

Lo Fu p 23 ff  
Trotskyists & CCP  
history

Political

1 - Foreign affairs. In discussing questions of policy I must ask you to bear in mind always that the fundamental issue before the Chinese people today is the struggle against Japanese imperialism. Our Soviet foreign policy is decisively conditioned by this struggle. Japan's warlords hope to subjugate the whole of China economically and politically, to make the C. people their colonial slaves. The fight against the J invasion regardless of how it presents itself is the fight against Japanese conquest economic and military. These are our main tasks and must be remembered in analyzing present Soviet policies.

Never in history has one people carried on such a violent campaign, ruthless, barbaric and cruel, as that J is conducting against C people today. The danger of becoming slaves is imminent. So the aim of the entire C people today must be to struggle against J imperialism. Without that C people cannot live. Every Soviet action, every policy, must be based on this fact.

J aggression is menacing not only China but also world peace, especially the peace of the Pacific. J imperialism is not only the enemy of China, but also of all people of the world who desire ~~desire~~ peace. Especially it is the enemy of those people with interests in the Pacific ocean, namely, the American, British, French & Soviet Russian nations. The J continental policy, as well as naval policy are directed not only vs C but also vs other countries. Thus, the problem of J aggression is not only a C problem but a problem that should be solved by all nations fronting the P ocean. Hence the C Soviets & the C people want to unite with all nations, peoples, parties, & mass organizations, to form a united front with them vs J imperialism. What do we expect from the foreign powers? We expect at least friendly nations will not help Japanese imperialism. We think they will actively help C to resist J attacks and adopt a neutral position. With those nations, peoples, parties, etc who are against sabotage of world peace, we desire mutual organizations, pacts, treaties or alliances in order that together we can struggle against J imperialism.

2 - Concerning the question of imperialism in general we observe that among the great powers there are some who express their unwillingness to have a new world war, some are not ready to see J occupy China: countries such as America, England, France, Holland & Belgium. With these countries we are willing to unite against J imperialism. Then ~~there are~~ <sup>there are</sup> countries permanently under the menace of the aggressive powers, minor nations, colonies, semi-colonies such as Australia, the Philippines, Central American countries, Canada, India, the Dutch Indies, more or less similar to that of C.

2 a -- In actual practice, however, if Great Britain were to make an alliance with C at present, would it not involve extending loans, credits for ammunition and airplanes, to Nanking, and would not these interests increase the prestige of U.S. & B imp. in C?

We consider them our friends & invite their cooperation. As to the Soviet Union, which adopts a policy of peace, and does not want to subjugate or exploit any nation, such

a country naturally must be our good friend.

So except for J & those countries who help J imperialism the categories mentioned above (anti-war colonial, semicolonial, S. Union) can be organized into an anti-aggression, anti-subjugation front - into anti-war, anti-Fascist, world alliances. In the East this means the formation of a Pacific ~~Union~~ union against J aggression.

Any of the above categories of nations who wish to join this common front, regardless of the degree of service it can render in making effective, even if it takes merely a passive neutral position, will be welcome by us as a friendly power.

The greatest danger in the world is that two or three countries desire to make a battle ground of the entire earth. In the East, this danger is represented by J. The J attempt to subjugate the C people. The task of the C people is to prevent it. Without any doubt the Soviet Government & the people of all C are willing to join all the nations who sincerely want peace, on a basis of equality. They are likewise ready to organize an anti-J front here and an anti-aggression front in Europe. This is desirable to all the people of the world. The victory of anti-J war conducted by the C people will greatly advance the cause of world peace.

2 a - Until now Nanking has received much help from America and England & other countries, which has been used in civil war. That war has been conducted not mainly against the Red Army but vs the whole C people and indeed for every Red soldier killed Nanking has slain a dozen C peasants or workers. Such help therefore does not seem to have been rendered to the C people. Only when Nanking determines to fight ~~an~~ imperialism and unite with the people's revolution to organize national defense government will such help be real help. This kind of assistance can be realized in two ways (1) giving arms, loans & ammunition to anti-Jap elements in China or (2) actual war against J. We believe, if G.B. & U.S. will give C such kind of help there will be no doubt that between C people on one side and British and American people on the other will establish a very intimate friendship & union. C people will have the full capacity to pay the loan that G.B. & U.S. or other countries will give China.

(two following paragraphs deleted in ms)

Q - Three methods of foreign "help" to C (1) help making by forming an alliance now (2) help any anti-J government by actual intervention, (3) help an anti Jap national defense government after one is formed, without an offensive war. What is Mao's opinion?

A - In my opinion the first method was, until now, been practiced. We are opposed to it. The second method need not be carried out directly. It is only necessary that A and England stop their help to J and N govt - financially, politically, diplomatically, etc. As for the 3rd kind of help, we aspire to it, but if it is not convenient for A and E now we hope that when actual resistance begins this cooperation will be forthcoming.

3 -- The J are in fact, already destroying these treaties. For example by the J military occupation of Manchukuo, by smuggling in North China by various illegal means and the intimidation of Nanking, these treaties are being gradually destroyed. We can observe

especially in Manchuria the collapse of the foreign powers treaty position. Now that C faces the danger of becoming a J colony, these treaties may soon automatically become inoperative. (b) If a nation no longer exists the loans likewise cease to exist.

4 - In Manchuria extraterritoriality has already been abolished by the J. The same thing will happen in C if J gets control of the country. Not only that, but ordinary commerce and foreign trade is being undermined by J. If other countries wish to have peaceful business relations with C they must halt J, for such trading rights as they now possess are menaced with early destruction.

But the S government, in carrying out the will of the C people, will not permit J to realize its ambition to destroy the economic and Pol. independence of all C without a war. So the urgent question is this (1) The C people,, with the help of foreign nations & friendly peoples, will drive out & crush J imperialism, or (2) whether J will take C by default.

Governments of other countries may ask of us, "What attitude will the S g. take toward our treaties with C governments of the past?" Our answer is very clear. Which is more important, Revision of foreign treaties, or salvation of the nation? The most important thing, unquestionably, is to resist the J & not worry too much about foreign treaties just now. The S g and all C people therefore will concentrate all its forces to fight the J other questions can wait. Extraterritoriality, unequal treaties, & foreign concessions become of secondary importance in comparison with problem of being subjugated by J.

The question may arise, "Suppose the S gvt succeeds in driving out J, recovering the lost territory, & reestablishing C sovereignty, what attitude will it then take toward foreign treaties, extra'y etc?"

(4a) Our reply may be stated in this way. "When that time comes the C peoples govt will base its policy toward foreign powers on the conduct of the particular power during the war. Those powers that have helped or not opposed C in her war of independence & liberation will be able to enjoy excellent relations with C & enjoy mutual advantages. Those powers which have remained neutral will be invited to continue friendly relations. Those powers which have actively assisted J will naturally not be given the same treatment: for example, Germany, which has already established special relations with Manchukuo, cannot be regarded as a power friendly to the interests of the C people. If C really gets its independence then the foreign interests in C will be more secure than at present, the interests they can get will be possibly more than now for trade and capital. The production & consumption power of 4½ million people is not a matter that can remain the exclusive interest of the C people, but must engage the whole world. 4½ million people, once emancipated, with their great latent productive capabilities released, can help to improve the economy as well as raise the cultural level of the whole world. This productive power of the C people has not in the past been utilized, rather it has been suppressed - by both the militarists & the foreign imperialists, especially the J.

When we have our independence C will negotiate with friendly powers treaties of mutual help, mutual advantage, & mutual agreement. Against J we have now but one method to employ: armed resistance. But toward other powers, on the basis of mutual respect and mutual dignity, C is prepared to establish & maintain cooperation on a much broader scale than at present. So far as J is concerned, C must by the act of a war of liberation cancel all unequal treaties, confiscate all J imperialist holdings & annul all special J privileges in this country. This includes such "treaties" as the Ho-Umetsa Agreement, the Shanghai Truce, the Tangku Agreement, the Anti-Communist Pact, etc, which are opposed by the entire C people.

4 a -- We will not take any action that will prejudice or place at disadvantage the world position of C while carrying on our war of independence.

5 - We will welcome foreign capital investment. In the past foreign capital has not been used for the real interests of C. When C achieves real independence it will become possible to employ outside capital for much wider benefits & for the development of productive enterprises on a vast scale. And only a free C, also, due to intensive development of her productive economy will be able to pay back the principal and interest on foreign investments.

Except for the J, the S govt does not think it necessary now to confiscate foreign property or investments in C.

8 -- The KMT has utilized its foreign loans chiefly to engage in militarist civil wars, or to fight the Reds, or to waste money on other stupidities. Such loans or investments will be used by the S govt to develop the fundamental productivity of C economic life: industrially and, using scientific methods, agriculturally.

(7a)(re: missionaries) Yes. They, except those of J imperialism ??? to enjoy these rights

Legitimate foreign loans can be recognized, except those of J. We will recognize all loans made for & used for constructive purposes. We will not recognize any loans utilized for civil war, for fighting the Red Armies, or for purposes not in the interest of the C people as a whole. We will recognize such loans as railways, telegraphs, radio, famine relief, etc.

