



MAO TSE-TUNG

TWO POLICIES AND PROGRAMMES
TO COMBAT JAPANESE INVASION
AND TWO PERSPECTIVES

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**FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1960**

毛 澤 東
反对日本进攻的方針、办法和前途

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外文出版社出版（北京）
1954年6月第一版 1960年7月第二版
编号：（英）1050—126
（精）00063
（平）00022



毛泽东

First Edition	1954
Second Edition	1960

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

The present English translation of *Two Policies and Programmes to Combat Japanese Invasion and Two Perspectives* has been made from the Chinese text given in the second edition of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Volume II, published by the People's Publishing House, Peking, in August 1952. It is a careful revision of the first English edition published in June 1954, and endeavours to give a more adequate rendering of the Chinese text.

Printed in the People's Republic of China

When on July 7, 1937 the Japanese imperialists staged the Lukouchiao Incident in an attempt to annex the whole of China by armed force, the Chinese people unanimously demanded war against Japan. Ten days elapsed before Chiang Kai-shek made a public statement at Lushan declaring a war of resistance. He did so under nationwide popular pressure and in consequence of the serious blow dealt by the Japanese to the interests of British and American imperialism in China as well as to those of the big landlords and the big bourgeoisie whom Chiang Kai-shek directly represented. At the same time, however, Chiang's government carried on negotiations with the Japanese invaders and even accepted the so-called peaceful settlements which the Japanese had concluded with Chinese local authorities. It was not until August 13, 1937, when the Japanese invaders launched a large-scale offensive on Shanghai, threatening Chiang Kai-shek's dominant position in south-eastern China, that he was compelled to start armed resistance; but even then, and right up to 1944, he never broke off his back-door peace negotiations with Japan. Throughout the Anti-Japanese War his actions were utterly at variance with his Lushan statement: "Once war breaks out, everyone, young or old, in the north or in the south, must shoulder the responsibility of resisting Japan and defending the homeland". He opposed the general mobilization of the people for a people's total war, and adopted the reactionary policy of passive resistance to Japan and active opposition to the Communists and the people. In this article, which appeared on July 23, 1937, Comrade Mao Tse-tung discusses the two different policies, programmes and perspectives which clearly revealed the contrast between the Communist line and Chiang Kai-shek's line in the Anti-Japanese War.

Commission on the Publication of
the Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung,
Central Committee of the
Chinese Communist Party

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1. TWO POLICIES

On July 8, the day after the Lukouchiao Incident,¹ the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party issued a manifesto to the whole nation calling for armed resistance, part of which reads as follows:

Fellow Countrymen! Peiping² and Tientsin are in danger! Northern China is in danger! The Chinese nation is in danger! A national war of resistance is our only way out. We demand immediate and resolute resistance to the invading Japanese army and immediate preparations against all emergencies. The whole nation, leaders and people together, must at once abandon the idea of a patched-up, precarious peace with the Japanese invaders. Fellow countrymen! Let us pay tribute and give support to the heroic resistance of General Feng Chih-an's troops. Let us acclaim and support the declaration of the local authorities in northern

¹ On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked the Chinese troops stationed at Lukouchiao, about ten kilometres south-west of Peking. The Chinese troops resisted the Japanese and thus began the heroic eight years' War of Resistance of the Chinese people.

² Peking was named Peiping under the Kuomintang regime.

China that they will defend to the death our homeland. We demand that General Sung Che-yuan immediately mobilize and dispatch to the front the entire Twenty-ninth Army.¹ To the Central Government in Nanking we address the following demands: Give effective and substantial aid to the Twenty-ninth Army. Lift immediately the ban on the people's patriotic movement and give full play to the people's enthusiasm for armed resistance. Mobilize for immediate action all China's land, sea and air forces. Weed out immediately from our midst all hidden Chinese collaborators and traitors and Japanese spies and thus consolidate our rear. We call on all our fellow countrymen to do their utmost to support China's sacred war of self-defence and resistance to Japanese aggression. Our slogans are: Take up arms to defend Peiping, Tientsin and northern China! Defend our homeland to the last drop of our blood! Let the people, the government and the armed forces unite to build up the national united front into an indestructible Great Wall to resist Japanese aggression! Let the Kuomintang and the Communist Party co-operate closely to resist the new attacks of the Japanese invaders! Drive the Japanese invaders out of China!

¹ Originally part of the Kuomintang's North-west Army under Feng Yu-hsiang, then stationed in Hopei and Chahar provinces, Chahar being now incorporated into Shansi and Hopei provinces. Sung Che-yuan was its commander and Feng Chih-an one of its divisional commanders.

