-sheng, *The Government and Politics of China* (Harvard, 1950); Chow Tse-tsung, *The May Fourth Movement* (Harvard, 1960); O. Edmund Clubb, *Twentieth Century China* (Columbia, 1964); John K. Fairbank, *The United States and China* (Harvard, second rev. ed., 1961); C. P. Fitzgerald, *The Birth of Communist China* (Praeger, 1966); Franklin Houn, *The Central Government of China, 1912-1928* (Wisconsin, 1957); Harold Isaacs, *The Tragedy of the Chinese Revolution* (Stanford, second rev. ed., 1961); Li Chien-nung, *The Political History of Modern China, 1840-1928* (Van Nostrand, 1956); and F. F. Liu, *A Military History of Modern China, 1924-1949* (Princeton, 1954).

6. Because the new central government was almost completely the instrument of the Kuomintang (Nationalist Party), the terms central government, national government, Nationalist government, Kuomintang government, and Kuomintang are used interchangeably.

7. A. Doak Barnett, *China On The Eve of Communist Takeover* (New York: Praeger, 1963), 115.

8. The distribution, according to region, was as follows: North China (Hopei, Chahar, Shansi, Shensi, Shantung, and Honan): 18; East China (Anhui, Kiangsu, and Chekiang): 11; South and Central China (Hupei, Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan, Kwangtung, and Kwangsi): 13; West China (Szechuan, Kweichow, Yunnan, and other western provinces): 8. See Albert Herrmann, *An Historical Atlas of China*, edited by Norton Ginsburg (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Company, 1966), 54. Taiwan and Manchuria are excluded. Taiwan had been under Japanese rule since 1895 and Manchuria was soon to be occupied by Japan (1931-2).

9. Gillin, *op. cit.*, 214. The government seat was at Pailingmiao in Northern Sui-yüan.

10. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 99.

11. These sources are cited in Gillin, *op. cit.*, 249.

12. The circumstances of Po's and of more than seventy other Communists' release from prison were made part of the Maoist group's indictment against Liu Shao-ch'i during the cultural revolution. *Who's Who*, 486, says that Po was deputized by the CCP North China bureau. Belden, *op. cit.*, 51, on the basis of an interview with Po I-po in late January 1947, and Gillin, *op. cit.*, 231, say that Yen invited him.

13. Van Slyke, *op. cit.*, 131.

14. Gillin, *op. cit.*, 261.

15. Numbers in parentheses and not preceded by a name refer to the page in the document section.

16. Gillin, *op. cit.*, 261.

17. Liu called them also autonomous troops.

18. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 95.

19. *Ibid.*, 95. See also Belden, *op. cit.*, 52.

20. *Ibid.*, 53-5 *passim*.

21. Jenmin ch'upanshe, *K'ang-jih chancheng shihch'i chiehfang ch'ü kaik'uang* (*A Sketch of Liberated Areas During the War Against Japan*) (Peking, 1953), 26 (hereafter cited as *K'ang-jih*). See also Forman, *op. cit.*, 132. Forman reports that Nieh's forces were accompanied by several Mongols and Moslems and "one Tibetan lama in red robes."

22. See Map 1 in *K'ang-jih*.

23. Gunther Stein, who closely reflected the views of the Chinese Communists, also called Chin-Ch'a-Chi the "largest, best consolidated, and strategically most important" outer base area. See Gunther Stein, *The Challenge of Red China* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1945), 343.

24. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 100, mentions January 9 as the opening date, which may be incorrect. Both *K'ang-jih*, 27, and Chou, *op. cit.*, 7, say that the conference started on January 10.

25. See also *Ibid.*, 7. Japanese army intelligence underestimated the number of delegates at 148. See Johnson, *op. cit.*, 100.

26. The government was called the Provisional Committee of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Area (*Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü linshih weiyüanhui*).

27. Johnson, *op. cit.*, 101.

28. *K'ang-chan Chung-ti chengchih* (*Chinese Politics During the War of Resistance*) (Yenan, 1940), 454. This source, listing nine members instead of the six mentioned in Johnson's book, was brought to my attention by Donald Klein.

29. Chou, *op. cit.*, 2-3. Japanese army estimates of Chin-Ch'a-Chi's size were considerably lower. The map in Johnson, *op. cit.*, 118, based on Japanese sources, lists only eighteen counties.

30. *K'ang-fih*, 24. Forman, *op. cit.*, 131, lists the same figures for 1945 and adds that of the 25 million, 18 million were under the direct control of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi government.

31. George E. Taylor, *The Struggle For North China* (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1940), 35-6.

32. Belden, *op. cit.*, 52; *Who's Who*, 324; Van Slyke, *op. cit.*, 135-6. Both Jung and Lei were Communist Party members at that time.

33. *Ibid.*, 136. There were no less than six such special areas, of which at least four were led by Communists.

34. See also Belden, *op. cit.*, 274. The college trained cadres for assignments behind enemy lines. The college may actually have been established by the Eighth Route Army. See entry for P'eng Hsüeh-feng in the forthcoming biographical dictionary by Donald Klein and Anne Clark, to be published by Harvard University Press.

35. Gillin, *op. cit.*, 270.

36. See also *Ibid.*, 267.

37. See also Chou, *op. cit.*, 44.

38. *Who's Who in Communist China* (Hong Kong: Union Research Institute, 1966); Max Perleberg, *Who's Who in Modern China* (Hong Kong: Ye Olde Printerie, 1954); Howard Boorman (ed.), *Biographical Dictionary of Republican China*, Volume II (New York: Columbia University Press, 1968); and Gaimusho Ajiakyoku (comp.), *Gendai Chugoku jimmei jiten* (Tokyo, 1957).

39. *Who's Who*, 410.

40. Kuo Hua-lun, "Chungkung shuch'eng ch'ien-hou," *Fei-ch'ing Yüehpao*, May 1968, 110; translated in Warren Kuo, "The CCP pledge of allegiance to the Kuomintang (Part II)," *Issues and Studies*, September 1968, 36.

41. Ching kangshan Fighting Corps, Fourth Hospital, Peking, "Down With Liu Shao-ch'i, Life of Counter-Revolutionary Liu Shao-ch'i," May 1967, translated in U.S. Consulate General, Hong Kong, *Current Background*, No. 834, August 17, 1967; hereafter cited as *Ching kangshan*.

42. *Ching kangshan*, 5. Date supplied by Warren Kuo, 31-2. *Ching kangshan* calls the meeting a "National Party Congress." The meeting's official title, *ch'üan-kuo taipiao huiyi*, should be more properly translated as National Party Conference to distinguish it from the *ch'üan-kuo taipiao tahu* or National Party Congress as the Sixth in 1928 and the Seventh in 1945.

43. *Who's Who*, 480.

44. *Ibid.*, 326. *Ching kangshan*, 5, was not overly charitable when it referred to Liu's rescue operation as "carrying out activities."

45. An anti-Japanese organization which had participated in the December 9, 1936 student demonstrations in Peking and was disbanded in 1938.

46. For the evacuation date, see Gillin, *op. cit.*, 273.

47. *Ching kangshan*, 5.

48. See, e.g., *Ibid.*, 4.

49. *Who's Who*, 669.

50. Li Ch'ang, et al., "I-erh-chiu" *hui-i-lu* (Reminiscences of "December 9") (Peking: Chungkuo ch'ingnien ch'upanshe, 1961), 29.