10 --- In our opinion the American people as well as the A govt have ??? We hope and Believe they will continue to be far sighted in forming with the C people an anti-J united front. This is the best way in which they can help C at present. Many A people who have organized themselves, like the Friends of the C People, have shown their friendship for C & demonstrated their real sympathy for the people of this country. (The Institute of P Relations, The Pan-Pacific Assn, The China Society etc). In the name of the C people as a whole, we should like to thank them for their generous help & support. But there are also certain short-sighted A statesmen who suppose that the J conquest of C does not concern them. We believe this to be a mistaken conception of the true conditions which further A interest in the Orient and the ~~mmmmmm~~ resistance to J imperialism. Such people advocate a policy of isolation. As history reveals its shape here more clearly however we believe the "isolationist" policy will be abandoned & A will awaken to her real responsibility in the Pacific in combatting the direct menace constituted by J imperialism to A interests. This part of A statesmen must change their policy and struggle

against the common enemy of mankind - J imperialism.

11 -- As for England, much the same as the foregoing applies. Among the English people there are <sup>societies</sup> similar to the Friends of Chinese People. We respect & we welcome such friends in England who sympathize with the masses of China.

One party of British statesmen quite clearly adopted a mistaken policy in the past. The occupation of Chinese territory by J was, in effect, made possible and even helped by the Brit govt. Now the B govt apparently desires to adopt new tactics but appears not sufficiently courageous to carry out its convictions in this part of the world. Leith-Ross, on his recent visit to J was frankly told that England must be prepared to recognize J hegemony over China, or J could not cooperate with England in this country. The result of his interviews was therefore nil

12 --- As to the Soviet policy toward national minorities it is just the opposite of the policy adapted by the KMT. Nanking's principle is Pan-Hanism. The fundamentals of our policy are <sup>national</sup> autonomy, self determination. Minorities can of their own will unite with the Han people to oppose Japanese imperialism but force will never be used against them. We are unalterably opposed to Pan-Hanism. This is true whether we are referring to the Moslems, Turks, Tibetans, Lolos, Mios, Mongols, etc. In Kansu the Moslems are already organizing their autonomous soviet governments. We agree with the policy toward national minorities adopted by the Soviet Union. We oppose the policy used by J toward Koreans, Manchurians, Formosans, Chinese, Mongols, etc. Under the Soviet government these national minorities will enjoy their independent cultural, economic, political and social development and a happy life.

13 --- The amount of truth (as well known) contained in Fascist propaganda is very small. When Mussolini wished to conquer Abyssinia he announced that he was engaged in freeing the slaves of Africa. When Hitler imposed Fascism on Germany he told the German people that glory was better than bread. He told the European people that he was amorous of peace. The J militarists likewise revealed, when they were conquering Manchuria, that they were liberating the Chinese people and creating a paradise for them. While the Spanish Fascists hire Africans, & Italian & German mercenaries to massacre their own people, destroy their cities and wreck their own popular elected government. They put a sign over the thousands of new graves, "Killed For Patriotism". Now as you see the Fascists are crying of control of China by Moscow. Unfortunately the stupidity of Fascist propaganda does not prevent many people from being deceived by it. But if Soviet Russia makes a pact with China then it must be under Russian control. If America or England helps us then we must be ruled from Washington or London? Soviet Russia has made pacts of mutual help with France and several other countries but none has gone under Soviet rule.

The Fascists cannot answer one question. In their opinion every country that seems likely to have a victorious revolution is menaced by the "control" of Moscow; but under whose control if the Russian revolution? Whose Moscow is Moscow's? The Russian people have rule themselves since their revolution; why cannot the Chinese? If Fascist "logic" is correct then history must be rewritten; every country that has had a

revolution must be found to have had its "Moscow". The fact is that the Fascists in this "logic" express their own desire to build up world empires as J in Manchuria, as Italy in Abyssinia. They cannot imagine any other basis of help between people except that one is trying to devour the other.

But after all the real fact will be found quite otherwise. Hitler's action in certain parts of Europe and North China. Only these places we can say that they are under Tokyo, Rome control or will be under Berlin control.

With the victory of the C revolution the C people will be able to greet the Russian people as true brothers, just as they can greet the free peoples of other countries as their full equals. Not only with the S. Union but with all people who will treat us as equals, the C people's government want to have friendly relations, and to unite with them to oppose the Fascists who hope to stop the advance of history.

The J and C Kshek now shout & ~~shriek~~ shriek that all those who oppose J imperialism are communists. But all the C people, with the exception of a few traitors, are opposed to J imperialism. Therefore in the opinion of C people if C'ism means anti-J resistance, if C'ism means struggle for national liberation, then majority of C people are now c'ists and the so-called "Red menace" exists only in the minds of traitors. On the contrary it is no menace but a necessity as urgently needed by whole nation, as rice is needed by Chinese, ~~as rice is needed by Chinese~~ ~~as rice is needed by Chinese~~ If you think that C'sm is a "menace" to the C people just ask a J general his opinion. He will tell you that in J opinion C'ism jeans liberty, national liberation and national sovereignty for C and that is precisely why he demands a pact with Nanking on it. But - if, for this is precisely what they demand. If C means that, then we C people want just that. The C people do not fear such a movement. They will shout long live the liberated C people, long live a free, united, sovereign and complete China.

Stalin said in an interview with a man named Howard "revolution cannot be exported." Neither can it be imported. It is natural that the C people should want to find the best method of opposing J in order to survive. We cannot find in the Comintern's decisions or in the Soviet Constitution any argument for the rule of Soviet China by the USSR. We only know from historical fact that the S U helps all oppressed nations and peoples with spirit ~~and~~ of equality & sincerity. It doesn't attempt to get one inch of land or one man from another country.

14 -- Antifascist alliance means mutual defense. If C makes a pact with the SU it's because Fascist Japan is the enemy of SU as well as of China. This is the fundamental basis of the Franco-Soviet pact. It will be the same fundamental basis for all Pacific countries that enter the anti-Japanese Pacific front. (b) It's possible capitalist countries in their own interest may do so. The Franco Soviet pact is proof of it. The question before all foreign powers is whether C is to (a) become a colony or (b) become a sovereign country. In the latter case the opportunities that exist for foreigners will be very great for C will be free, and the C are independent people, with an independent economy, culture, and political organization. Such a C can be a great force for good in the world and an ally on the side of justice whose influence no nation might likely spurn

But if C becomes a colony then the future of the Pacific will become dark indeed. It means not only the destruction of C independence but destroying the interests of all peoples and governments in the beginning of a long series of terrible and senseless wars.

A choice must be made. The Chinese people chooses the way of struggle, and to disperse the evil clouds of J Fascism now darkening the Pacific. We hope that the statesmen & the people of foreign nations will also choose the higher way and not follow the dark roads laid down by the bloody history of imperialism.

So on this basis you hear us shout: People of all countries unite & resist Japanese fascism, aggression & oppression. And this union may in fact be realized we believe for we can see no good reasons why it should not appeal to all men who sincerely want peace and mutual good will in the Pacific.

Japanese Imperialism July 16 '36

1 -- If J imperialism is defeated & driven from C the major part of the problem of foreign imperialism in general will have been solved. If other imperialisms do not act as J does and C defeats J it will mean that the C masses have risen up and established their independence and therefore main problem of imperialism will have been solved..

2 -- First, C is not an isolated country; secondly, Neither is J. J has her allies, - Germany, for example. To oppose J therefore C needs assistance from other powers. This does not mean, however, that C is incapable of fighting J without foreign help. It does not mean that we must wait for foreign alliances before we resist J. C is a nation of great power and in the past long period of struggle this power can be organized. In the long period of conflict begun by the counter-revolutionist in 1927 the C people has already learned much about this power and has found a good means of directing it in the struggles of the C'ist Party. In their long political experience the C masses have mastered the use of ~~power~~ very effective weapons to oppose their enemy. Especially since September 18 the traitors' demagogy has been bankrupted and few people today are deceived by it. The masses unerringly recognize those who lead in their real interest. Even some of the KMT members have participated or want to participate in the anti J movement. We are confident that the same people will not submit to J imperialism. We are confident that they will mobilize their great reserves of power to resist J on the field of battle & with utmost vigor meet the challenge of the invader.

In this struggle ultimate victory will certainly be C. But if she fights all the war alone the sacrifice will be comparatively great devastation will be comparatively long. J is a strong power and will have besides her own allies. In order to achieve victory over J imperialism within the shortest time possible and with the smallest waste C must first of all realize a united front within her own borders and secondly all the power whose interests are the interests of peace in the Pacific.

3 ---- Three conditions will guarantee our success. First, the achievement of the National United Front vs Jap imp. in C. Second, the formation of World Anti Japanese United Front. Third, revolutionary action by the oppressed peoples at present suffering under J imperialism. Of these the most central is the union of the C people themselves.

4 --- That depends on the strength of the C peoples anti-J united Front, and many conditioning factors in C as well as the rate of revolutionary development in J. If the C.P.F. is effectively organized horizontally and vertically, if other governments recognize the menace of J imperialism to their own interests, if revolution comes quickly in J, the war will be short and victory speedily won. If these conditions are not realized, however, the war will be very long, but the end just the same. J will be defeated, only the sacrifices will be extensive and it will be a painful period for the whole world. The C C.P., the Soviet govt, the Red Army, and the C people are ready to unite with any power to shorten this war, but if none joins us we are determined to carry on alone.

