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**ON
COALITION GOVERNMENT**

I. THE BASIC DEMANDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

After nearly eight years of resolute, heroic and unyielding struggles waged by the Chinese people through untold difficulties and self-sacrifices against the Japanese aggressors, a new situation has emerged in which the world-wide sacred and just war against the fascist aggressors has gained decisive victory and the defeat of the Japanese aggressors by the Chinese people in co-ordination with the Allied countries is imminent; it is under such circumstances that our Congress is being held. But China remains disunited and is still confronted with a grave crisis. Under such circumstances, what are we going to do? In China, an urgent need exists beyond all doubt for representatives of all political parties and groups and of people without party affiliation to unite and establish a provisional democratic coalition government so as to carry out democratic reforms, surmount the present crisis, mobilise and unify all the anti-Japanese forces of the country and co-ordinate effectively with the Allies in military operations, thereby defeating the Japanese

aggressors and liberating the Chinese people from their clutches. After that, we should, on a broad democratic basis, convene a national assembly and form a permanent democratic government, which will also be a coalition and include on an even larger scale representatives of all parties and groups and of people without party affiliation, and which will lead the liberated people throughout the country to build up a new China, independent and free, democratic and united, prosperous and powerful. In short, we must follow a line of unity and democracy in order to defeat the aggressors and build up a new China.

We believe that only so doing represents what the Chinese people basically demand. Thus my report will chiefly deal with such demands. To form or not to form a democratic coalition government in China has become the deep concern of the Chinese people and the democratic section of public opinion in the Allied countries. Therefore the elucidation of this problem will receive the main stress in my report.

During the eight years' War of Resistance the Chinese Communist Party has overcome numerous difficulties and scored great achievements, but in the present circumstances serious difficulties still confront our Party and the people. The present situation demands that our Party should work still better to carry out the most urgent tasks in a more practical spirit, continue to overcome difficulties and strive for the fulfilment of the basic demands of the Chinese people.

II. THE INTERNATIONAL AND DOMESTIC SITUATION

Can the Chinese people fulfil the basic demands we put forward above? This depends on how far the Chinese people are awakened and united and are prepared to exert themselves. The present international and domestic situation, however, provides the Chinese people with extremely favourable conditions. If they can make good use of these conditions and continue to struggle actively, resolutely and with ever-renewed efforts, they will undoubtedly defeat the aggressors and build up a new China. The Chinese people should redouble their efforts in the struggle for the fulfilment of their sacred tasks.

What is the present international situation?

The military situation at present is that the Soviet Army has begun its attack on Berlin, and in concerted action with it the allied forces of Great Britain, the United States and France are attacking the remnant forces of Hitler, while the Italian people have started uprisings. All these things will finally bring about Hitler's end. When Hitler meets his end, the defeat of the Japanese aggressors will not be far distant. Contrary to the prediction of the reactionaries at home and abroad, the fascist forces of aggression will certainly be overthrown and the people's democratic forces will certainly be victorious. The world will take the path of progress and not the road of reaction. Of course, we must be fully vigilant and realise that

certain temporary and even serious setbacks may occur in the course of history; in many countries reactionary forces are still quite strong which grudge the people at home and abroad their unity, progress and liberation. Whoever overlooks this is bound to commit political blunders. The general trend of history, however, is clearly defined and unalterable. This situation is only unfavourable to the fascists and their virtual accomplices, the reactionaries in various countries, but augurs well for the people of all countries and their organised democratic forces. It is the people, and the people alone, that are the motivating force in making the history of the world. The Soviet people have built up their great strength and have become the main force in defeating fascism. The efforts of the Soviet people plus those of the other anti-fascist Allies have made the defeat of the fascists possible. The war has educated the people and they will win the war as well as peace and progress.

This new situation differs considerably from the First World War. At that time there was still no Soviet Union, nor were the peoples of various countries so awakened as they are now. The two world wars represent two entirely different epochs.

The defeat of the fascist aggressors, the end of the Second World War and the establishment of international peace do not mean that struggles will cease. The remnant fascist forces strewn all over the world will certainly continue to make trouble, and the forces opposing democracy and oppressing other nations,

which are found in the very camp opposing the fascist war of aggression, will continue to oppress the peoples of various countries, the colonies and semi-colonies. Therefore, after the establishment of international peace, a good part of the world will still be full of struggles between the masses of the anti-fascist people and the remnant fascist forces, between democracy and anti-democracy, between national liberation and national oppression. Only through prolonged efforts to overcome the remnant fascist forces and all the anti-democratic and imperialist forces can victory come to the broadest masses of the people. To be sure, that day will not arrive quickly or easily, but arrive it certainly will. Victory in the anti-fascist Second World War will pave the way for victory of the people's post-war struggles. A consolidated and lasting peace can be ensured only after victory in such struggles.