51. *Hsing-huo liao-yüan* (*A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire*) (Peking, 1961), VI, 376; *Ching kangshan*, 5. The biography explicitly states that "the New Fourth Army was inaugurated in January [of 1938], and Liu Shao-ch'i was at that time still Secretary of the North Bureau." [sic]

52. Allen S. Whiting and Sheng Shih-ts'ai, *Sinkiang: Pawn or Pivot?* (East Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 1958), 229-30; quoted in Karl A. Wittfogel, "Some

remarks on Mao's handling of concepts and problems of dialectics," *Studies in Soviet Thought*, III, 4 (December 1963), 253-4. According to Donald Klein, the Eighth Route Army representative's real name was Teng Fa, Fang Lin being his Party name at that time. (Letter to author, dated December 20, 1968).

53. Disapproval by his peers of his lectures and writings on Marxism-Leninism was probably one major reason why Mao did not publish his lectures until 1951-52. Wittfogel in the article cited above also mentions a first chapter on "Dialectical Materialism" which was published in the Shanghai magazine *Minchu* in March 1940. Wittfogel thinks that no further chapters were published (p. 252). This may be true, but it is relevant to mention that Emily Hahn recalls that while she was the publisher of the bilingual magazine *Candid Comment* in Shanghai in 1936-37, she received at least three pieces from Mao Tse-tung which she used as fillers. Unfortunately, she does not recall the topics of Mao's essays, and she has no copies of her magazine as the Japanese did not permit her to carry with her any printed materials on her repatriation. (Letter to author, dated December 27, 1968).

54. *Mao Tse-tung hsüanchi* (Peking: Jenmin ch'upanshe, 1964), II, 329-45; *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* (Peking: Foreign Languages Press, 1965), II, 13-29. The Chinese volume will be cited as *HC*, the English volume as *SW*.

55. *HC*, II, 347-9; *SW*, II, 31-3.

56. "Kuo-Kung hotso ch'engli hou ti p'och'ieh jenwu," *HC*, II, 351-61; "Urgent tasks following the establishment of KMT-CCP cooperation," *SW*, II, 35-45.

57. "Ho Yingkuo chiche Pait'elan ti t'anhua," *HC*, II, 363-76; "Interview with the British journalist James Bertrand," *SW*, II, 47-59.

58. "Shanghai T'aiyüan shihhsien ihou k'ang-Jih chancheng ti hsingshih ho jenwu," *HC*, II, 377-90; "The situation and tasks in the anti-Japanese war after the fall of Shanghai and T'aiyüan," *SW*, II, 61-74. The date was November 12, 1937.

59. *HC*, II, 395-428; *SW*, II, 75-112.

60. The other three points in Liu's list of conditions were: (2) military, (4) topographic, and (5) nationwide resistance.



## **Part B: DOCUMENT**

### **Work Experiences in the North China War Zone**

Liu Shao-ch'i

Lecture delivered at K'ang Ta on March 21, 1938.<sup>1</sup>

#### *I. The Anti-Japanese National United Front in North China*

I wish to speak about the experiences and lessons of the United Front in North China since the Lukouch'iao<sup>2</sup> Incident. At the time of the Lukouch'iao Incident, [the situation in] North China was most complicated and contradictory. There had been all kinds of troops and factions, various thoughts, dissimilar actions, and no unified command. There had been resistance against Japan (most people were resisting Japan) but also vacillation and compromise. Moreover, puppet troops and puppet regimes had been set up. In these regimes, Chinese government control had been comparatively weak, the strength of our war resistance relatively small and the enemy strong. Under such actual conditions, skillful methods are called for to unite all factions and troops to stand together against the Japanese. At that time, we adopted the United Front Policy, decreased friction between various parties and factions, strengthened the control of the central government, and opposed all wavering and compromising elements. When this activity started, the attitudes of all factions concerning the United Front were not unanimous, some advocating working together against the Japanese, others not. Some were against, and others advocated cooperating with a "but." Especially the attitudes concerning cooperation with the Communist Party were not identical; and therefore, the methods of carrying out the United Front also have not been identical; and various methods have been applied to improve the situation. For instance:

(a) Some people have advocated resistance against Japan, but

have consistently opposed the Communist Party and progressive methods (such as starting mass movements, reforming political organizations, developing guerrilla warfare, etc.) and have not supported the United Front. How should we approach these people? Of course, we cannot be against them. We are better off to adopt a firm cooperative attitude which might then activate their lower strata. Consequently, many people have expressed their willingness for partial cooperation, and the stubborn elements, being isolated, have lost their authority. Because of our sincere attitude and firm cooperation as well as increasing attacks by Japanese imperialism, many people later have also cooperated with us.

(b) Some people have approved the United Front yet have not been cooperating openly but secretly. With these people we should certainly not insist on open cooperation. We can secretly cooperate with them and later gradually change to open cooperation.

(c) Some people have approved cooperation with the Eighth Route Army but not with the Communist Party. We can, of course, cooperate with these people under the name of the Eighth Route Army.

(d) Some people have wanted to cooperate with the lower strata, but not with the upper strata. We should approve their opinions and promote cooperation with the lower strata.

(e) Some people have advocated going further than the Communist Party (such as improving the troops, organizing the masses, guerrilla warfare, liquidating traitors, etc.) but they have wished to do it themselves and not to cooperate with us. We should approve their work, help them, and make suggestions to them. Gradually they will see that the methods of the Communist Party are not wrong. [If they should] declare: "We wish only the methods of the Communist Party, not Communists" but still prefer doing it secretly, then publicize these methods under their name. At any rate, as long as they are willing to adopt our methods, this will maintain resistance against Japan.

(f) Some people have expressed the idea of cooperating with

the Communist Party in order to oppose XXXX and Commander-in-Chief Yen.<sup>3</sup> Other factions have expressed their willingness to cooperate with the Communist Party in order to oppose other factions. We should refuse their requests and explain very clearly to them that cooperation is good but opposing XXXX and Commander-in-Chief Yen is not. At this time of national crisis, we must not fight among ourselves but should fight united against the foreigners. If they understand this truth, they will be willing to cooperate with us even better. If they are unwilling, quit arguing with them.

But some people who have not been satisfied with us have spread rumors in order to destroy the Communist Party. There have been some people in Shansi who wrongfully issued statements in the name of the Communist Party attacking Commander-in-Chief Yen in an attempt to split the United Front. Fortunately, because Commander-in-Chief Yen profoundly trusts the attitudes and proposals of our Communist Party, he knows that those statements have not been made by the Communist Party. People like these are bandits, traitors, enemy spies, and are public enemies of the entire nation. We should firmly oppose them and demand their arrest and disposal.

We may draw a conclusion from this: In order to carry out the anti-Japanese national United Front, it will not do to adopt one simple method, but it shall be necessary to use every kind of viable method. Most importantly we must have a definite policy, a definite principle, and that is to unite all strength that can be united to beat Japan, to resist the Japanese invasion. If there is no resistance against Japan, let us not talk about a United Front!

While carrying out the United Front, we also obtained this experience and lesson: although it is necessary to have a definite program and a definite form, we should not be stubborn but creatively adopt every kind of method.

In the beginning, we may cooperate on a concrete problem and a concrete action. For instance, we may fight better jointly with a certain guerrilla team. If we win the battle through cooperation, we may give them the victor's spoils to make them feel

the benefits of cooperating with the Eighth Route Army. After cooperating with us successively two and three times, they will naturally bring forward the question of long-term cooperation.