5 --- Two questions are involved here, the policy of the ~~foreign~~ <sup>foreign</sup> powers & the strategy of C armies. First the J continental policy is already fixed & is well known. Those who imagine that by sacrificing sovereignty, by making compromises & concessions in the vain hope to halt the fatal advance of J are indulging in Utopian strategy.

We know well enough that not only North China but the lower Yangtse River and ports of the south are already included in the J continental program. Moreover it is just as clear that the J navy aspires to blockade the China seas and to seize the Philippines, Siam, Indo-China, Malaya, and the Dutch Indies. In the event of war J will try to make them her strategic bases, putting Britain and U.S. out of C and monopolize south Pacific. These moves are included in J's strategical plans and naval strategy, coordinated with the land strategy of J. At that time of course C will be in a difficult position but the C people & a majority believe that they can overcome these difficulties. Only the rich men in C's exports are defeatist. They are afraid to lose their property. This explains why Nanking has not dared to go to war.

As C considers questions of economy, of supplies of war, etc of cessation of trade, of the J blockade, questions must come up for answer by the foreign powers. If J is to be allowed to isolate C as easily as she did Manchuria, if the powers are to do nothing more than they did there, then of course J's task will tend to be minimized.

Ideally, of course, our military strategy undoubtedly should be the strategy of the "inner front"; foreign nations will only be concerned with the "outer front." C would fight in the milieu of J imperialism; other countries will oppose J on the periphery. Our slogan is "encircle and crush" J's armies.

Many people may think it would be impossible for C to continue her fight against J once she had seized certain strategic points on the coast and enforced a blockade. This is nonsense. To refute it we have only to refer to the history of the Red Army. In certain periods our forces have been exceeded numerically some 10 or 20 times by the KMT troops. KMT troops excelled ours in equipment. Their economic resources many times surpassed ours and its human material was much greater. Why then has the Red Army scored success after success against

the white troops and not only survive but increase its power till today? The explanation is that the Red Army & Soviet Government had created among all people within their areas a rock-like solidity; because everyone in the Soviets was ready to fight for their government against its oppressors, because every person was voluntarily & consciously fighting for his own interests and what he believed to be right. Secondly, in the struggle for the Soviets the people were led by men of ability, strength and determination, equipped with deep understanding of the strategic political, economic & military needs of their position. The R.A. won its many victories also because its solid base in the people attracted friends even among the white troops, among the civilian populace as well as among the soldiers. The enemy was definitely our superior militarily, but politically it was immobilized.

In the anti-J war the C people would have on their side greater advantages than those it had in its struggle with the KMT. C is a very big nation but it cannot be said to be conquered until every part of it is under the sword of the murderer. If J succeeds in conquering even a large section of C, getting possession of an area with as many as 100 to 200 million people, we will still be far from defeated. We will still have left a great people to fight against J who will have to fight a heavy and constant rearguard action throughout the entire war.

As for munitions, the J cannot ~~even~~ seize our arsenals in the interior which are sufficient to equip C armies for many years. We capture munitions from their own hands. By the latter method the R A has equipped its present forces from the KMT's for nine years they have been our "ammunition carriers". What infinitely greater possibilities would open up for the utilization of such tactics as won our arms for us if the whole C people were united in war against Japan! Economically of course C is not unified; this is both an advantage and disadvantage. For example, to cut off Shanghai from C is not as disastrous to the country as to cut off N Y from the rest of America. Moreover we do not believe it's possible for J to blockade all of C; even so, we should still be able to survive. Strategically China's northwest, southwest and west cannot be blockaded by J which is fundamentally a sea power.

Thus once more the central problem becomes the mobilizing and unifying of the entire C people and the building up of a Peoples' United Front such as has been advocated by the C P ever since 1932. In doing this we can defeat J, moreover, J people in certain time will help us. They too will oppose the militarists' campaigns in C & help to destroy their Fascist rulers.

The J revolution is not only a possibility but a certainty, it is inevitable, and will begin to occur after the first severe defeats suffered by the J army.

All these forces together will beyond question result in victory for the revolutionary C people.

9 --- Of course the Soviet U is also not an isolated country. It cannot ignore events in the Far East, it cannot remain passive. Will the S U watch complacently J conquer all of C & make of it a strategic base to fight vs. Russia? Or will it help the C people oppose the J oppressors, win their independence & establish friendly relations with the R people? We think she will choose the latter course.

We believe that once the C people have their own government and begin their war of resistance and want to establish friendly alliances with USSR as well as all other friendly powers, the S U will be in the vanguard to shake hands with us. The struggle vs J imperialism is a world task & the S U as part of that world in reality can not hope to remain neutral.

10 --- We have mentioned our separate policies for other foreign powers before. It is the immediate task of C to regain all the lost territories, not merely defend the territory below the Great Wall. This means that Manchuria must be regained. It does not include Korea, formerly a C colony, but when we have reestablished the independence of the lost territories of C and the Koreans wish to break away from the chains of J imperialism we will extend them our enthusiastic help in their struggle to secure independence. The same applies for Formosa. As for I. Mongolia which is populated by both C & M we will struggle to drive out J from there & help Inner M to establish an autonomous state, and we shall also welcome a federation with autonomous Outer Mongolia.

11 == Impossible! The C Soviet Govt, the C people, will not permit J to retain one inch of C territory.

12 - --- (a) Yes. The S govt will wholeheartedly submit to the decisions of such a council provided it really resists J.

(b) Yes, it will agree not to utilize any wartime situation in order to expand its territory, or move its troops into any areas occupied by any anti-J armies nor have we done so for some time past. The R A would not utilize any wartime situation in an opportunist way.

(c) It wd insist on ~~uninterrupted~~ wage<sup>ing</sup> war, decisively and finally against J aggression. In addition it would request observance of the points recently advanced in the call for the creation of a democratic republic and Nat. Defense Govt issued by the RA to the KMT.

(d) The R A can fight ~~with~~ from a small or large base, but the greater it is the larger & stronger will be the force it can mobilize for fighting the J. If we have three or four provinces we can summon to the war a greater & more effective anti-J force than Nanking's entire army. As for help; we need much, the more the better, but still we can get along very well without any outside assistance. We have already been fighting 10 years in a revolutionary struggle. We are always prepared for war. We were prepared for it when we entered Shansi toward the J positions. At that time we did not get any help from outside but on the contrary were opposed by the combined forces of Yen Hsushan & Chang K shek, and not only them but members of troops against us but built a n extensive system of fortifications to prevent our advance vs the.J

We were obliged to go back in order to avoid more fratricide & further weaken C's potential powers of resistance. We did not engage those troops but voluntarily withdrew to our base to try to negotiate a truce and realize the united front.

We are all the time increasing our preparation in every way; we are ready. The sooner the war begins, we believe, the better are the chances of success for the C people. Meanwhile we are prepared to fight J whenever our forces have in front of us J's troops in C.

13 --- The best way is to give the people freedom to organize and arm. This is a freedom which CKS has in the past denied the nation. The suppression has not, however, been entirely successful - as for example in the case of the R A. Under severe suppression in Peking, Shanghai, and other places the students have begun to organize & begun to train themselves and have already prepared themselves politically. If the ~~masses~~ masses are given their freedom then their strength will be intensified many many hundreds of times. But at present the students, the revolutionary anti-J masses have not yet gotten freedom so they cannot yet be armed. When the contrary is true the strength of the nation will be immeasurably increased.

The R A won its freedom of action from the hands of the militarists and became an unconquerable power. The anti-J volunteers won their freedom of action from the J oppressors & armies. If the C people will be armed their force will be irresistible.

14 -- The best strategy would be that of a war of maneuver, over an indefinite front featured by a strategy of swift attack & retreat. It will be a large-scale war of maneuver rather than a simple positional war. This does not mean the abandonment of frontal strategic points which can be defended. The chief strategy shall be the war of maneuver and ~~guerrilla~~ guerrilla tactics. Fortification war will be secondary strategic importance.

Geographically the theatre of the war is so vast that it is possible for us to pursue a mobile war with utmost efficiency. We decline ~~any~~ concentration & the exhausting defense of a vital position or two would be a mistake in our strategy. We want a war that will gradually break the morale, the fighting spirit & the military efficiency of the living forces of J imperialism. The mistake of the Abyssinians in their struggle vs Mussolini was that they attempted to hold a deep front, enabling the Italians to bombard, gas & inflict vital organic injury to their living forces. Our strategy will furnish many difficulties to the J and the accumulative effect will be to break the back of the J war machine.

Besides the regular C troops we should create and partisan & guerrilla detachments from the peasantry and equip them politically and militarily. These will keep the Js busy 24 hours a day and worry them to death. It must be remembered that the war will be fought in China. This means that the J will be entirely surrounded by hostile people. The J groups will be <sup>forced</sup> ~~forced~~ to move in all their provisions and guard them, maintaining troops along all lines of communications, heavily garrisoning their bases in Manchuria & J as well.

This will present to C the possibility of seizing many J prisoners, arms ammunition, war machines, etc. Thus a point will be reached where it will be possible to engage J's armies on a basis of positional war and war of fortifications, trench warfare, etc. As the war progresses on the technical side the J army will get foreign help, will greatly improve. This will enable us to make final & deciding attacks on J fortifications and strategic bases & drive J army of occupation from C.

