



MAO TSE-TUNG

**ON
COALITION GOVERNMENT**

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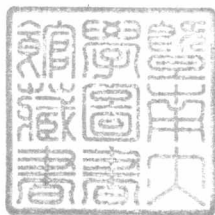
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the Selected Works of Mao Tse-
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I. THE BASIC DEMANDS OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

Our Congress is held at a time when a new situation emerges after the Chinese people have waged nearly eight years of resolute, heroic and unyielding struggles against the Japanese aggressors and undergone untold sufferings and made countless sacrifices, a new situation in which the world-wide just and sacred war against the fascist aggressors has gained decisive victory and the defeat of the Japanese by the Chinese people in co-ordination with the Allied countries is imminent. But China remains disunited and still faces a grave crisis. In such circumstances, what are we going to do? Beyond all doubt China's urgent need is that representatives of all political parties and groups and those with no party affiliation should unite to form a provisional democratic coalition government to defeat the Japanese aggressors and liberate the Chinese nation from their clutches by carrying out democratic reforms, overcoming the present crisis, mobilizing and unifying all the anti-Japanese forces of the country and co-ordinating effectively our military operations with those of the Allies. Then a national assembly should be convened on a broad democratic basis and a permanent democratic government formed, which will also be a coalition and include on an even larger scale

representatives of all parties and groups and those with no party affiliation, and will lead the whole liberated nation to build a new China, independent and free, democratic and united, prosperous and powerful. In short, we must follow a line of unity and democracy to defeat the aggressors and build a new China.

We believe that is the only way to fulfil the basic demands of the Chinese people. My report, therefore, will deal mainly with these demands. The question of 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. In my report I shall lay particular stress on this question.

During the eight years' War of Resistance the Chinese Communist Party has overcome numerous difficulties and won great successes, but in the present situation serious difficulties still confront our Party and the people. The present situation makes it imperative that our Party should devote itself further to what is urgent and feasible, 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 basic demands of the Chinese people, as formulated, be fulfilled? This depends on the extent to which the Chinese people are awakened, united and

prepared to exert themselves. The present international and domestic situation is very favourable to the Chinese people. If they take advantage of this situation and continue to struggle actively, resolutely and tirelessly, they will certainly defeat the aggressors and build a new China. The Chinese people must redouble their efforts in the struggle for the fulfilment of their sacred task.

What is the present international situation?

The present military situation is as follows: the Soviet Army has begun its attack on Berlin and in concerted action the British, American and French allied forces are grappling with the tattered remnants of Hitler's forces, while the Italian people have started uprisings. All these things will bring about Hitler's final defeat. 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 not the road of reaction but the path of progress. We must of course remain on the alert and reckon with the possibility of certain temporary and even serious setbacks in the course of events; in many countries the forces of reaction, which begrudge the people at home and abroad their unity, progress and liberation, are still strong. Anyone who loses sight of this possibility will make political mistakes. The general trend of history, however, is clearly defined and will

not change. It is unfavourable only to the fascists and their virtual accomplices, the reactionaries in various countries but holds out hope to the people of all countries and their organized democratic forces. It is the people, and the people alone, who are the motivating force of history. The Soviet people have built up their great strength and have become the main force in defeating fascism. The efforts of the Soviet people together with those of the other anti-fascist Allies have made possible the defeat of the fascists. The people have been educated by the war and will win victory, peace and progress.

This new situation differs considerably from that of the First World War. Then there was still no Soviet Union nor had the peoples of various countries awakened as they have today. 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. Fascist remnants scattered all over the world will certainly continue to make trouble, and the forces against democracy and for national oppression, which are now in the camp opposing fascist aggression, will continue to oppress the colonies and semi-colonies and their own people. Therefore, after the establishment of international peace, much of the world will still be torn by struggles between the mass 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 mass of the people. To be sure, that day will not arrive quickly or smoothly, 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 these struggles.

What is the domestic situation at present?

The long war has exacted and will continue to exact from the Chinese people great sacrifices, but at the same time it serves to steel them. This war has awakened and united the Chinese people to a greater degree than all their great struggles in the last hundred years. On the one hand, the Chinese people are confronted with a formidable national enemy and powerful domestic reactionary forces which are actually assisting the enemy. On the other, they have been more awakened than ever before and have also created the powerful Chinese liberated areas and developed a nation-wide democratic movement which is growing day by day. All these are favourable domestic conditions. Although all the Chinese people's struggles in the last hundred years met with failure or setbacks because certain necessary conditions, international and domestic, were lacking, it is quite different now; all the necessary conditions are present. It is certainly possible to avoid defeat and to be victorious. We shall be victorious if we can unite the people of the

whole country to struggle resolutely and if we can give them correct leadership.

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

Such is the general international and domestic situation today.

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 played a very great role in the Anti-Japanese War, and will also play a very great role in safeguarding peace in the post-war world and a decisive role in safeguarding peace in the East. During eight years of war China has made great efforts to liberate herself and to help the Allied countries. These 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 overseas Chinese have given financial support to the war; all the anti-Japanese political parties, except those members who are opposed to the people, have played a part in the war. In short, for eight long years, with blood and sweat, the Chinese people have fought heroically against the Japanese aggressors. But for many years the Chinese reactionaries have spread rumours and misled public opinion to keep the world from knowing the part 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 China's various experiences during her eight years' war against Japan. Therefore, this Congress ought to make a proper summing-up of all such experiences to educate the people and to provide a basis for the formulation of our Party's policy.