During the cooperation, criticism is essential, but criticism should be sincere and not undermine their authority.

Many comrades have not been able to creatively adopt [this method]. They have simply demanded open cooperation based upon the entire program. Thus they have caused friction to increase to the point of deviating from the principle of the United Front. This is a great error.

Comrades! We must maintain independence in our work. We must actively carry out whatever work we consider must be done and could be done. Let the masses see the achievements of actual work.

For example, in Shansi Commander-in-Chief Yen at first was scared of the Communist Party. While in T'aiyüan, he did not accept our proposal to establish a college for the training of youth cadres. Later when we established a training class and many youths came, he at once established a National Revolutionary College at Linfen.<sup>4</sup> Commander-in-Chief Yen also did not agree with our suggestions to abolish harsh taxes. Later, after we advanced and received support from the broad masses, Commander-in-Chief Yen issued an order to abolish harsh taxes. Therefore, the United Front is not merely something to talk about, but something to first do about.

Because of sharply increased Japanese attacks, the efforts of the Communist Party, and the determined war resistance of the military leaders in North China, the North China United Front has been making daily progress and many military bases have already been established in North China.

At present, our Commander-in-Chief Chu [Te] and Deputy Commander-in-Chief P'eng [Te-huai] are not only directing the Eighth Route Army, but also many troops (such as Central Government armies, Szechwan armies, Northeastern armies, militia units, etc.) are fighting under the command of Commanding Generals Chu and P'eng. In the Chin-Ch'a-Chi [Hopei, Chahar,



and Shansi] Border Area, a border area government has been established (Provisional Administrative Committee of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Area) and our Comrade Nieh [Jung-chen] is on the committee representing the Communist Party. The mobilization committees in many places in Shansi also have been changed from obscure to active organizations. Also many corrupt elements in the government have been purged. New strength has been added and many orders have been promulgated (such as rent-reduction, tax-reduction, abolition of harsh taxes, the care of dependents of anti-Japanese soldiers, organization of the masses, etc.). There has also been progress among the troops. Mobile tactics have been learned, discipline has been raised, political departments have been established, an outline for political education has been proclaimed, and political work among the troops has begun. New troops have been established, and "Shansi Youth Anti-Japanese Dare-to-Die Teams"<sup>5</sup> have been organized. The present strength of guerrilla forces is 100,000 and guerrilla armed forces have been extensively organized. Mass organizations have been universally established and every locality has peasant national salvation associations, women's associations, and labor unions. The people's livelihood has also been improved. All this proves the progress of the United Front, and this progress has made North China one of the important strategic centers of the war of determined resistance.

In order to further develop the United Front and to guarantee victory in the anti-Japanese war, all have realized the extraordinary necessity for establishing united political and military leadership organizations.

With regard to the direction of the tenacious United Front of the Communist Party in Shansi, our graduates from K'ang Ta have been of great service, but there have also been weak points.

First, some cadres of the Eighth Route Army have shown signs of corruption and arrogance while working outside the base areas. This cannot be accepted. I hope that you students pay special attention to this point. You must make strenuous efforts to carry on the spirit of the Eighth Route Army. At the

same time, you must study with a friendly and humble attitude.

Second, there has been a lack of methods and practical experiences in our work. On this point, I hope that you students will study especially well concrete working methods, not merely theories, not merely this one set of "Unity of Contradictions."

## *II. Establishing Anti-Japanese Bases*

a. The feasibility of establishing anti-Japanese bases and their future.

It is necessary to establish anti-Japanese bases behind the Japanese lines if the war of resistance in North China and all over the country is to be maintained. Because many places in North China and throughout the country have been left for the Japanese to occupy, we have been unwilling to abandon them, and will engage the Japanese in a long and hard<sup>6</sup> war in order to recover them. Now we want to launch large-scale guerrilla warfare; but in order to sustain long-term guerrilla warfare, we must have guerrilla bases. It is necessary, therefore, to establish anti-Japanese bases.

Is it possible to set up such anti-Japanese bases behind the Japanese lines? We say it is. Such a possibility has already been evidenced by the Chin-Ch'a-Chi border area. Our Eighth Route Army has already established strong anti-Japanese bases there. The following conditions are necessary for establishing anti-Japanese bases.

(1) Political conditions: A government carrying on vigorously the war of resistance [and] able to organize, arm, and guide the masses in the resistance against Japan.

(2) Military conditions: Sufficient armed strength for self-defense to guarantee that this area will not be destroyed by the Japanese and to fight the Japanese.

(3) Social<sup>7</sup> conditions: The broad masses must be organized, trained, and armed. These masses must be able to cooperate with the troops and government in order to fight with unity and coordination.

(4) Topographic conditions: the terrain is good where guer-

rilla teams can develop and where the Japanese have a disadvantage. The best terrain has poor transportation and is hilly.

(5) A tenacious war of resistance throughout the nation: This is the most important condition because it will not isolate us in the enemy's rear areas, it will prevent the Japanese from using their superior military strength to destroy guerrilla teams, and it will cause their rear areas to become more empty, and it will help our development.

Under these conditions it is not only possible to establish anti-Japanese bases, but there is also a victorious future. We are able to fight the Japanese for several years and will in the end defeat them and recover the lost territories although during a long war we should be prepared for the Japanese to dispatch troops against our bases. The Japanese have already moved troops to attack Chin-Ch'a-Chi border area. In the future, if the Japanese should occupy places like Hsüchou, T'ungkuan, Chengchou, they might temporarily stop moving southward and concentrate their strength for attacks on our anti-Japanese bases. Thus, under such difficult fighting conditions the anti-Japanese bases might shrink and several counties and towns might be occupied by the Japanese. But we shall not lose, and we shall still have a victorious future.

For your better understanding, I will now report some actual cases.<sup>8</sup>

In the Chin-Ch'a-Chi border area, there are Comrade Nieh Jung-chen, commander of the Eighth Route Army area (deputy commander of the 115th Division), and administrative chiefs, county magistrates, and Sacrifice National Salvation League organizations under the direct command of Commander-in-Chief Yen. After the Japanese occupied T'aiyüan and the T'ung-P'u Line,<sup>9</sup> this base became the rear of the Japanese. The Japanese have been unable to occupy this area. On the contrary, a mass militia has arisen and an anti-Japanese government named the Provisional Committee of the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Area<sup>10</sup> has been established. In January 1938, a representative conference<sup>11</sup> was convened and attended by representatives of the armed



forces, all parties and factions, all mass organizations, the mass militia, and the government totaling more than two hundred persons. It passed decisions on political, financial, economic, educational, military, women, and mass movement affairs. Nine persons were elected to the government committee. After the election a report was sent to Commander-in-Chief Yen who acknowledged it, and a report was sent to the Executive Yüan and the Military Affairs Committee of the central government and received the central government's approval. A declaration and a circular telegram were issued. This government comprises thirty-nine counties with a population of 12,000,000. Representatives were sent not only from west of the Peiping-Hankow Line, but also from places east of [this] line such as Paoting, and others.<sup>12</sup>

It is extraordinarily significant that since then it has become the first model for the whole nation telling the whole nation about the method of establishing anti-Japanese bases behind the Japanese lines. It has proved not only the establishment of a government in the Chin-Ch'a-Chi Border Area Government, but also that other Japanese-occupied areas (Kiangsu, Chekiang, Shantung, Shansi, and the areas north of the Yellow River) should and could establish such border area governments as well. This kind of border area government has already been approved by the [Party] Central, and its declaration and decisions have been significant across the country.