What is the domestic situation at present?

China's protracted war has been and will still be carried on at the cost of enormous sacrifices on the part of her people; but at the same time it is this very war that has steeled them. This war has enhanced the awakening and unity of the Chinese people to a degree unequalled in all their great struggles in the last hundred years. On the one hand, the Chinese people are confronted with both a formidable national enemy and powerful domestic reactionary forces which are actually assisting the enemy. On the other, they have not only been more awakened than ever before

but have also created the powerful Chinese liberated areas and developed a nation-wide democratic movement that is daily growing. All these are the favourable domestic conditions. If all the Chinese people's struggles in the last hundred years met with failure or setbacks because certain necessary conditions, international as well as domestic, were lacking, then it is quite different now, and all the necessary conditions are present. There is every possibility of avoiding defeat and winning victory. We shall win victory if we can unite the people of the whole country to carry on vigorous struggles and can give them proper guidance.

The Chinese people are now much more confident than before that they can unite themselves to defeat the aggressors and build up a new China. It is time for the Chinese people to overcome all difficulties and fulfil their basic demands of great historical significance. Can there be any doubt about this? I think there is none.

Such is the general international and domestic situation at present.

III. TWO LINES IN THE ANTI-JAPANESE WAR

THE KEY TO CHINA'S PROBLEMS

Speaking of the domestic situation, we have yet to make a specific analysis of China's Anti-Japanese War.

China is one of the five biggest countries taking part in the world-wide anti-fascist war and the main force in fighting the Japanese aggressors on the continent of Asia. The Chinese people have not only played a great role in the Anti-Japanese War, but will also play a great role in safeguarding peace in the post-war world and a decisive role in safeguarding peace in the East. During the eight years of the Anti-Japanese War, China has made enormous efforts to liberate herself and help the Allied countries. Such efforts have been made chiefly by the people of China. Large numbers of officers and men in the Chinese armies have fought and shed their blood at the front; the Chinese workers, peasants, intellectuals and industrialists have worked hard in the rear; the oversea Chinese have rendered financial support to the war; and all the anti-Japanese political parties, except such members as are opposed to the people, have done their bit in the war. In short, for eight long years, by blood and sweat the Chinese people have heroically fought the Japanese aggressors. But for many years the Chinese reactionaries have spread rumours and misled public opinion in order to keep the world from knowing what role the Chinese people have really played in the Anti-Japanese War. At the same time no one has yet made a comprehensive summing-up of the various kinds of experiences China has gained during her eight years' war against Japan. Therefore, this Congress ought to make a proper summing-up of all

such experiences in order to educate the people and to provide a basis for the Party to formulate its policy.

In summing up experiences, everybody can see clearly that there are two different guiding lines in China. One enables us to defeat the Japanese aggressors and the other, instead of this, actually helps one way or another the Japanese aggressors and hampers us from carrying on the Anti-Japanese War.

The Kuomintang government's policy of passive resistance to Japan and its reactionary policy of active repression of the people at home have resulted in military setbacks, enormous territorial losses, financial and economic crisis, oppression and hardship for the people and disruption of national unity. Such a reactionary policy has hindered the mobilisation and unification of all the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people for the effective prosecution of the war, and hindered the people from awakening and getting united. But the movement of the Chinese people to become awakened and united has never ceased and has developed along a tortuous route under the twofold repression of the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang government. Clearly two lines have co-existed in China for a long time: the Kuomintang government's line of oppressing the Chinese people and carrying on a passive resistance, and the Chinese people's line of becoming awakened and united to wage a people's war. Herein lies the key to all China's problems.

A HISTORY THAT FOLLOWS A TORTUOUS ROUTE

In order to know why the problem of these two lines is the key to all other problems of China, it is necessary to trace the history of our Anti-Japanese War.