That is a statement of policy.

On July 17, Mr. Chiang Kai-shek issued a public statement in Lushan. Declaring the policy of preparing armed resistance, this was the Kuomintang's first correct statement on foreign affairs for many years, and consequently was welcomed by us and by all our countrymen. The statement listed four conditions for the settlement of the Lukouchiao Incident:

(1) There must be no settlement which infringes China's sovereignty and territorial integrity; (2) there must be no irregular change in the administrative structure of Hopei and Chahar provinces; (3) there must be no displacement, merely at the request of certain persons, of local officials appointed by the Central Government; and (4) the Twenty-ninth Army must not be confined to the area in which it is now stationed.

The concluding remarks of the statement read:

In respect of the Lukouchiao Incident, the government has decided on a line of policy which it will always maintain. We realize that when the whole nation goes to war, we shall be called upon to make supreme sacrifices and should not cherish the faintest hope of finding an easy way out. Once war breaks out, everyone, young or old, in the north or in the south, must shoulder the responsibility of resisting Japan and defending the homeland.

That is another statement of policy.

These are political declarations of historical significance issued by the Communist Party and the Kuomintang respectively on the Lukouchiao Incident. They are at one in declaring for resolute armed resistance and against compromise and concessions.

This is one policy for meeting Japanese invasion — the correct policy.

But there is another policy which may be adopted. In recent months the collaborators and the pro-Japanese elements in Peiping and Tientsin have become more active in pressing the local authorities to accede to Japanese demands and to undermine the policy of resolute armed resistance by compromise and concessions. This is a grave danger.

The policy of compromise and concessions cannot be reconciled with the policy of resolute armed resistance. We must fully recognize that if it is not speedily reversed, Peiping, Tientsin and the whole of northern China will fall into the enemy's hands, and the whole nation will then be in great danger.

All patriotic officers and men of the Twenty-ninth Army: We appeal to you to unite and oppose compromise and concessions and put up resolute armed resistance!

All patriots of Peiping, Tientsin and northern China: We appeal to you to unite and oppose compromise and concessions and support resolute armed resistance!

All patriotic Chinese: We appeal to you to unite and oppose compromise and concessions and support resolute armed resistance!

Mr. Chiang Kai-shek and all patriotic members of the Kuomintang: We appeal to you to adhere firmly to your policy and promises, oppose compromise and concessions, carry out resolute armed resistance, and meet with deeds the outrages of the enemy!

All the armed forces in the country, including the Red Army: We appeal to you to support the declaration of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, oppose compromise and concessions and carry out a resolute armed resistance!

Conscientiously carrying out their own declaration and at the same time resolutely supporting that of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, all Communists, to a man, are ready, together with the Kuomintang members and all fellow countrymen, to defend their native soil to the last drop of their blood, are opposed to any hesitation, vacillation, compromise or concession, and pledge themselves to resolute armed resistance.

2. TWO PROGRAMMES

To carry out the policy of resolute armed resistance we need a comprehensive programme.

What is this programme? It contains these main points:

(1) *General mobilization of the armed forces of the whole country.* Mobilize the more than two million men in our regular land, sea and air forces, including the armies of the Central and provincial governments, and the Red Army, and immediately dispatch their

main forces to the front while keeping some forces to maintain public order in the rear. Entrust the command on the various fronts to generals who are loyal to the national interests. Call a national defence conference to decide on the strategic directives and to ensure a united will to fight. Reform the political work in the army so as to achieve unity between officers and men and between the army and the people. Make it clearly understood that guerrilla warfare in co-ordination with regular warfare should be a part of the strategic plan. Weed out collaborators from the army. Mobilize adequate reserves, and train them for service at the front. Replenish adequately the equipment and supplies of the armed forces. These military plans are necessary in carrying out the general policy of resolute armed resistance. Unless these plans are carried out, China's armed forces, in spite of their numerical strength, cannot defeat the enemy. But with the necessary political and material conditions they will be invincible in East Asia.

(2) *General mobilization of the people.* Lift the ban on patriotic movements, release political prisoners, annul the "Emergency Penal Law for Actions Endangering the Republic"¹ and the "Press-Censorship Regulations",² grant legal status to existing patriotic so-

¹ Promulgated by the Kuomintang government on January 31, 1931 as a means of ruthless persecution of patriots and revolutionaries.