Some comrades have raised a question like this: Is it not possible to establish an anti-Japanese base in the plains?

We say that although the topographic conditions there favor the enemy and not us, there are other conditions capable of supporting guerrilla warfare and establishing bases. In North China, we have seen that the Japanese have not had the military strength to occupy the entire plain of Hopei and Shantung. Because China is a large country and there are not enough Japanese soldiers to be distributed, China's firm war of resistance has forced most Japanese troops to be sent to the front lines [and hence] has depleted their rear areas. Therefore, it is possible in



the plains to maintain guerrilla warfare for several years and to establish fairly firm anti-Japanese bases.

The Japanese attempt to subdue guerrilla warfare in North China and to pacify North China will not succeed. As long as our work there is good, there is good leadership from strategists and guerrilla experts, and there are good mass organizations and weapons, we can carry on a long-term guerrilla war. Therefore, whether in the mountains or in the plains, the most important task of the day is: Motivate the masses of North China to enter the battle of resistance against Japan, to take up arms and struggle against the Japanese and establish strong anti-Japanese bases in order to fight the Japanese for a long period.

b. How to establish anti-Japanese bases:

1. Establishing a unified anti-Japanese government—establish a government like that of Chin-Ch'a-Chi. The special features of such a government are: (1) The local government of the Republic of China under direct central control with close relations to the Central Government and carrying out its laws and orders. (2) A government absolutely opposed to the government of the traitors and puppets. (3) A people's government, a democratic government capable of organizing and arming the masses, of improving the people's livelihood, and thus gaining the people's support. The responsible persons of such government are the anti-Japanese leaders. (4) Kuomintang and United Front governments are not additional people's governments in opposition to the National Government, but they make the Kuomintang Government truly a people's government capable of consolidating the broad masses of all classes for struggling against the Japanese under the government's guidance.

In order to establish such a united anti-Japanese people's government of the Kuomintang and the United Front, the disorderly situation must first be ended and a spirit of resistance against Japan and of revolution be recovered. The sooner we establish our government the better. If the county magistrate had run away, the anti-Japanese troops may deputize one; if the county magistrate had not run away, he should be examined

whether he has been anti-Japanese or a traitor, and he should be properly dealt with. But this is merely a provisional step. We shall call for a joint conference attended by representatives of the local government, mass organizations, the armed forces and all parties and factions to elect a county government, and then unite many counties in order to organize a border area government. It will become a legitimate government by regulating all policies and making reports to neighboring provincial governments and to the Central Government. The [county] government's organization should generally be in accordance with the organizational laws promulgated by the Central Government. But under special circumstances, partial changes of organizational methods are necessary. For instance, in a county government's organization below the magistrate, besides the original administration, finance, education, and public security sections, there may be added sections in charge of the people's self-defense troops, food provisions, etc. In the district office, the number of assistants below the district officer may be increased and their work functionally divided (administration, military affairs, finance, food provisions, etc.). The organization of a township<sup>13</sup> government is most important since it deals directly with the masses. In the organization of our North Shansi border area, we established below the township leader various kinds of committees, such as education, culture, food provisions, women, etc., none of which are separated from production. Moreover, the *paochia* system may still be made use of to increase the government's strength and to maintain a close relationship with the masses. It is also necessary to establish organizations for the popular will.<sup>14</sup> The best form is the assembly. At present, the Central Government has not yet prepared the organization of assemblies, but using the name of "consultative conferences"<sup>15</sup> we have organized the people's representatives for frequent conferences to discuss political questions. Every place in Shansi has a mobilization committee<sup>16</sup> which includes representatives of government, troops, labor unions, peasant associations, and the Sacrifice National Salvation League.<sup>17</sup> We might expand the organization by increasing the

number of representatives and their units. It would thus become still more an organization representing the will of the people.

There is another point to which special attention must be paid. All corrupt, rotten, and bureaucratic elements must be purged during the elections of responsible persons for government. Elect only those who are upright, anti-Japanese, brave, capable, and trusted by the masses so that this government will be further cleansed and strengthened.

2. Establishing a unified military command and a unified armed force. Establish a military area command in a guerrilla area (*i.e.*, military area) to unify the actions of all troops. But the troops in such an area are extremely heterogeneous. For instance in Shansi, there are the Eighth Route Army, the Eighth Route Army guerrillas, Central Army guerrillas, Commander-in-Chief Yen's guerrillas, other guerrillas, anti-Japanese bandits, Red Spear Societies, Black Spear Societies, etc. Because they are so heterogeneous, they are under different commands. Therefore, we should adopt some good methods to unify them. Our methods should be democratic and [lead to] voluntary rather than compulsory union. We are against that sort of compulsory unification and seizure and advocate a voluntary evolution from small guerrilla units to large guerrilla units to regular armies fighting unitedly Japan.

We should adopt various attitudes toward bandits: (1) we should not be lenient but liquidate those who make trouble in or behind our base areas. (2) We should unite with those who have been active behind the Japanese lines.

All troops should not only unite but should also create competent guerrillas capable of fighting and carrying out government orders. All troops should receive legitimate commanders, and the commanding officers should be commissioned by the Central Government and the Military Affairs Committee. At present, there are in North China, besides the regulars, 100,000 guerrillas most of whom are quite good. However, there is a relative lack of small arms, which we find difficult to obtain entirely from the Central Government. We should collect small arms

from the people and from the enemy to solve this problem. There are good ways to collect the people's small arms. There is a model guerrilla team in Shantung which very quickly collected 1,000 small arms. Their methods deserve consideration: They [either] aroused<sup>18</sup> people to bring with them their own small arms and join the guerrillas [or] they borrowed the people's small arms and issued certificates to them. It is hoped that you study these methods very carefully.

3. Arming the people extensively. I recall someone asking a K'ang Ta schoolmate about the method of arming people, [but] this schoolmate of ours did not understand this method. This is an important problem, and it is hoped that you will study it intensively. We should arm the people, and the best way to do it is by organizing anti-Japanese people's self-defense corps. The Shansi mobilization committees have already promulgated an order pointing out the duties of people's self-defense corps such as assisting the army and guerrillas in battles, transmitting information, patrolling, taking care of wounded soldiers, extirpating traitors, destroying the enemy's communications, and securing areas. The organizational method is for anyone between twenty-eight and fifty years of age to be required to join the self-defense corps. The village is the basic unit and is divided into small teams (squads), medium teams (platoons), and large teams (companies). The people should not leave production and use as arms guns, knives, hammers, and carrying poles; moreover, they should be equipped with stretchers and all kinds of road demolition tools. Such kind of self-defense corps organization has already been widely established in North China with every county having 40,000 to 50,000 men. County governments frequently have summoned cadres from every township and village for two months' training and then return them to work. The self-defense corps have started important activities in the war of resistance in North China.

The National Government has already established able-bodied troops<sup>19</sup> in many places, but they have many defects. For example, able-bodied troops had the people give them food [and



they] levied taxes, beat, cursed, and so forth. Therefore, in places with able-bodied troops, we could change able-bodied troops into people's self-defense corps organizations, correct all defects the people dislike, and strengthen the organizations. The people's self-defense corps are the only way for mobilizing the people. Supplementing the [regular] troops will be easy once the people's self-defense corps are organized.