The Chinese people's Anti-Japanese War has developed along a tortuous route. It began far back in 1931. On September 18 of that year the Japanese aggressors occupied Mukden, and in a few months took the whole of the three north-eastern provinces. The Kuomintang government adopted a policy of non-resistance. But led or assisted by the Chinese Communist Party, the people and a section of the patriotic troops of these provinces organised, in defiance of the Kuomintang government, the Anti-Japanese Volunteers and the Anti-Japanese Amalgamated Armies to wage a heroic guerrilla war. This heroic guerrilla war for a time developed to great dimensions and, though it met with many difficulties and setbacks in the course of its operations, the enemy has never been able to put an end to it. When the Japanese aggressors attacked Shanghai in 1932, the Kuomintang government was again defied by a group of patriots in the Kuomintang, who led the Nineteenth Route Army to repel the attacks of the Japanese aggressors. When the Japanese aggressors invaded Jehol and Chahar in 1933, the Kuomintang government was defied for the third time by another group of patriots in the Kuomintang who entered into co-operation with the Communist Party

and organised the Anti-Japanese Allied Army to put up resistance. To all these military actions against Japan, however, only the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic groups and the oversea Chinese gave their assistance, while the Kuomintang government, pursuing a policy of non-resistance, contributed nothing. Moreover, the anti-Japanese activities in Shanghai and Chahar were even disrupted by the Kuomintang government. In 1933 the people's government established by the Nineteenth Route Army in Fukien was also destroyed by the Kuomintang government.

Why did the Kuomintang government adopt a policy of non-resistance at that time? The main reason lies in the fact that it had in 1927 broken up the Kuomintang-Communist co-operation and disrupted the unity of the Chinese people.

In 1924 Dr. Sun Yat-sen accepted the proposal of the Chinese Communist Party, called the First National Congress of the Kuomintang with the Communists taking part, adopted the three cardinal policies of alliance with Russia, co-operation with the Communists and assistance to the peasants and workers, established the Whampoa Military Academy and formed the national united front of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people; consequently the reactionary forces in Kwangtung were wiped out in 1924-5, the victorious Northern Expedition was carried out during 1926-7, a large part of the areas along the Yangtze and Yellow rivers was taken over, the forces

of the Northern warlord government were defeated and the people's struggle for liberation on a scale unprecedented in Chinese history was set afoot. But during the late spring and early summer of 1927, when the Northern Expedition was taking a critical turn, the Kuomintang authorities, by means of their treacherous, anti-popular policies of "party purge"¹ and massacre, disrupted the national united front of the Kuomintang, the Communist Party and all sections of the people which stood for the cause of the Chinese people's liberation, and nullified all its revolutionary policies. In their eyes, the allies of yesterday, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, became enemies, and the enemies of yesterday, imperialism and feudalism, became allies. As a result, they launched a perfidious, sudden attack on the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, and the great revolution in China, full of life and vigour, was crushed. Since then civil war has replaced solidarity,

¹ Sun Yat-sen's reorganisation in 1924 turned the Kuomintang into a revolutionary alliance of various social classes, with the Communists joining the Kuomintang as individuals. The Kuomintang's betrayal of the revolution in 1927 was followed by a nation-wide massacre of Communists and Leftists inside the Kuomintang, all of whom had been faithful supporters of Sun Yat-sen's three cardinal policies (alliance with Soviet Russia, co-operation with the Communists, and assistance to the peasants and workers). This massacre the Kuomintang called a "party purge." From that time onward, the Kuomintang has been a counter-revolutionary political party of big landlords and the big bourgeoisie.

dictatorship has replaced democracy, and a dark China has superseded a bright China. But the Chinese Communists and the people of China were not intimidated, conquered or exterminated. They rose to their feet again, wiped off the blood-stains on their way, buried their fallen comrades and carried on the fight. They held high the great standard of revolution and put up armed resistance; over a vast territory of China they set up a people's government, carried out agrarian reform, built up a people's army—the Chinese Red Army—and preserved and expanded the revolutionary forces of the Chinese people. Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles, abandoned by the Kuomintang reactionaries, were upheld by the Chinese people, the Chinese Communists and other democrats.

After the Japanese aggressors penetrated into the three north-eastern provinces, the Chinese Communist Party proposed in 1933, on the condition of stopping attacks, granting democratic rights to the people and arming them so as to facilitate a united resistance to Japan, to conclude a truce agreement with any of the Kuomintang troops then attacking the revolutionary base areas and the Red Army. But the Kuomintang leadership rejected this proposal.

Thenceforth, on the one hand, the Kuomintang government became even more rampant in carrying out its civil war policy; and on the other, the voice of the Chinese people grew ever more powerful in demanding cessation of civil war and united resistance to Japan.