In summing up experiences, everybody can see clearly that there are two different guiding lines in China. One leads to the defeat of the Japanese aggressors and the other, on the contrary, actually helps the Japanese in some respects and hampers our resistance.

The Kuomintang government's policy of passive resistance to Japan and its reactionary domestic policy of active repression of the people have resulted in military setbacks, enormous territorial losses, financial and economic crisis, oppression and hardship for the people and disruption of national unity. This reactionary policy has hindered the mobilization and unification

of all the anti-Japanese forces of the Chinese people for the effective prosecution of the war, and hindered the awakening and unity of the people. The process of the awakening and the uniting of the Chinese people has never ceased, but has been tortuous under the two-fold repression of the Japanese aggressors and the Kuomintang government. Clearly two lines have long co-existed in China: the Kuomintang government's line of oppressing the Chinese people and carrying on a passive resistance, and the Chinese people's line of awakening and uniting to wage a people's war. Herein lies the key to all China's problems.

THE TORTUOUS COURSE OF HISTORY

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

The Chinese people's resistance to Japan has followed a tortuous course. 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 helped by the Chinese Communist Party, the people and a section of the patriotic troops of these provinces organized, 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, in spite of many difficulties and setbacks, has survived the enemy's onslaughts. In 1932, a group of patriots in the Kuomintang again defied the government and led the Nineteenth Route Army to repel Japan's attacks on Shanghai. In 1933 when the Japanese invaded Jehol and Chahar another group of patriots in the Kuomintang once more defied the government and in co-operation with the Communist Party organized the Anti-Japanese Allied Army to resist the invaders. In all these military actions against Japan, however, it was the Chinese people, the Chinese Communist Party and other democratic groups and the overseas Chinese who gave their help, while the Kuomintang government, bent upon pursuing a policy of non-resistance, did not lift a finger. Moreover, it even wrecked the anti-Japanese operations both in Shanghai and Chahar. In 1933 it also crushed the people's government established by the Nineteenth Route Army in Fukien.

Why did the Kuomintang government adopt a policy of non-resistance at that time? The main reason is 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,

founded the Whampoa Military Academy¹ 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 1924-25, the victorious Northern Expedition was carried out during 1926-27, large areas along the Yangtze and Yellow rivers were 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 going. But at the critical moment of the Northern Expedition in the late spring and early summer of 1927, the Kuomintang authorities, by their treacherous, anti-popular policy of party purge² and massacre, disrupted the national united front of the two parties and all

¹ Established after the reorganization of the Kuomintang in 1924 at Whampoa, near Canton, by Dr. Sun Yat-sen with the help of the Chinese Communist Party and the Soviet Union. Before Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927, the Academy was run jointly by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. Comrades Chou En-lai, Yeh Chien-ying, Yun Tai-ying, Hsiao Ch'u-nu and others all held responsible posts in the Academy at one time or another. Many of the cadets were members of the Communist Party or the Communist Youth League, and formed the core of the Academy.

² Reorganized by Dr. Sun Yat-sen in 1924, the Kuomintang became a revolutionary alliance of several classes, in which the Communists joined as individuals. After betraying the revolution in 1927, it started throughout the country a party purge or massacre of the Communists and many of its own left-wingers who supported Dr. Sun Yat-sen's three cardinal policies. This marked the beginning of the Kuomintang's transformation into a counter-revolutionary political party of the big landlord and big bourgeois classes.

sections of the people which stood for the cause of the Chinese people's liberation, and nullified all their revolutionary policies. Their allies of yesterday, the Chinese Communist Party and the Chinese people, became their enemies, and their enemies of yesterday, imperialism and feudalism, became their allies. They treacherously launched a surprise 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, in place of unity there has been civil war, of democracy, dictatorship, and of a bright China, a dark China. But the Chinese Communists and the people of China were not intimidated, subjugated or exterminated. They rose to their feet again, staunched their wounds, buried their fallen comrades and carried on the fight. They held aloft the great standard of revolution and organized armed resistance; over a vast territory of China they set up people's governments, 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 taken over 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 a truce with any of the Kuomintang troops then attacking the revolutionary base areas and the Red Army on the conditions that hostili-

ties should cease and that democratic rights should be granted to the people and arms be given them to facilitate united resistance to Japan. But the Kuomintang authorities rejected these proposals.

From then on the Kuomintang government pursued even more fiercely its policy of civil war, while the Chinese people voiced even more loudly their demand for the cessation of civil war and united resistance to Japan. Popular patriotic organizations of all kinds sprang up 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, moved after untold hardships to the North-west to join forces with the Red Army units there. It was during 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, with the aim of bringing about united resistance to Japan and establishing a new-democratic republic. On December 9, 1935, under our Party's leadership, the student masses in Peiping started a courageous patriotic movement and formed the "Vanguard of China's National Liberation",¹ and

¹ A revolutionary youth organization formed under Communist leadership in September 1936 by the progressive youth in the December 9 Movement of the previous year. After the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, many of its members took part in fighting or in establishing the base areas