4. Liquidating traitors, enemy spies, and bandits. We should punish [them] through the government and military administrative organs. They should not be seized by the people haphazardly and shot to death. Forces for preserving order should be established; existing militia<sup>20</sup> and police may be reorganized, or peace preservation corps may be formed out of elements of people's self-defense corps.

5. Starting up mass movements extensively and organizing the masses. First of all, there must be freedom of speech, press, association, and assembly. The government should maintain mass organizations, and organize peasant national salvation associations. Workers should organize labor unions and merchants their merchant national salvation associations. These mass organizations should cooperate with the government, mobilize their members to assist the government by participating in all government work and joining the troops in battle. Moreover, the people's livelihood should be properly improved by reducing rent, taxes, and raising wages. All this is necessary to defend the members' personal benefits and hard work.

In this manner anti-Japanese bases can be established!

Now let's discuss some more of the policies of anti-Japanese base area governments!

1. [We] will have [our] own financial plan. Our slogan is "money from those who have it, labor from those who can render it."

First of all, all cruel taxes should be abolished. In the case of land, land taxes [and] commercial transit taxes may still be levied, but the method of taxation should be changed so that only the wealthy will be taxed and the poor be exempted. Also, contri-

butions may still be collected but only on a voluntary basis. Compulsory contributions are absolutely prohibited, such as to label as traitors people who are unwilling to contribute more money than goods. During food shortages, food may be borrowed by giving credit slips to the people for future compensation. In financial matters, all unnecessary waste should be prevented. Salaries of government employees should be all equalized. There shall be no pay for guerrillas. Give freedom to industry and commerce and raise industrial and agricultural production [and] establish cooperatives. Circulate legal tender, but use puppet money where necessary. Boycott Japanese goods, but use them whenever we need some Japanese goods. Organize "Refugee Property Liquidation Committees"<sup>21</sup> for taking care of the property belonging to all those landlords, capitalists, and merchants who have already run away. Until their return, use their lands and factories to raise production, and give them back after their return.

2. Educational policy. Establish cadres training classes and adopt the same methods as those of K'ang Ta and Shen Kung.<sup>22</sup> Night schools, literary classes, and elementary schools may also be established. Education should be rich so that it can be geared to the needs of the war of resistance; such as anti-Japanese national salvation, theories, tactics, how to organize the masses, etc.

3. External policy. We are against Japanese imperialism, not the Japanese people; therefore, we will continue to treat well Japanese prisoners of war. All British, American, and French citizens shall be protected. We will recognize the rights of self-determination for the minorities (Moslems, Mongols, etc.), and unite with them to defeat Japanese imperialism.

4. Internal policy. Liquidate traitors and consolidate the rear areas. Prohibit the growing and smoking of opium. Put into practice the equality of the sexes and issue a marriage law, etc.

In sum, the fundamental plan of all our policies is the United Front, to consolidate and expand the United Front and to solidify and motivate the great majority of the people to oppose Japanese imperialism.

We shall make the anti-Japanese bases model areas for a nation-wide United Front. The struggle for establishing anti-Japanese bases is the struggle for establishing models for the United Front!

5. How to carry out our work in areas under the enemy's puppet government control and in guerrilla areas?

In places where the enemy's political power has already been established (such as Peiping, Tientsin, Shihchiachuang, T'ai-yüan, East Hopei, etc.) and in guerrilla areas where neither our government nor the enemy's traitor government has been established, our work plan is to destroy, disintegrate, and eradicate the traitors' government and troops so that the traitors' political power cannot be established.

### *III. Methods of Dealing With The Traitor Government*

If the traitors' government is already established in a place, our guerrillas must topple it, arrest and execute the traitors, and establish our Chinese anti-Japanese government. We shall at all times carry on our propaganda work in North China, oppose the traitors' government, and oppose the maintenance committees<sup>23</sup> organized by the enemy. The maintenance committees were organized after the retreat of the Chinese troops by the local upper crust.<sup>24</sup> They have helped Japanese imperialism and have been miniatures of the traitors' political power. To make the masses understand that the maintenance committees are traitors' organizations, [we] must call upon the people not to organize maintenance committees [and to] reject the orders of the Japanese and of the maintenance committees. On the one hand, persons in charge of maintenance committees should be punished and the most rotten should be plucked out and executed. On the other hand, we should adopt a still more ingenious method to shake up and disintegrate the maintenance committees. According to our experience, not everybody in the maintenance committees is a traitor. Some of them have joined against their own will, [they] have been forced by the Japanese. They cannot help but make a display with the Japanese, but they still have not forgotten that



they are Chinese. In North China, some county magistrates and district chiefs quite frequently come to the Eighth Route Army areas reporting to us that they have been forced by the Japanese to convene maintenance committee meetings and seeking guidance from the Eighth Route Army. One magistrate put it this way: "When you are here you can protect us, but after your departure the Japanese will definitely kill me if I have been anti-Japanese. So I have no choice but to make a display with the Japanese. Please give us your guidance." In such a situation, would it be good if we opposed him, considered him a traitor and executed him? I should say not. We can let him go, but tell him to return right after the meeting, and give us a detailed report on the meeting, the enemy's deceiving schemes, manpower, etc., so that we will further understand the enemy's situation.

Moreover, someone in the vicinity of Peiping who had become a puppet county magistrate looked all over for the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party and announced that he himself would not become a traitor, but [that he accepted the post of county magistrate only] for financial reasons. He added: "As long as you allow me to be county magistrate, you may organize at your discretion the masses for guerrilla warfare." This shows that there are also some wavering elements among the traitors. Again, for example, the Yin Ju-keng puppet organization in Eastern Hopei has been established for several years,<sup>25</sup> but there are still very few vicious traitors in the puppet organization who firmly carry out Japanese orders [and] most cruelly slaughter the Chinese. Most of the personnel's attitude is one of display, and thus our slogan "Chinese protect Chinese" is still effective. We have already done something like this. A man was picked up from a maintenance committee. We asked him whether he would be willing to become a traitor just to make a display with the Japanese. He explained that he would be unwilling to become a traitor and to oppose the Chinese, but only to make a display with the Japanese. We believed him, gave him a commission certificate, and dispatched him to the Japanese side to collect information. We made him sign and at this moment he could not but



sign in order to express his attitude. We then set him free and he has no longer dared to oppose the guerrillas.

In the Northeast, Comrade Chao Shang-chih has sent out men to invite responsible persons<sup>26</sup> of maintenance committees to come for a talk. They all declared themselves as Chinese. We then had recorded the names of father, grandfathers, and three generations, and made them [our] blood brothers.<sup>27</sup> Henceforth, when our guerrillas need provisions, they can ask for their assistance and they [*i.e.*, the responsible persons of the maintenance committees] will not dare to help the Japanese actively.

We can draw from these experiences the following conclusions: Not everyone in the maintenance committees is an out-and-out traitor [and] some of them are still wavering. Therefore, we should immediately and without hesitation execute traitors who act firmly as running dogs of the Japanese, oppose China, destroy the war of resistance, and collect information. But we can forgive and use those who waver and are still consciously Chinese. Our strategy is to decimate the traitors and not let the wavering elements all go to rely upon the Japanese [and] firmly become traitors. Therefore, we cannot adopt universally the method of execution.

There is still another problem which demands attention. This kind of work must be carried out secretly, because if it were done publicly, first, the Japanese would execute the person as soon as they learn about [this liaison work] and second, the local people would begin to have doubts about us as soon as they learn about [it]. Only the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party are qualified to talk with the maintenance committees in North China because the masses trust that the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party are firmly anti-Japanese. Other friendly troops are not able to do so. The friendly troops of Sun Tien-ying once talked with the maintenance committees. The masses saw it and started rumors that Sun Tien-ying was going to surrender and was not to be relied upon. It took a long time to clear this up by explanation.