J officers & soldiers captured & disarmed by us will be welcomed, and well-treated. They will not be killed; they will be treated in a brotherly way. Every method will be adopted to make the J proletarian soldiers stand up & oppose their own oppressors. Our slogan will be to "Unite & Oppose the Common Oppressors, the Fascist leaders." J soldiers who oppose the Fascists are all our friends.

Internal -- July 18, 1936

L --- Under present-day conditions, when peoples of the whole of C face the danger of becoming J slaves our policies in many respects have been modified in order to unite all the patriotic elements into an anti-J front. In the Soviet districts all the revolutionary intelligentsia, all professional people - doctors, journalists, engineers, professors, writers, - are welcomed and given rights of soviet citizenship, as long as they obey the laws of the Soviets. The petty-bourgeoisie, small merchants, industrialists, etc, are also given political rights. Those men whose families are capitalists, or landlords, but who participate in the revolution, are also offered the rights of S citizenship, and can be elected to office.

"Even T.V. Soong's brother, for example?"

"If he is not a traitor, but we regret his brother-in-law."

For writers, doctors, etc, we will do all we can to help them if they come to work with us. We can offer them immediate employment and the promise of a happy useful life. As for former White officers, those who will work for the cause of national liberation in the R.A we offer special treatment & a useful existence; they will be welcomed.

Our economic policy has also been modified. We will protect all those industries which have a service to perform in the anti-J war. The Red Army everywhere will protect the patriotic activities of the people as well as industry and commerce. Proof of this is available in our own decrees and proclamations posted on the walls of the cities of Shansi. The land of rich peasants will not be confiscated. Land will be re-distributed but the landlords are also given one portion to cultivate and small landlords will not be confiscated at all. Landlords who participate in the anti-J movement will not suffer from land confiscation. White officers who participate in the war will be entitled to land & their families will be protected.

In Soviet law there is a special clause which provides for the protection of interests of Overseas Chinese. Such C are patriotic, they are also under oppression in many land; we will therefore do everything possible to defend their dignity and their rights.

The object of our policies now is to strengthen the union of all people against J imperialism and to win our national liberation.

We have abolished all taxes imposed by the KMT. In Shensi we at present collect no land taxes & in the future we will collect only a very low progressive tax.

Q - Aren't some of these modifications likely to give the impression that you are abandoning communism?

No, I think not because <sup>the</sup> most urgent problem for C now is to win national liberation. If our country will be subjugated we shall lose everything. For a country being deprived of its freedom the revolutionary task is not immediate socialism but defense of the nation. Hence national salvation is the first task. We cannot discuss communism after we have been deprived of a country in which to practice it.

Many rich peasants have participated in anti-J movement, the rich with the poor. Some because of J imperialism is ruining the whole of C. Capitalists, even some landlords prepare to participate in anti-J movement. ~~After the anti-J movement, the rich with the poor. Some because of J imperialism is ruining the whole of C. Capitalists, even some landlords prepare to participate in anti-J movement.~~ So if they participate in the anti-J war we have no reason for rejecting them. Even if C K shek decides one day to join the anti-J offensive we will welcome his ~~participation~~ participation. As you know we have written many letters & sent messengers to him proposing this.

Q - Any reply?

A - Unfortunately no response to date. But we are still waiting their answer. Their troops are advancing and attacking us. We on the one hand have to wage defensive war, on the other hand we demand their cooperation. Some of our best Communists were former KMT men. Our slogan is: "Cease Civil War, Fight J together." The movement vs civil war is winning in the KMT and more and more of their officers may join us.

2 --- Of course formerly C K shek & the KMT spread very much propaganda about killing by the Red, the burning of houses, etc, in the Soviet areas, by the Red Army. Few people today believe such nonsense. Most people by now know that Chiang's tactics have consistently involved wiping out whole villages & burning towns taken from the Red areas. But only by destroying the mass of the people - which is the only real "base" the R A has - can he "reclaim" such areas. ✓ We have not burned <sup>a</sup> small house as you see yourself. We have not killed any innocent men. Our warlords and those persons who endanger national rights or endanger the revolution, only the worst ~~members~~ criminals such as traitor-henchmen of J & important leaders of counter-revolution we advise certain punishment, but even towards them we differ adherents & leaders give different punishment, imprisonment, hard labor or death sentence. In determining every crime we must have enough evidence. We cannot punish a single man without deep investigation. As to those whose crime is not grave, these are released after a brief questioning, discussion and so forth. The basis of our policy towards criminals is the interest of our national society as a whole. In the principles of law we adopt modification doctrine instead of the version adopted by the KMT.

For example, we captured one brigade commander and 1,000 men of KMT. Released them all, after disarming them. We captured many officers and a great number of soldiers of the Schshuan army.

Those who want to return were released and were given good amount of money for fare and expenses. We captured some majors and ..? also released. We captured officers & soldiers or CKS army not less than 300,000. Also released. Except three or four high officers. It is often said that we kill the intelligentsia. This is fabrication of the most absurd sort. The intelligentsia we must have & we try in every way to win them to us. It is also said that we kill landlords. You can witness yourself whether we killed any landlords or not. Those big or small landlords who ~~are~~ ~~have~~ peaceful labor and obey Soviet law and do not engaged in counter-revolution can easily & peacefully live in the Soviet districts.

Q - How about KMT? Number anti-R & not anti-J?

A - We recognize that there are some political groups anti-J yet not anti-Red, which cannot exist in KMT territory. We offer them asylum. We give all freedom to the people: assembly, speech, organization, press. Only we deprive freedom to traitors, the enemies of peoples. We permit no one to oppress the people, we are against country-selling people, people oppressing criminals.

The S.G. permits no official corruption in its ranks. Special punishment is provided for anyone guilty of embezzlement, Communists who are criminals will be punished more severely than the common people.

3 -- Generally speaking the S.G. does not take over private industry nor place it under State ownership. Only those enterprises now under state control will kept by us after our occupation. Naturally, also, all J industries & enterprises will be confiscated at the beginning of the war and operated for the benefit of the people. Our urgent problem just now is national liberation, now. We call for a people's government, call for the establishment of a democratic republic. The principles of setting up of Soviet power all over C and socialist future we still maintain, but that is task for the future.

Nowadays our central task is national independence & to secure freedom and to liberate ourselves from the hands of J imperialism as well as the home oppressors. Even if the democratic republic establish in all of C we will also not have socialism. The development of socialism in C will probably not come so quickly as in S Russia because C is a semi-colonial as well as a semi-feudal country.

6 (1) The land problem -

The question is not collectivization but redistribution. We give land to the peasants so that they can not only utilize it also but own it. Collectivization is a thing of the future. Some people ask why don't we make a commune, & hold land in common? We answer that the demand of the peasants just now is land-ownership & we are therefore meeting their demand. The peasants advance very much by this method. They own land & they have not owned land before; they are not ready for collectivization, a step <sup>or</sup> which the road must be prepared by educational steps that may

only be realized when a people's gov is realized in common.

Without confiscating the land of the landlords, without meeting the peasants main democratic demand, we cannot lay the broad mass basis for a successful mutual liberation struggle. ~~From~~<sup>In</sup> order to win their support in the national cause, the main demand of the peasantry must be satisfied. This is not true on in C. The French Revolution built its success on the broad base of the peasantry. Economically, also, it is not right to suppress the peasantry in the present condition, cannot increase land production. The peasantry is too heavily exploited, cannot develop their purchasing power, cannot supply an expanding market for industry or commerce.

2 -- Famines & floods -- have long been considered "Acts of God". In reality they are caused by man & can be prevented by man. The S Gvt makes every effort to combat these evils. Freed by the Soviets the peasantry has resources with which to fight the floods & famines. In Kiangsi we not only built dykes successfully preventing a single important flood; we also harvested bumper crops and in no single year were there any famines. There we lacked only salt, which was not produced in Soviet C, and which due to Nanking's blockades could not enter. Nor, like now, we get great salt lakes.

3 -- All the people can work in S C - and must. There were and are no beggars in Sov districts. Everyone can find work. There is land for all, and work to be done. In January in Wayapao we <sup>the biggest city in N. Shensi</sup> entertained a captured Chief of Staff & many officers of the Tung pei Army. We had given this Chief of Staff freedom of movement <sup>during New Years feasts</sup> & he could walk anywhere, being on his honor not to attempt to escape at the front line. He expressed his astonishment that he had all day seen no beggars in the city. In the white districts he said he could not pass down a street without being besieged by them. In Kwangsi only those workers in enterprises which supplied the outside world were thrown out of work because of KMT blockade which closed market. They did not become unemployed long, but were transferred to another branch of industry.

4 --- We prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and production, purchase, sale or use (except for medical purposes) of narcotics of all kinds. Formerly in Kiangsi Sov areas there had formerly been many opium areas, but in two years we completely eradicated them. In Shensi we are also prohibiting opium. We don't use force. We educate the farmers and gradually persuade them to give it up. Now you cannot find opium grown or sold anywhere in Soviet areas in Shensi. Our suppression is not like KMT district where the O.S.B. merely prevents others from selling & growing opium, and uses the death penalty vs those who do not observe the Nanking monopoly in the areas which has an income of several millions a year.

Q - This must be very powerful education. How does it work?