² Issued by the Kuomintang government in August 1934 to suppress the voice of the people. They required that "all news copy must be submitted to censorship".

cieties, expand the patriotic organizations among the workers, peasants, businessmen and intellectuals, and arm the people for self-defence and for operations in co-ordination with the army. In a word, give the people the freedom to express their patriotism. The combined strength of the people and the army will be able to deal a death-blow to Japanese imperialism. There is not the slightest doubt that victory in a national war is possible only if we rely on the mass of the people. Let us take warning from Abyssinia's defeat. This point of the programme should not be ignored by anyone who is sincere about armed resistance.

(3) *The reform of the political structure.* Include in the government the leaders of all parties and groups and of the people to administer jointly the affairs of the state, and weed out from the government the secret pro-Japanese elements and collaborators, so that the government can become one with the people. Resistance to Japan is a gigantic task which can never be performed by a few persons. If they attempt to do what is beyond their capacity, they can only cause delay and court failure. If the government is a real government of national defence it must rely on the people and practise democratic centralism. A government which is both democratic and centralized is the most powerful. The National Assembly must be truly representative of the people and become the organ of supreme authority, must be responsible for the major policies of the state and decide on the policies and plans to resist Japan and save the nation.

(4) *Anti-Japanese foreign policy.* Grant no advantages or facilities for Japanese imperialists; on the contrary, confiscate their property, repudiate their loans, weed out their collaborators and expel their spies from China. Closely unite with the Soviet Union, the most reliable and most powerful state, and the most capable of helping China to fight Japan, by immediately concluding a military and political alliance with it. Strive to win the sympathy of Britain, the United States and France for our resistance to Japan and, provided that there is no loss of our territory or infringement of our sovereignty, enlist their help. To defeat the Japanese invaders we must mainly rely on our own strength, but foreign aid is indispensable and an isolationist policy will only play into the enemy's hands.

(5) *The proclamation and immediate implementation of a programme for improving the people's living conditions.* To start with the most elementary demands, there should be abolition of exorbitant assessments and miscellaneous taxes, reduction of land rent, restriction of usury, improvement of the conditions of workers, soldiers, junior officers and office employees, relief for victims of natural calamities. Far from draining the country's finances, as some people argue, these new measures will increase the purchasing power of the people and lead to commercial prosperity and brisk financial activity. They will immeasurably increase our strength for resisting Japan and consolidate the basis of the government.

(6) *Education for national defence.* Radically reform the existing educational policies and systems. All unnecessary projects and unreasonable measures must be discarded. Newspapers, books, films, plays, literature and art must all serve the interests of national defence. Pro-Japanese propaganda must be prohibited.

(7) *An anti-Japanese financial and economic policy.* To facilitate the over-all task of resistance, financial policy should be based on the principle that those who have money contribute money and that the property of the Japanese imperialists and Chinese collaborators be confiscated; economic policy should be based on the principle of boycotting Japanese goods and promoting the sales of home products. Wrong policies have drained the treasury; these new measures which serve the interests of the people will replenish it. It is sheer nonsense to say that a country like ours with such a vast territory and huge population can be financially and economically helpless.

(8) *The people, the government and the armed forces must unite to build up the national united front as an indestructible Great Wall.* The implementation of the policy of armed resistance and the above-mentioned measures depends on the united front, in which the central link is close co-operation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. The government, the troops, all the parties and groups, and the people of the whole country must unite on the basis of this bi-partisan co-operation. "Genuine unity to meet the national crisis" must not remain mere high-sound-

ing words, but must be translated into noble deeds. Unity must be genuine; we should put an end to mutual suspicion and deceit. There must be more candour and generosity in dealing with each other. Petty calculations, intrigues, bureaucracy and Ah-Q-ism¹ serve no useful purpose; they are useless against the enemy and utterly contemptible in dealing with our fellow countrymen. There are major and minor principles underlying everything, but the minor must be subordinated to the major principles. Our countrymen must consider things carefully in the light of the major principles before they can think and act properly. Today, anyone who is not sincere about unity, even if he is not rebuked by other people, ought to feel guilty when he examines his own conscience.

This programme for the realization of resolute armed resistance may be called the Eight-Point Programme.

The policy of resolute armed resistance must be accompanied by this programme, or else victory can never be achieved and Japanese aggression against China will never be ended, and China, reduced to helplessness, will suffer the same fate as Abyssinia.

Those who are sincere in pursuing the policy of resolute armed resistance must carry out this pro-

¹From *The True Story of Ah Q*, a famous novel by the great Chinese writer Lu Hsun (1881-1936). Ah Q is the type of all those who seek compensation for the failures and setbacks in real life by regarding them as moral or spiritual victories.