This method, therefore, can be used only by those troops who

are the firmest, unwavering until death, and trusted by the masses.

The method of dealing with the traitor troops: Japanese imperialism is attacking us by adopting its continuing scheme of "controlling Chinese by [using] Chinese." [The Japanese] have organized in North China anti-Communist autonomous troops. In many places these organizations have not materialized because often the troops ran away as soon as they had received their guns and money. Now the Japanese method is to engage Chinese in mess halls and transportation or to include several Chinese in a squad. What plans and methods should we adopt against such troops? Our plan is to disintegrate the traitor troops, win a part of them over to our side and together oppose Japanese imperialism. Our method is to proclaim "Chinese do not fight Chinese," "Chinese protect Chinese," "only fight Japanese troops, not autonomous troops," [and] "only fight Japanese troops, not Mongol troops." Propaganda [and] agitation using such slogans are beginning to show results. Besides, we do our best to avoid fighting the puppet troops, and will not intentionally seek out puppet troops to fight them. But we, of course, resist if puppet troops attack us.

There is an example in Shansi: At one time some puppet troops, dressed in Chinese army uniforms and disguised as Chinese troops, approached the 115th Division of our Eighth Route Army. Our comrades, thinking that friendly troops were coming, dispatched some men to establish contact. The enemy troops started shooting for half a day, and then we knew that they were the enemy. Subsequently, one of our little orderlies was captured by the puppet troops. They asked: "Why did you not open fire?" The little orderly answered: "We Chinese do not fight Chinese," whereupon they were greatly moved and released the little orderly. This shows that the Chinese among the puppet troops are also wavering. We should find a way to win them over, unite with the friendly troops, [and] together fight Japan.

We should select and dispatch loyal comrades who are genuinely and firmly resisting Japan to penetrate and to be active in



the maintenance committees and autonomous troops, so that they can assist our troops [and] collapse [their] organizations. Many comrades are not happy about working in the maintenance committees and puppet organizations but like to come to work in Yen-an and the border areas. This, of course, is good, but [I] hope that [our] comrades can see the importance of working inside the maintenance committees and puppet troops. In the future, after your graduation, some [of you] will go to work in the maintenance committees and puppet troops.

We will see to it that our guerrillas can get help not only from the people but also from the maintenance committees and puppet troops. Only this kind of guerrilla can keep on fighting the Japanese over a long period.

#### *IV. Propaganda Work Toward Enemy Troops*

Propaganda work toward enemy troops is particularly important behind the enemy lines. We have not yet done nearly enough of this kind of work in North China. Not a single propaganda slogan or notice is seen in places where the enemy is about to arrive. On the contrary, the enemy has written many, many slogan notices to deceive the masses, such as "The Imperial troops of Greater Japan are saving China," "Resisting Japan [means] destroying the country," "Loving Japan [means] to make the country prosper," etc. Yet some comrades should not think that Japanese imperialism has adopted only savage measures in dealing with us, such as slaughtering, raping, etc. Actually, Japanese imperialism has also used many, many deceiving policies, such as telling the Chinese: "The Chinese are very good, our Japanese ancestors were also Chinese, same race same clan" [and] "Japanese are also devoted to Buddhism." [When they arrive] at a place, [they] call mass meetings, when they see children, they hypocritically carry them in their arms and give them candy, [they] give cigarettes to the middle-aged people, [and] sometimes [they] distribute some food among the people to take home, etc. Therefore, some of the masses have been deceived. In a walled village in northern Hopei, the people will not let our guerrillas

in, [and] the local bullies and landlords are saying: "[If] we do not oppose Japan, [we] can keep on living as honest common people, [but we] cannot survive if [we] oppose Japan." The enemy has burned and killed a lot in some places, but the traitors merely say: "This has been caused by the arrival of the Eighth Route Army and the Communist Party." Comrades! We can see from this that the enemy's deceiving propaganda has been quite effective. Therefore, we must strengthen our propaganda work, give the masses detailed explanations, reveal all the enemy's deceptions, [and] expose the enemy's crimes and animal-like conduct. We will also write notices and slogans in various languages (Japanese, Chinese, Mongolian, etc.), [and] expand our propaganda work. Most recently, Japanese troops have surrendered with their guns to the Eighth Route Army. This has resulted from our good treatment of prisoners-of-war and the carrying out of propaganda work.

#### *V. The Mass Movement*

Starting up the mass movement is not a simple matter. We should decide the policy of our mass movement on the basis of local circumstances in North China, some in our rear, others in the enemy's rear. The anti-Japanese bases established by us have [both] guerrilla areas [and] enemy-controlled areas. In each different circumstance the masses' methods of work, organization and struggle are different.

Now I shall report about the experiences of the mass movement in Shansi:

All of you know that General Yen Hsi-shan of Shansi is anti-Japanese. Because he is anti-Japanese [he] needs help from the masses, [and he] needs to organize the masses, but at the same time [he] is afraid of having too many mass organizations. In this contradictory frame of mind of "wanting and fearing [the same thing]," he has organized a Sacrifice National Salvation League to develop mass resistance against Japan, but has also used this organization to limit the development of the masses, [and] has forbidden others to organize the masses. With regard to this



proposal, we have certainly advocated only the aspect of mobilizing the masses, and have also done our best in helping them, but we have not advocated the limiting aspect [and] have pointed out this defect to them. Consequently, although organized for a long time, the Sacrifice National Salvation League remains a paper organization,<sup>28</sup> [and] a genuine mass movement has still not arisen. What is the reason? Not understanding the principle and method of organizing the masses.

(1) Not understanding what to call the masses.

We say that the majority of people [*jen*] are called masses [*min chung*], that the masses thus are people, that the particular feature of people is the ability to act and to think. Therefore, in order to organize them, [we] should make them organize themselves automatically, make the masses feel the necessity of organizing themselves. Without this point, you cannot organize no matter what.<sup>29</sup> On the other hand, when the masses feel the necessity of organizing and are organizing, no matter how hard you [try to] stop [them], even beating [and] cursing them, they will still organize. For example, the Chinese Communist Party has been organizing while ignoring beatings and killings by others and has still developed. Again, for example, when Shansi troops arrived at a certain county, the masses all fled. The provincial governor was incensed when the troops reported to him by telegraph.<sup>30</sup> The provincial government at once ordered the county magistrate to organize the masses within two weeks or else be beheaded. Subsequently, despite threats and bribes, the masses remained the same, not organized. Therefore, voluntary organization by the masses is a most basic principle of the mass movement.

(2) Not understanding that the masses have various different demands. Among the masses, there are various kinds of people (workers, peasants, merchants, small craftsmen, teachers, students, etc.), and thus also various different demands. For organizing the masses, various methods and forms shall be applied based on the masses' various different demands. For instance, we will organize political parties for the masses who have political demands; organize economic units for [those] who have

economic demands, such as labor unions, peasant associations, etc.: organize study societies, libraries, singing teams, athletic clubs, etc., for [those] who have cultural demands. But the Shansi Sacrifice National Salvation League has not understood this point and has raised the one demand and method of national salvation through sacrifice in organizing the broad masses. The result has been no success at all.