A - Of course smoking is closely connected with cultivation. Without strict prohibition of cultivation opium-smoking rapidly disappears. A People's govt does not need to depend upon drugs. It does not want to poison people but regenerate them. Only a government run by compradors & landlords is interested in destroying the people with opium, and only such a govt finds a use for the device of an opium monopoly. Thus in Kwangsi when we left and the landlords returned in order to pay them their rents the peasants are obliged to cultivate opium again for opium under the monopoly system is their most profitable crop. And the landlords must urge them to grow it & the militarists

above them working to squeeze more money from the people.

5 -- We do not tolerate usurers or the practice of usury. This does not mean that we do not permit ordinary money-lending at a reasonable rate of interest. Money circulation & borrowing and lending are permitted, but at low rates of interest. Pawnshops are completely abolished; articles in pawnshops are returned to lenders. Commercial banking is permitted. Because of the high rate of interest in C it means a great relief even to reduce money rates to even 10% which is the highest tolerated anywhere, by S gvt. The S gvt itself lends money to progressive peasants at 5% low interest. To poor peasants it lends money at no interest. Our S bank in Shensi has already made two big peasant loans. One is the Spring Cultivation loan at no interest; the other is a business loan to small merchants at low interest.

6 --- Official corruption is <sup>prohibition is strictly enforced.</sup> strictly prohibited and this/  
~~and~~ Any embezzlement is severely enforced. There is punishment also for wastage of money or improper spending. Corruption is a serious crime according to S law. Only the Soviet gvt. permits no corruption and its observance among Soviet officers is extremely severe. Officials of the Svt gvt get no higher living fee than soldiers in the R A. I myself have less living fee than many of our soldiers. This is because I am a soviet functionary. I am not thrifty. Besides this I get give dollars a month because I am a red army commander. This the cadres of Red Army all get. This is the better treatment given by the soviets to red army cadres. Hitler has claimed that he has no money in the bank; but we heard that he got millions of marks by compelling other to buy his "Mein Kampf." But we invite anyone to try to find a bank account of one dollar of any Soviet official anywhere.

7 - Illiteracy --- the majority of C people are illiterate especially in agrarian districts where the Soviets have been created. In Kiangsi the Society for Liquidation of Illiteracy under leadership of Education Dept, had very astonishing success. It built up <sup>in</sup> every village a group for liquidation of illiteracy. After three or four years many people have learned several hundreds of C characters. Our statistics were lost, but in my report before the Sov Congress I gave details on the progress made to what date. In other Soviet districts there were virtually no illiterates between the ages of 10 & 30.

In North Shensi we have also established a Society for Liquidation of Illiteracy. Education here before our arrival was more backward than Kiangsi and we must work very much harder. But as you have seen we have already made great progress. Schools have been established in many villages where no teachers were ever seen before. Newspapers have been published here for the first time, and books and magazines. We have begun to utilize the system of Latinization. It is used in Party Schools and Red Academy, Soviet organization. Latinization is a good instrument to liquidate illiteracy. Chinese characters are useless for mass education of any depth. ✓ Sooner or later they must be abandoned. We are now widely introducing latinization and if we stay here for three years the problem of illiteracy will have been chiefly overcome.

8 ---- Child slavery is completely abolished in Soviet districts and will be everywhere they are established. Child slaves are immediately freed and returned to their homes. If they have no homes they are given work in the Soviet factories or in some productive organ. Many are carried off with their mobile goods by landlords. The Secretary for Interior looks after their welfare. They are given their share of land. If they cannot cultivate it themselves they can lend the land to other and get some rent.

9 ---- Prostitution is one of the products of the economic bankruptcy of the proletariat.

Lending in such circumstances is not considered by feudal lending. We permit such rent lending. Land in Soviet districts is still privately owned. Peasants rent land or sell the land that was inherited by them and can not cultivate.

In Kiangsi prostitution was entirely eliminated in the small towns & villages. Only in one or two large cities, like Tengchow, did this remain even a small problem. Some continued to practice prostitution in secret, but most of these women were absorbed in useful work. Some former prostitutes become very good factory workers and some married and settled on farms. They become good laborers.

10 --- Militarism. Those soldiers now "Professionals" or mercenaries are given land, or work to do. Education & propagandist methods are used to correct their bad habits. As bandits, oppressed by poverty, can also readily be eliminated if given land and necessary education.

Foreverly in western Fukein there were many bandits; after our regime was established there most of them became workers and good citizens. We gave them land and useful work to do and Kiangsi and western Fukien became entirely free of robbers and raiders.

11 ---- Communications. In Kiangsi we built many new roads & highways for the people. We did not build motor highways which are useless to the farmers but good solid dirt roads and barrow roads. For us this kind of construction was no difficult. We proposed a plan for a road & mobilized volunteers to build it. Explained to the people they voluntarily built roads because they understood for their benefit. In Shensi we have done less road building because of the short time we have been here; secondly because obviously in our present situation to build motor roads would only open up the country & facilitate the enemy's use of its higher technical equipment.

In an anti-J war it will not only be possible but necessary to realize on a national scale the reforms mentioned above. The people cannot be mobilized for national defense without demonstrating the benefits to them. War is in fact necessary to improve the people's condition. Why war? Because we wish on the one hand to oppose Janese imperialism & traitors, on the other to improve the condition of the people.

In war time when the R A reaches a spot it instantly begins to help the people and after a single month the district already has begun to be transformed. Not only the political workers in the R A do such work; every commander & fighter in R A participates.

Every Red assists in carrying out the land policy, the measures of the peoples' economy, the creation of mass organizations, etc. In Shensi the RA has already realized many of the above reforms. In Kansu and Ninghsia they have also been begun. As you have noticed perhaps, every person in the R A is extremely busy, whether in military action or not. The R A assists the people in many ways. People bring their problems to the R A & ask for help and they trust it & believe in its justice. They gather in groups to welcome us. Many join us; many voluntarily give everything they have to us. Many voluntarily help provision the R A. Many collect news for us and guard vs. espionage. Many help the R A in its battles - as guides, bearers, cooks, helpers of all kinds. This inseparability between the people and the R A, between the masses & the R A is one of the fundamental reasons for R A victories against the Whites, despite the latter's present overwhelming superiority in numbers & equipment. When R A takes a hsien it proceeds at once to realize the reforms mentioned already. When the changes mentioned have been realized the R A is freed for work in new territories. Now we are willing to end the civil war and move our front towards Japanese. But we hope at the same time to realize such democratic ~~measures~~ measures all over China under the banner of real democratic republic. Such kind of democratic measures are the necessary armament to defeat Japanese imperialism.

The development of anti-imperialist war is therefore based on reforming & revolutionizing the masses. ~~ammmmm~~

7 - - Already answered

8 -- War industries will be under Soviet control; by war industries are meant military industries and allied or related industries, and those industries already owned by the state. In general other branches of industry, not connected with war, will remain under private control. Any intriguing act~~ion~~ by capitalists unfavorable to the anti Japanese war will however promptly be punished by confiscation of their industries. But besides state enterprises & private enterprises, there is a cooperative enterprise. This is something between the state & private enterprises. This has very far reaching perspectives. Conditions in China differ from those in Soviet Russia. Our Revolution today is a democratic revolution, semi-colonial (a great part already colonial) and bourgeois in character.

"What of control of profits in time of war?"

"The question of collective profit tax will be considered when war begins.

The customs-tariff of Soviet Government is only one independent in Chinese territory without the interference of foreign power. In the time of anti-J war tariffs will be levied entirely according to the needs of the war, and to satisfy the needs & demands of the whole people. Only luxuries such as wines, tobacco, etc will be heavily taxed. Tax on daily essentials as gasoline & kerosene, textiles etc will be very light, if supplies are insufficient.

9 --- What new appeal has Soviet Govt to Nanking?

We have sent many appeals to Nanking to accept our anti-J program but until now we have no answer. Many men in Nanking have begun to realize their policy was one of submission & self-subjugation but there is as yet no sign that Chiang K S has come to such a definite determination. If Chiang continues in this way his crisis of personal power will sharpen.

He may buy some generals; he may purchase the adherence of some militarists but this will not resolve the day of decision, a day when his own subordinates will overthrow him. For example, Chen Cheng <sup>Cheng</sup> one of Chiang's most famous generals, demanded of Chiang that he fight against Japan. One of his most famous generals, Hu Tsung-nan, said "Fighting against the Red Army is a life sentence." There is under him a group of able young generals who deplore seeing country sold. Many of them, T'ang En-po, for example, insisted upon resistance and a united front with the R A. If he determines to realize the demands of the people, ceases civil war & fights Japan, realize the reunion of Communist Party & KMT, establish democratic republic together, if he will do so, he can still be a figure in the national movement. Chiang K shek must determine this himself and he knows he cannot delay.

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Approximately 70% of the whole population are poor peasants & agricultural workers. About 20% are middle peasants. About 10% are exploiters and landlords. Included in the 10% are rich peasants exploited by the militarists, officials, heavy taxes. These are from statistics of more than 10 provinces. In Wuhan & Kwantung I organized several schools for preparing workers to work in rural areas. The Course for Peasant Movement. There were students from 21 provinces. They gathered material; from these above estimates averages vary greatly. The 10% rich peasants own about 70% of the total cultivated land. From 12 to 15% concentrated in hands of middle peasants. From 10 to 15% own by the 70% of the population. This explains the victories of the R A. The Revolution is caused by Imperialism on one hand & on the other by the 10% of landlords. So in our new policy less than 10% of the population are our enemies. Really less than 10%, for not over 5% of Chinese will unite with Japan in its anti-Red pact.