Popular patriotic organisations of all sorts were formed in Shanghai and many other places. Between 1934 and 1936 the main forces of the Red Army on both sides of the Yangtze river, under the leadership of the Central Committee of our Party, underwent untold hardships and moved to the north-west to join forces with the Red Army units there. It was in these two years that the Chinese Communist Party, adapting itself to the new situation, decided on and carried out a new, well-integrated political line—the line of the Anti-Japanese United Front—aimed at achieving united resistance to Japan and establishing a new-democratic republic. On December 9, 1935, under our Party's leadership, the masses of students in Peiping started a courageous patriotic movement and formed the "Vanguard of China's National Liberation,"¹ and spread this patriotic movement to all the big cities in the country. On December 12, 1936, two groups of patriotic members of the Kuomintang which stood for resistance to Japan, *i.e.* the North-eastern Army and

¹ This was a revolutionary youth organisation, formed under Communist leadership in September 1936 by progressive young people who had participated in the December 9 Movement of the previous year. After the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, many of its members went to the front and took part in establishing base areas in the enemy rear. In the Kuomintang-controlled areas the organisation was forcibly dissolved by Chiang Kai-shek's government in 1938. In the liberated areas it was later merged into the Association of Youth for National Salvation, an even broader youth organisation.

the Seventeenth Route Army, jointly staged the famous Sian Incident to oppose militantly the Kuomintang authorities' reactionary policies of compromising with Japan and massacring the people at home. At the same time other patriots in the Kuomintang were likewise dissatisfied with the policies of the Kuomintang authorities. Under these circumstances the Kuomintang authorities were forced to abandon their civil war policy and yield to the demands of the people. With the peaceful settlement of the Sian Incident as the turning-point, an internal co-operation under new circumstances took shape and a nation-wide war against Japan was started. In May 1937, shortly before the Lukouchiao Incident, our Party called a national conference of historical significance which ratified the new political line followed by the Central Committee of the Party since 1935.

From the Lukouchiao Incident of July 7, 1937, up to the fall of Wuhan in October 1938, the Kuomintang government made comparatively great efforts in the war against Japan. During this period the large-scale onslaught of the Japanese aggressors and the ever-mounting righteous, patriotic indignation of the whole people compelled the Kuomintang government to make resisting the Japanese aggressors the centre of gravity of its policy, to bring about an upsurge of armed struggle of the army and the whole people, creating for a time a new atmosphere of hopefulness. All the people, with the Communists and other democrats, then pinned great hopes on the Kuomintang government;

they hoped that it would earnestly introduce democratic reforms and put into practice Dr. Sun Yat-sen's revolutionary Three People's Principles at a moment when the nation was in peril and the people's spirits were high. But such hopes came to nothing. For even in those two years, while a comparatively active resistance was going on, the Kuomintang authorities continued to refuse to mobilise the broad masses of the people to take part in the people's war and to restrict the people's voluntary efforts to unite themselves for activities that helped the resistance to the Japanese and furthered the cause of democracy. Although the Kuomintang government had changed somewhat its old attitude towards the Chinese Communist Party and other anti-Japanese groups, it continued to deny equal status to them and to restrict their activities in all sorts of ways. Many patriotic political prisoners were still in jail. What mattered most was that the Kuomintang government still preserved the oligarchy it had established since the outbreak of the civil war in 1927, and as a result it proved impossible to create a democratic coalition government with nation-wide support.

At the very beginning of this period we Communists pointed out that there were two guiding lines in China's Anti-Japanese War: a people's total war which leads to victory, and a partial war, with the people under oppression, which leads to defeat. We also pointed out that the war would be protracted and would inevitably meet with numerous hardships and

difficulties but that, through their own efforts, the Chinese people would definitely win the final victory.

THE PEOPLE'S WAR

During this period the main force of the Chinese Red Army under the Chinese Communist Party's leadership, which had moved to the north-west, was reorganised as the Eighth Route Army of the Chinese National Revolutionary Army and the guerrilla units of the Chinese Red Army, which had remained in the areas on both sides of the Yangtze river, were reorganised as the New Fourth Army of the Chinese National Revolutionary Army; they were sent one after the other to North and Central China respectively to fight the Japanese invaders. During the civil war period, the Chinese Red Army preserved as well as developed the democratic tradition of the Whampoa Military Academy and the National Revolutionary Army in the Northern Expedition, and for a time it went on expanding up to several hundred thousand strong. But, among other things, the Kuomintang government's ruthless destruction of our southern base areas and the losses incurred during the Long March combined to reduce it to a few tens of thousands at the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War. Some, therefore, belittled this army and thought that in the resistance to Japan reliance should chiefly be placed on the Kuomintang. The people, however, were the best judges; they knew that the Eighth Route and New