This is the defect in the creation and development of the mass movement in Shansi. Now, what we have been doing and what we have considered ought to be done in the anti-Japanese base areas are not like this but are the adoption of more suitable methods.

a. Labor unions.

1. Labor unions—Labor unions are organizations of the laboring masses. Whoever makes a living by selling his labor (either entirely or substantially), regardless of age, sex, or native place, may join a labor union. Union members should include production workers (factories, mines, etc.), employed handicraft workers (collectively employed, such as the mat makers of North Shansi, etc.), hired peasants (permanent work, temporary work, etc.), urban workers (sales clerks, waiters, etc.), elementary school teachers, low-ranking office employees. Some tenant-farmers<sup>31</sup> in the villages have absolutely nothing; land, horses, tools, [and] seeds belong entirely to the landlords. They have only labor, [and] eighty per cent of the harvest goes to the landlords. These people may also join, because the twenty per cent of provisions they get is the same as wages. On the other hand, some peasants farm, but their principal income is from transporting by donkey or boat goods for others. These peasants may also join labor unions; [and] workers in Buddhist monasteries may also join labor unions.

But beware of small handicraft workers, such as carpenters [and] owners of tailor shops, who cannot join labor unions because they sell their products and are not wage earners. They belong to the petit bourgeois class [and] may organize cooperatives or handicraft associations. Those who make their living by

disseminating religion, such as monks, Taoists, priests, fortune tellers, etc., and actors also may not join labor unions because they are not engaged in socially useful labor.

Therefore, labor unions should not only absorb all wage earners, but also maintain themselves as workers' organizations.

2. Organization. To organize labor unions with production as the unit, a locality organizes a general labor union such as the Shen-Kan-Ning Border Area General Labor Union, embracing county labor unions, district labor unions, and village labor union branches. The village branch is the basic labor union organization. Within the village branch, all production departments, such as arsenals, coal mines, oil wells, etc., organize groups according to the members' occupations [and they] organize them into individual labor unions which accept directly the general labor unions' leadership. Within cities, they organize a labor union divided into branches according to the members' occupations.

Labor unions at each level establish a leadership organization (committee) divided into branches for organization, propaganda, culture and education, labor protection, youth workers, women workers, etc.

3. Demands. The important thing in the economy is to increase the pay and to decrease the time [*i.e.*, working hours], to demand vacations, labor insurance, compensation for injuries, illness, death, etc., and the particular demands of youth and women workers. Labor unions must protect and struggle for these demands. The political demands are resistance against Japan [and] national salvation.

b. Peasant associations (or peasant national salvation associations).

1. Membership—Anyone engaged in agricultural labor in the villages can join peasant associations. [They] include hired peasants, poor peasants, middle peasants [and] rich peasants (local bullies and landlords are not allowed to join). Besides all workers, teachers and students must join peasant associations. Why must all workers, teachers, and students join peasant asso-



ciations? Because there are no cadres among the peasants [who] have to rely upon other people for leadership. Peasants often do their work under the direction of local bullies and landlords. Therefore, the aim of having workers, teachers, and students join peasant associations is to make [them] the leaders. They often do not understand much the life of peasants but, on the whole, much more than do the local bullies and landlords. Therefore, [when] workers, teachers, and students join peasant associations, the leadership power of the peasant associations will not fall into the hands of local bullies and landlords who are not resolutely anti-Japanese. This is a question worth [our] attention.

2. Organization. To have a unified organization system (provincial, county, township, and village), leadership organizations at all levels establish committees divided into departments for organization, propaganda, culture, education, armed forces (self-defense troops), etc.

3. The general demands are rent reduction, tax-reduction, equal food distribution, water conservancy, establishment of co-operatives, etc.

c. Youth organizations (Children are to be attached to Youth organizations). [You] may organize Liberation Vanguard Teams, Youth Vanguard Teams, students, associations, youth national salvation associations, etc., in order to absorb all youth elements. There must be a complete organizational system from top to bottom. [As to] the establishment of leadership offices at all levels, the main demands are for culture [and] education, young workers, young peasants and young women.

d. Women's National Salvation Organizations. All women should be absorbed. An organizational system from bottom to the top and leadership offices at all levels should be established. The principal demands are equality of the sexes, [*i.e.*,] equality in political, economic, cultural, educational, legal, and social positions.

e. Merchants' National Salvation Associations. Existing merchant associations may be reformed. With the aim of resisting



Japan and national salvation, the same organizational system and leadership offices should be established.

In a village where the five above-mentioned organizations are established, the great majority of the people have joined the organizations and all can work quite well, we can say that the great majority of the people are organized [and] unite these five groups into a Resist-the-Enemy Rear Relief Association.<sup>32</sup> In Shansi it is called Sacrifice National Salvation League.

There is still another question, namely: Why raise these mass organizations? What are their duties?

We say that during the present period of the war of resistance, the duties of all mass groups are: to mobilize the largest majority of the masses to participate in the war of resistance [and] in all kinds of work in the war of resistance. If they are soldiers, to organize self-defense troops, guerrilla teams, to assist the troops in fighting, [and] cooking, to transport, to patrol, to sound alarms, to rescue wounded soldiers, to serve as scouts, to destroy roads, etc.

But it is still not enough, if [we] merely mobilize the masses to participate in the war of resistance and neglect the livelihood of the masses. All these mass groups alike would collapse. Therefore, improving the people's livelihood is also the duty of the mass groups. Only if the people's livelihood can be improved, can the greatest majority of the people be mobilized to participate in the war of resistance. This is a fixed principle.

We should realize that during the war of resistance the people's livelihood must be improved, but improving the people's livelihood must also be adapted to the war of resistance. [We] cannot let the masses' economic struggle become detrimental to the war of resistance. That is to say that resisting Japan comes first [and] improving the people's livelihood comes second. So our principle is under the slogan of resisting Japan [and] within the sphere of not interfering with the United Front, do everything possible to improve the people's livelihood.

Is this not contradictory? Yes. The difficult place is right here. We may adopt this kind of method: do everything possible

to avoid using struggle methods, but adopt methods of discussion, negotiation and arbitration in order to fulfill the demand of improving the people's livelihood. Is this method feasible? We say it is feasible [as] we have already had this kind of experience.

The peasants in a place in Shansi raised demands for reducing rent to the landlords (at that time, the Japanese were just stepping up their attacks). The landlords said: The Japanese will soon come to attack. Whatever rent and loan payments you can make will be all right. This shows that not all landlords are stubborn and that negotiating<sup>33</sup> is possible.

There was also a county magistrate who, after receiving Commander-in-Chief Yen's order to reduce rents, at once invited landlords and peasant association representatives to a party where the county magistrate pointed out the significance of the present war of resistance and the necessity for improving the peasants' harsh livelihood. [He expressed the] hope that the landlords would profoundly understand the great significance and voluntarily promise to reduce rents. As soon as the meeting was over, the county magistrate issued an order to give awards and to publicize the landlords' names throughout the county. In this manner the landlords were satisfied [and] the peasants' livelihood was improved. This is a very good method [and] we ought to study it. (Of course, there are also deadly stubborn landlords who disregard any kind of explanation; [then we] must take to armed struggle.)