Thinks overpopulation not an urgent problem

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Special Questions

1 - The Third International is a vanguard organization of the proletariat. It somewhat resembles the Second International of the Soviet party in structure but not in content. We cannot say that in those countries where Socialist government have organized the Cabinet that they are controlled by the Second International. Neither can we say that in countries where Communist parties are in power that the S.I is dictator. In the Soviet Union of USSR the C P is the party in power, yet even there the Third International does not rule the Soviet Union. Similarly it can be said that the C P of China benefits from the experience & wisdom of the Third International, but this in no sense means that China is controlled from Moscow, and it will be so even after the factory of revolution. When Soviet governments have been established in several countries in the world the problem of an international soviet union may arise and it will be interesting to see how it is solve. But today I cannot suggest any concrete methods of solution. It has not

been & cannot be solved in advance. In the world of today, with increasingly close economic & cultural intimacy, such a union I think seems desirable ~~mm~~ if achieved on the basis of voluntariness. Clearly however the world union could be successful only if every nation had the right to enter or leave it according to its own will and with its sovereignty completely intact.

The relationship between Outer Mongolia & the Soviet Union, now & in the past, has always been based on the principle of complete equality. When the peoples' revolution is victorious in China the M O. Mongolian republic will automatically become a part of the Chinese federation at their own will. The Mohamedan & Tibetan peoples, likewise, will form autonomous republics attached to the Chinese federation. The unequal treatment of national minorities, as practiced by the KMT can be no part of the Soviet program; nor part of the program of democratic republic. This will be given complete autonomy. This as already stated above, likewise applies to the Minos, Lolos, Man, and other minorities who will be permitted to organize their own social & political forms & join voluntarily the Chinese Federation. We have realized such a policy in our relations with the Mongols, Miaos, Lolos and Tibetans.

2 --- Some people say that fascists have no creation whatsoever. This I don't agree because really they have created an epithet, "Red Imperialism". The KMT history itself provides an excellent illustration of the nature, and to see the stupidity of this kind of propaganda. For if there is such a thing as "Red Imperialism" the Nanking gov owes its life to it. When Dr. Sun Yat-sen himself led the KMT revolution, everyone knows, Borodin & Ge. Valen were assisting the KMT and the CP was cooperating with & led most of the best cadres of the Nat. Rev. At that time no KMT member talked about Red imperialism. But after the ~~KMT~~ revolution the KMT oppressed the peasants and workers and compromised with imperialism, its worse elements created the term Red Imperialism which in the reactionary press became a cloak for KMT treachery to the Chinese masses. What are the facts? ~~Wham~~ Even C K S cannot deny that when the KMT cooperated with the C P and the Soviet Union the revolution reached a high level, imperialism shook, and the prospect of national liberation was very bright. With Sun Yat sen's death the worst members of his party betrayed his policies, the national government collapsed and the KMT lost all its revolutionary control. Only the rapid enslavement of the Chinese people have taught them that China & the Soviet Union must be our friends. ✓

Today a struggle exists between two fronts: the first led by Japan, is composed of Chinese traitors & reactionaries, who form the so-called Joint anti-Red front with Japan. The other front is composed of the great majority of Chinese people, those countries which are sympathetic with the Chinese revolution and this is the front against Japanese imperialism. The anti-Red front is based on cooperation with Japanese imperialism. The anti-Japanese Front is based on cooperation with the USSR and the unity of the Chinese people. The anti-red front means enslavement. The anti-Japanese Front means liberation. The Chinese people must choose to follow one line or the other. The two are irreconcilable.

It is true that many members of the KMT are reconsidering their policy. In the past ~~thousands~~ such patriots as Soong Ching-ling, Ho Hsiang-ning, Chen Ming-hou, Yi Chi-sun, Tsai Ting-ka<sup>o</sup>, and Chang Kuan-nai understood the fundamental mistake & weakness of the KMT in trying to "annihilate communists." Today ~~the~~ Tsung-jen, Feng Li Yu-hsiang, Sun Fo, and others are beginning to change their viewpoint & appear to be willing to revive cooperation with soviet union. We welcome this tendency among KMT members. We are resolutely for cooperation with the USSR to fight Japanese. (Combine the above question with previous question on S Russia's relations with S China)

3 --- There are three reasons. First, the R A is the people's army & they support it in every way and it cannot be destroyed without destroying the people. ~~mmmm~~ Second, the command of the R A is capable. Every officer in our army could at any time win a fortune & retire by accepting the bribes & rewards offered to them by Nanking, yet after years of battle we can count on one hand the men who have betrayed.

4 ---- The Chinese revolution is already the key factor in world revolution and its victory is heartily anticipated by the people of every country, & especially the toiling masses of the colonial countries. When the Chinese revolution comes into full power the masses of many colonial countries will follow the example of China and win a similar victory of their own.

5 ---- The victory of the C revolution naturally will be determined by the development of the situation of revolutionary struggles. We cannot anticipate it now. But we can now say this victory will not be far away. This victory demands the success of the United Front and its victory will correspond with the people's victory against J aggression. The C people will themselves adopt the suitable system of government. Nowadays the democratic republic is best suited to China. Ultimately we believe the Congress of the Soviets, from the central power down to the villages, can best serve the interests of the people. There was envisaged in the Northern Expedition of the KMT (in 1927) such a Congress, composed of delegates from village, district, regional. Now, all Chinese people and we are struggling with all our might for the full realization of a full and thorough democratic republic. Chinese communists party will firstly lead Chinese people to fulfill the task of democratic republic of a peoples government.

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Occasions of foreign fire on Chinese R A - Tayen,  
Lungchow (bombed by French planes).

At the time of the Fifth Expedition the largest population was about 3,m directly under Soviet law of central govt. In cluding all outside districts totalled about 9 m as follows (in which land redistributed, not including partisan areas -

1 - Hopei - An - Honan	2, million	Ngo Yuwan
2 Kiangsi	3 "	Chung yang
3 Hunan -Kiang - Hopei	1 "	Shang wo kan
4 Kiangsi - Hunan	1 "	Shang kan
5 Cheking - Fukien	1 "	Shing tze kang
6 Hunan - Hopeh	1 "	Shang O hsi (Shensi)

There is not an army in the world that has fought so long (10 years) so hard (100s of battles) and so well, as the Chinese Communists have fought in these areas. The "peaceful" nature of Chinese people is a myth.

Three peculiarities of Soviet China (1) most militarized in the world; (2) we have been fighting already 9 years although the population of R China was extremely scattered, and this is only beginning; (3) we have repeatedly fought without a base, without any rear; (4) Never in a single year was there such a migration - 25,000 li - as our march from Kiangsi; (5) Many wars, successively, were fought by the same army - Kiangsi, Szechuan, ~~Kwe Chow~~, Yunnan, Shensi, Shansi, Tung pei - all fought by the 1st corps & 4th corps. The First Corps marched thousands of miles back & forth between Kiangsi, ~~Kweichow~~, <sup>ve</sup> Fukin, Kwangtung etc. Mao's story is the story of Lin P'iao & Chu Teh. He organized the first Workers and Peasants Army in September, 1927 in south Hunan near Changsha (6) Fought without a definite line; attacked with only one fist; many times our territory was occupied by enemy. In 3rd war enemy had 100,000 we had but 30,000. We beat them by knocking down four sides of a wall moving in upon us. Then moved back again. We fought (as in Chinese chess) with but a single man but by superior strategy overcame all the opponents. When conditions not favorable to us we wimply moved our government.

Keichow

There are only three provinces in China (Shantung, Kiangsu & Hopei) that have not been reached by the greater Red Army. It has moved through all the others. We have passed through territory populated by 200,000,000 people. Been in 18 provinces.

Lo Fu, July 19

1 --- The Trotskists do not understand the real character of the C revolution. They theorize that C is now in a stage of capitalism, hence ready for socialist action, and believe that the main task of the revolution lies in the hands of the proletariat in its struggle for power vs the bourgeoisie. Our estimate of the character of the revolution is as a movement vs the semi-feudal, semi-colonial society and therefore bourgeois-democratic in character. Therefore the main tasks of the revolution must be shared by the proletariat, the petty-bourgeoisie and the vast masses of the peasantry. The Trotskists ignore the role of the peasantry in the Chinese revolution, just as they ignored it in the Russian revolution of 1905 and up to 1917. They consider the peasantry backward.

From our standpoint the proletariat will play the role of hegemony over the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry in the C revolution. To the Trotskists the role of hegemony of the C proletariat does not exist, because they see them only as the class of dictatorship of the revolution.

Is it possible for the C proletariat to play this leading role in the revolution? We certainly recognize that Chinese capitalism is backward; but it has a big role in C economy. The number of workers in imperialist and native capitalist industries is about 3 million. This to begin with is not small; secondly, because of the intensity of oppression, because of the key nature of such industries in the C economy, are destined to enact a role of very great importance. This was conclusively shown in the big strikes of 1921-23 including the Piuhan Ry, the Hong Kong shipping strike and others. All these were led by the C P, all were important in the development of the rev. The C P received its early instruction in these strikes and it benefitted from world experience. While the numbers of the workers may not be great in proportion to the population, the strength and importance is fully understood by the C P and therefore it can be utilized to the fullest extent. China is fortunate in having had a C P with clear aims from an early date. The British workers, for example, are more numerous, but have been misled & dominated by the Labour Party which works in interests of the bourgeoisie. China has no Labour Party, the special creation of imperialism, the gift of surplus value to the proletariat. Therefore the C workers have from the beginning been under leadership of C P & it depends very much on the character of this leadership whether China is to have a successful revolution. The C proletariat from the beginning of its class action, training from early strikes directed vs imperialism, has played a very active role: Hankow, railway strike, Shanghai, HongKong etc. Therefore this basic fact confutes the assertions of the Trotskists.

The R A in the rural districts is also led by the proletariat because the C P is the only party which has led them. No other party can take leadership. Therefore R A not army of peasantry but is led by the C P. If we compare the present movement with peasant rebellions in Chinese history very different. We have clear proletarian discipline, clean program, clear tactics, which no rebellion has. Peasant rebellion merely changes one group of feudalists for another. Taiping Rebellion for example.

Why do we not enter the cities? This is not because the proletariat is so backward. It is because the imperialists & the native reactionaries concentrate their main strength there. If it were not for the help of foreign imperialism we would enter & take the cities. If Chiang could not get foreign guns & airplanes - the technique of imperialism - we could seize strategic cities easily. Because of uneven development of capitalist imperialism in China, however, we are able to gather strength in areas less dominated by imperialism; to gain experience and to prepare for the final realization of our aims. Quite different from R revolution. There, with the destruction of the Tsarist govt the whole country fell into the hands of the revolution. Here we have first to seize the country, then the Nanking government will collapse.

Why land distribution? Because we consider the task of the C revolution is the task of the agrarian anti-imperialist revolution. Without the help of the peasantry it is impossible for the revolution to succeed.

In the R revolution the R A formed after the revolution to consolidate the seizure of power. In the C rev the R A has to form & develop as the rev itself forms and develops before the seizure of power.

But the Trotskyists maintain on the one hand that the peasantry is backward, reactionary, non-revolutionary: on the other hand that the proletariat in C is too small, too backward, too weak, to lead the revolution. Therefore their logic ends with the synthesis of the bourgeois revolution and the support of capitalism and imperialism. But the C P today has no intention of waiting for imperialism under the guise of native capitalism, to consolidate control of the country.

All the nationalities in Turkestan, the Mongols in Outer Mongolia, had little or no industrial proletariat but today they are constructing socialism. Why? The validity of these revolutions depends upon the proletarian leadership of the USSR.

The development of revolution in any single country now does not depend solely upon the numbers of its proletariat. It depends to a great extent upon the leadership it is given by the world proletariat party - the Comintern - & the determination of the correct tactics & strategy by that party. Chinese Communism, the C proletariat, draws upon the collective experience of the world proletariat for its tactics & its success. It must be remembered in C also that the party ~~must~~ draws upon large section of the petty-bourgeois, already proletarianized for its guidance & leadership.

/Q/ - In its pure form the best guarantee of success is an offensive by the R A from without combined with a

proletarian-led insurrection within. White army insurrections, national revolutionary movements, general strikes, demoralization of the defending white forces, or defection of an important part of the national army to the side of the revolution.

2 --- 1919-1925, period of preparation for the Great Revolution (May 4 to May 30, 1925; 1925-27, the Great Revolution against Imperialism & Feudalism; 1927 (Canton Commune) to Sept 18, 1931, Soviet Revolution, with emphasis on the Agrarian Revolution, 1931..., the Anti-Japanese National Liberation Movement, in which Red Army will play a leading & decisive role. Essential difference is the modification of R A & Soviet policy to play combined role of national & class liberation. 1925 - 27, thesis; 1927-31, anti-thesis, 1931 to present is synthesis

1925-27: thesis, national revolution

1927-31: thesis, pro & agrarian rev

antithesis, counter rev

1931: Synthesis, national liberation  
and class liberation.

Perhaps C revolution may not develop after this period as did R revolution. Perhaps C P may win leadership of national revolution and be able to bring C through to socialism by peaceful (internally) liquidation of classes. The violence of the revolution will perhaps be exerted externally, in the war vs Japanese imperialism. During this period imperialism must be exploited as basis for erecting the prerequisites of socialist economy and policy.

3 ---- We cannot, theoretically, describe Nanking's dictatorship as the dictatorship of Fascism. Fascism is the product of finance capital; C had no finance capital dictatorship. But for practical purposes we call it Fascism (1) because it is the instrument of foreign imperialism (2) because it utilizes the technique of European Fascism. A more correct term is perhaps semi-colonial Fascism. Ideologically it is only partly similar to Fascism in Europe; economically bears no resemblance. Prefer term semi-colonial Fascism. Even if Chiang used demagogic appeal of anti-Japanese activity & actually carried it out in war his movement could not be called Fascist because the masses would at once become involved and very soon take power on the basis of materialism.

4 --- All the important capitalist enterprises in C are now in the hands of foreign imperialism & it is impossible to conceive of successfully constructing C socialist economy while this condition continues. However, the greatest immediate menace to C economy as well as political sovereignty, is Japanese imperialism. Therefore we are concerned in this period with the attack on Japanese imperialist interests in C and there we will at once confiscate and operate to the benefit of the C people in their struggle for national liberation. As for other foreign imperialism, we are ready to pursue a moderate course, purchasing vital interests according to Soviet law, giving consideration to those powers which help or cooperate with us in our fight against Japan.

5 ---- The majority of the leaders of the S G, the C P and the R A are from the petty-bourgeoisie. In C this class by the force of historical circumstance is destined to play a decisive role of leadership in the Chinese revolution. Mostly intelligentsia. Many came from the Student Movement of 1919; Mao Tse Tung, Chang Kuo-tuo, Li Ta-chao, Lo Fu, Lu Hsun, Chen Tu-hsiu, Chou En-lai, Lin P'iao, Hsiao Keh (Whampoa), Hsu Hsiang-chieh (Whampoa) Po K'u. (b) ~~Hong Yin~~ Hsiang Ying (printer, Hupeh man, partisan leader, vice-president of Ce. gov, member pol. bureau, secretariat of C C, remained in K. as party, soviet & partisan leader; Teng Fa (polit. commissar, former boy & cook, participated Hongkong uprising); Po k'u's wife (weaver, now in women workers bureau); Mrs. Teng Fa (telephone operator in Canton, dir of Food Supply in Bureau of Provisions), Liao Ching-young, (Commercial Press, salesman, member of Pol Bureau, Secretariat of C P) Kuan Hsiang-ying (2nd Army Central Bureau CP, Commissar) worker in Shantung factory). Many others; some of whom killed by Chiang Kai-shek: Lo Tung-hsien, (Central Committee C P, formerly a shipbuilding worker) Hsiang Tung-fu (C C Party) Wang So (commissar, 2nd division, killed in war, factory worker, mechanic) Yang Ying (M. C C, sailor) Hsu Peh-hao, (leader of Labor Union iron workers) Wang Ho-pu (railway worker, killed with Li Ta-chao) Chang Hao (living, weaver) member C C).

6 --- Because the C P is a party of the masses & does not depend on single leaders. It depends only on the masses for victory & all our attention is concentrated on work in the masses. Therefore we reject use of political assassination which used by anarchists & parties of this petty bourgeoisie. If we depend on the masses we cannot move the masses. Again it is useless to remove bourg. leaders, for one C K-s, unless the system underneath is assassinated, would be replaced by another.

7 ---- Not our policy vs religion. We have regarded missionaries as instruments of foreign imperialism as well as the native dictatorship. Many are propagandists for C K-s re: New Life Movement in Kiangsi; Shepherd & his flock; the French priests at Yen Tsu. Must recognize that China is in a state of civil war.

#### Party History

1 - Organized 1920, by Chen Ta-hsiu, Lin Pei-chu, Mao Tse-tung, Chang Kuo-tuo, Tai-Chi-tao. Led by Li Fu-chao. Also (Shao Liotzu, Li Han-ching (killed in Wuhan by C K-s, after he joined KMT) Forerunner was a Marxist club in Peiping, another in Hunan.

2 - First secretary, Chen Tu-hsiu (1927)  
Second, Chu Chieh-po (1927-28)  
Third, Hsien Tsung-fa (1928-1931)  
Fourth, Po Ku 1933-1934) (no secretarist 1931-33)  
Fifth. Lo Fu (1934...)

3 - Agreement:

- 1 - Union of C P & KMT
- 2 - Reorganization of KMT
- 3 - Comintern support for the Rev, & KMT & CP

4 - Sun Yat-sen agreed with the Marxists that only by National Revolution could C liberate herself from foreign imperialism. He agreed to cooperate with C P. Sun Yat-sen was much influenced by "American Marxists." viz, Williams. He tried to combine Marxism & nationalism, therefore his San Men Chu is full of contradictions. But fundamentally he was a revolutionary and worked for it. After his death his revolutionary tradition was broken. There was no one to succeed him as a rev. leader in KMT and only rev. tradition was in C P. Chiang Kai-shek had become a Methodist; Tai Chi-tao was a Buddhist.