Moreover, when Chairman Chiang issued orders to punish severely corrupt officials, grave frictions between the people and government were discovered in Shansi, because not a single official in Shansi was not corrupt. At this moment, the peasants, under the favorable condition of "Chairman Chiang's orders at the top, the peasants' associations at the bottom," have called mass meetings to catch, liquidate, and execute corrupt village chiefs or district chiefs. But the village chiefs and district chiefs have tried to counter-attack and have complained to the county magistrates that the peasants' associations are organized by the Communist Party or by traitors. As a result, the settling of accounts



has bogged down, and the great matter of resisting Japan and national salvation has been forgotten. This is a very bad phenomenon. We advocate not to settle old accounts, but all officials are no longer permitted to be corrupt. Severe punishment will be meted out against further corruption. Only in this way can the question be solved and friction between the people and government be reduced. At the same time, a special office in the government should be established to negotiate and arbitrate all disputes, like the workers-farmers' sections or workers-farmers' bureaus in county governments. We must also cultivate and train a large number of cadres so that all mass groups for workers, peasants, youth, women, merchants have their own cadres as leaders. The stronger the ability of the cadres, the deeper the development of the mass movement, [and hence] a still larger force can be mobilized to participate in the holy war of resistance.

Finally, in order to quickly organize and arm the masses, the method of "from top to bottom" has been adopted to establish mass organizations all over North China. [The method] is, first of all, to call several active elements for a preparatory meeting, to elect the preparatory committee members (provincial, county, or district), to proceed with preparations, training, and distributing cadres among all villages to establish organization. Within a proper time, a representative assembly would be called to formally establish the organization. These coordinated methods which are from top to bottom and from bottom to top may be adopted in the present war of resistance.

By working according to the above-mentioned methods, we will be able to have the largest majority of the masses organized, mobilized, [and] enthusiastically participating in all types of work in the war of resistance.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> Abbreviation of K'ang-Jih Chüncheng Tahsüeh—Anti-Japanese Military-Political College.

<sup>2</sup> Marco Polo Bridge.

<sup>3</sup> XXXX in this and the next sentence probably stands for Chiang Weiüanchang—Chairman [of the military affairs committee] Chiang. Yen refers to Yen Hsi-shan, governor of Shansi and Commander of the Second War Zone (North China).

<sup>4</sup> *Mintsu koming tahsüeh*.

<sup>5</sup> *Shansi ch'ingnien k'ang-jih chüehssu tui.*

<sup>6</sup> *ch'ihchü; literally: enduring.*

<sup>7</sup> *ch'ünchung; literally: masses.*

<sup>8</sup> *chü'ti ti ts'ailiao; literally: concrete materials.*

<sup>9</sup> The line runs the entire length of Shansi from Tat'ung in the north to P'uchou (Yungchi) in the south.

<sup>10</sup> *Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü linshih weiyüanhui.*

<sup>11</sup> *Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü tang-chün-cheng-min linshih taipiao tahui.*

<sup>12</sup> Liu is in error; Paoting is not east of the line but on the line (see map).

<sup>13</sup> *hsiang.*

<sup>14</sup> *minyü chikuan.*

<sup>15</sup> *ts'anyi hui.*

<sup>16</sup> *tungyüan weiyüanhui.*

<sup>17</sup> *Hsisheng chiukuo t'ungmeng.*

<sup>18</sup> *kutung.*

<sup>19</sup> *chuangting tui.*

<sup>20</sup> *mint'uan.*

<sup>21</sup> *Nanmin ts'aich'an ch'ingli weiyüanhui.*

<sup>22</sup> *Shen-pei Kung-hsüeh*—North Shensi Public School. For a brief description, see Kuo Hua-lun, "Chungkung shucheng ch'ien-hou," *Fei-ch'ing Yüehpao*, April 1968, 106; translated in Warren Kuo, "The CCP Pledge of Allegiance to the Kuomintang (Part I)," *Issues and Studies*, August 1968, 42.

<sup>23</sup> *weich'ih hui.*

<sup>24</sup> *haoshen.*

<sup>25</sup> General Yin Ju-keng was installed by the Japanese as the head of the East Hopei Autonomous Government on November 24, 1935.

<sup>26</sup> *futse jen.* The Chinese Communists use this term frequently. They usually translate it into "responsible person," by which they mean a leading member of an organization. See the latest translations in Wai-wen kanpu hsüehhsiao (comp.), *Han-Ying shihshih yung yü-ts'e hui* (Peking: Hsin-Hua Shütien, 1964), 120.

<sup>27</sup> *hsitungti.*

<sup>28</sup> *k'ung chiatzu.*

<sup>29</sup> *wulun tsen yang.*

<sup>30</sup> or telephone; orig.: *tien kao.*

<sup>31</sup> *tien mung.*

<sup>32</sup> *K'ang-ti hou yüan hui.*

<sup>33</sup> *shangliang.*



## Glossary

張蘇  
 趙尚志  
 持久  
 晉察冀邊區臨時委員會  
 晉察冀邊區黨軍政民臨  
 晉察冀代表大會  
 晉察冀邊區印象記  
 國立波  
 朱德  
 壯丁隊  
 全國代表會議  
 助長公道團  
 羣衆  
 中華民族開國五十年文  
 獻編纂委員會  
 具體的材料  
 負責人  
 豪紳  
 犧牲救國同盟  
 兄弟  
 胡仁奎  
 一二九回憶錄  
 抗日軍政大學  
 抗敵後援會

Chang Su  
 Chao Shang-chih  
 ch'ihchiu  
 Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü linshih weiyüanhui  
 Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü tang-chün-cheng-min  
     linshih taipiao tahui  
Chin-Ch'a-Chi piench'ü yinhsiang chi  
 Chou Li-po  
 Chu Te  
 chuangting tui  
 ch'üankuo taipiao tahui  
 Chuchang kungtao t'uan  
 ch'üunchung  
 Chunghua minkuo k'aikuo wu-shih nien  
     wenhsien pientsuan weiyüanhui  
 chüt'i ti ts'ailliao  
 futse jen  
 hao shen  
 Hsisheng chiukuo t'ungmeng  
 hsiungti  
 Hu Jen-k'uei  
I-erh-chiu hui-i-lu  
 K'ang-Jih chüncheng tahsüeh  
 K'ang-ti hou yüan hui

共匪禍國史料彙編

空架子

鼓動

民衆

民族解放先鋒隊

民族革命大學

民團

民意機關

名人講演集

難民財產清理委員會

內蒙地方自治政務會

聶榮臻

保甲

彭德懷

薄一波

商量

山西青年抗日決死隊

陝北公學

孫志遠

孫殿英

宋劭文

太行山

太岳山

電告

佃農

Kung-fei huokuo shihliao hui-pien

k'ung chiatzu

kutung

minchung

mintsu chiehfang hsienfeng tui

Mintsu koming tahsüeh

mint'uan

minyi chikuan

Ming-jen chiangyen chi

Nanmin ts'aich'an ch'ingli weiyüanhui

Neimeng tifang tzuchih chengwu hui

Nieh Jung-chen

paochia

P'eng Te-huai

Po I-po

shangliang

Shansi ch'ingnien k'ang-Jih chüehssu tui

Shen-peï kung-hsüeh

Sun Chih-yüan

Sun Tien-ying

Sung Shao-wen

T'aihang shan

T'aiyüeh shan

tien kao

tien nung

參議會

督軍

動員

維持會

無論怎樣

閩錫山

殷汝耕

有錢出錢, 有力出力

ts'anyi hui

tuchün

tungyüan

weich'ih hui

wulun tsen yang

Yen Hsi-shan

Yin Ju-keng

yu ch'ien ch'u ch'ien, yu li ch'u li