Subjectively, he wished to socialize China. Objectively, his strategy & tactics were directed vs. Imperialism and Feudalism, so he must be regarded as a bourgeois revolutionary, laying foundations for capitalism. Had he lived, however, he would have been forced to choose between Reds & ~~the~~ C R. If he had cooperated with us he could very well have represented the interests of the petty-bourgeoisie. He believed in the San Win Chu I, I think, when he died - but in a revolutionary sense. There are, of course, some real revolutionaries in the KMT - Mme Sun Yat-sen, for example, who has issued a proclamation denying that Chiang has anything in common with rev. aims of her husband. There are other, like her, thoughtful people, who know that C K-s has betrayed the revolution, and we know that many of these are even in Nanking. Because of them & others we believe it possible to create with certain elements of the KMT the United Front. Sun was really a revolutionary, really fought for 40 years for the purpose of liberating the C people.

5 -- Yes, Chen Tu-hsiu then had most influence, but his line was not correct. He was considered "father" of the party, but by then there were many able leaders, including his son Chen I-men, sec of the Kuantung Party, who disagreed with him. Able leaders: Mao, Li Ta-chao, ~~Hong~~ Ying, & many who were killed: Liu Hua, Sheng Tsung-fa, Tsai ~~Ho~~ Hsing. But Chen had most influence.

Hsiang

Ho-sen

5a -- What were main mistakes? He believed in role of proletariat for a completely successful revolution only after the nationalist revolution. He tried by every means to unite with bourgeoisie against the imperialists. Finally did not even believe in the separate action of the C P opposed peasant uprisings in Hunan. Disarmed the workers in Hankow & gave their arms to workers. At first he was an opportunist because he did not understand role of proletariat in a national rev; after the defeat he was a "defeatist", for same reason & because failed to understand role of peasantry. Chu Chi-p'ai, when captured quite differently from Chen.

6 --- Party schools in Shanghai, but full course of Marxism first offered at "Marc Kung-chang Hsueh-~~hara~~" ~~hsiao~~ in Kiangsi in 1933. Soviet Ta Hsueh established after Marx School, in 1934.

7 --- Curriculum:

- 1 - A.B.C. of Marxism-Leninism
- 2 - Principle of Party Construction & Party work
- 3 - Soviet Construction  
(how to distribute land, how to organize Soviets, how to build trade unions, etc)
- 4 - Lecture Courses
  - a - Agrarian work
  - b - Economy, industrial
  - c - Cultural work
  - d - Partisan tactics

Courses vary from 3 to 6 months.

8 --- Population in Shensi, 400,000; members of party approximately 40,000 in all present Sov districts. In Kiangsi & Fukien 150,000 members, without counting other areas. Pop, 3 m; how many still there today is unknown. Total now about 300,000. In south of Yangtse - Kiangsi, Honan, Kiansu, Hup, Fukien, formerly 3 - 400,000. In Hopei membership (N C Bureau) about 10,000. We have no direct contact with Manchuria. In Shanghai are many hundreds, and even more in schools outside.

Highest membership was when R A in Kiangsi, then totaled about 500,000.

C Y membership inside Sov areas less than C P. Outside perhaps also less.

9 --- C. imprisoned, from 30 to 50 M. Our own calculations show 30; probably 10 more. Approximately 500,000 communists killed since 1927. In Canton alone 20,000, in 1927. Shanghai, 1927, 10,000. Changsha, 20,000 in 1927-8, Wuhan, 10,000 in 1927 the south of Honan. Formerly Red Aid outside gave out information about arrests & killings, then they, too were killed. People killed in all campaigns, at least 3 m. In Kiangsi Soviet districts, 2,500,000 people when Reds were there: today only 1,500,000; in Hopeh-Anwei-Honan, Soviet districts, pop. decreased 600,000 after white attacks. In Honan-Kiangsi 500,000. In Kiangsi-Honan-Hupeh border district, 500,000 decrease. In the north of Szechuan, where Red were severely bombed, approximately one million population; after white attacks, 500,000 about 100,000 left K about 100,000 were lost, about 50,000 arrived, meaning R A secured that many replacements en route. Reds during war in Kiangsi had casualties of @ 50,000. R. used no heavy guns, no air bombs, could not penetrate Nak. fortifications; could therefore not be responsible. Reds did not execute more than 1,000 civilian c rev. Kiangsi, Chekwang-Anhwei Soviet, total pop before, 300,000, now 150,000. Reds killed not more than 4,500 landlords; most were ransomed & released; many fled; many were absentees. Several hundred usurers, less than 1,000 were killed in Kiangsi. On the long march the Reds killed very few landlords & officials; less than 100: few attacks on civilian population. In Shansi executed less than 10 people - usurers, landlords, officials. Only 2 spies killed in Shansi.

11 ---If the Marxists consider them guilty of counter revolution or oppression they are killed. If not too bad they are put to work on transportation or in factory or copying books or printing etc. If they repent & show willingness to cooperate they are freed & given right to vote. Some are freed without right to vote. Our present policy is to free all political prisoners after detaining them for an educative period. We kill nobody now. Formerly we killed officers of general rank of white army, now we free them, after trying to win them over to U Front. Result very good. Ordinary soldiers are freed, given \$5 for transport charges, & release them. Many stay & join the R A. Even the Fascists are freed. Commanders given \$30 to \$50. One Fascist commander won over to Red. If a big landlord is liked by masses Reds did not touch him, took his land and redistributed it but left him enough to live on, but no right to vote or join army. Reds never exceed demands of the masses.

Procedure when R A takes a village. First form revolutionary committee, elected by mass meeting called by RA. Rev. committee then takes over first duties of Soviet. Investigates land and merchants. Gradually reveal traitors to R A. The worst of these are then brought for trial before village meeting. Meeting decides by vote of hands who is guilty of oppression punishable by death, who by state labor, who by minor punishment, etc. Villagers unusually very fierce in hatred of the worst of their oppressors; demand right to kill them themselves; ready to coop. with Soviet. Usurers they especially hate and despise.

12 ---- Really have only one jail & it is a ya fang, one room in Pao An (Note, E.S.: I saw this jail. The youth in it. Just like any cave) Outside Pao An the jail consists of a room in S where prisoner is detained for a few days. If case very serious he is sent directly to the place where crime committed and S decides what punishment he is to receive. Bandits, min tuan, etc, when captured, are treated like white soldiers; persuaded to accept R law, & to help in anti-Jap campaign; if not so bad, freed.

Reds build w herever they go; don't destroy. Rebuilt Wayapao. Rebuilding Pao An. The KMT finds it very difficult to raise level of culture among peasants; for us it is very easy. Peasants make excellent orators.

13 --- Common criminals detained a few days. His mistakes criticized. He usually admits his error & agrees to correct his conduct. Most criminals are political criminals or captured soldiers. In Kiangsi many feuds between families; liquidated by S. Why did they fight against each others? Because the landlords of one family fight vs those of another. The landlords liquidated; can no longer utilize peasants for this. Now if peasants don't like his work they can complain to the S. If the S agrees, he gets new land; otherwise no, and he is satisfied.

LO FU -- Personal History -

Born Shanghai, Nanghwei, south of the Whampoo, Pootung shore. Parents peasants, kulaks. Educated Woosung Middle School, 3 years (fishery school). Did not finish. Went to Nanking to Yellow River Conservancy College, 3 years; teachers all returned students from America. 1919 and the Student Movement; Lo left the University & began to take part in May 4th Movement. Began to read literature, philosophy, social science. Formerly had studied natural science - physics & mathematics. Was an editor in Chung Hua Book Co, edited series of New Culture books. Went to San Francisco, worked on Ta Kung Pao, 1½ years, as translator. Studied in library of California University, 1921. In Japan before going to America, ½ year. Then very interested in America. Became a literateur. Ma Tun was good friend of his; they worked in pub. houses mfi (Comm. Press - M.T.) at same time. Met Mao through his brother, also leftist.

While in America joined the New China Party - a bourgeois-revolutionary party, mostly of Chinese merchants but also students. Dominated by pongmen & tongmen. He resigned. Returned Shanghai & went to Szechuan teaching in Szechuan, 1923-24. There began a new culture movement of students (in Girls Normal School) and rev. movement. Sided with students and joined them. Was expelled from school. Taught at Boy's Normal School; also expelled. Began a paper then, with students. Was working with Reds but did not join; petty-bourgeois attitude; wanted personal freedom. Went to Shanghai. By then understood that only through organized force can conquer reactionaries. Joined party in 1925; worked Shanghai & Soochow. Entered Moscow in 1926. Five years there. Studied at Sun Yat-sen U; later Inst. of Red Professors (3 years in latter). Not expelled. Worked in Lenin school a short time. Returned Shanghai in 1930. After arrest of secretariat of C C of C P formed a temporary polit bureau of Shanghai. Worked in polit bureau two years. Member arrested; gave his address. Had lucky escape. Fled to S. District, 1933. Been there ever since. Made march across Szechuan to Shensi.

Read ABC of Communism, 1925. Chen Tu-hsiu had great influence on him; also on many others. After Moscow lost interest in literature; centered all attention on Marxism & revolution. Novels: "Journey"; translated D'Annunzio, "Giocanda", Wilde, "Ballad of Reading Gaol", Tolstoy, Turgenev. Wrote many articles for Soviet construction, theory, policy, tactics, etc. Now writes chiefly on the Japanese question.