MAO TSE-TUNG

STRUGGLE TO MOBILIZE ALL FORCES IN WINNING VICTORY IN THE ARMED RESISTANCE
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The present English translation of Mao Tse-tung's Struggle to Mobilize All Forces in Winning Victory in the Armed Resistance 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. Where necessary, addition and revision have been made in the notes by the translator.
This is an outline for propaganda and agitation which Comrade Mao Tse-tung wrote in August 1937 for the propaganda department of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. It was adopted by the enlarged meeting of the Central Political Bureau at Lochwan, northern Shensi.
PUBLISHER'S NOTE

This is an outline for preparation and publication work. The terms in the outline are to be used in the preparation of the text. The Chinese characters in the outline shall be replaced by the translated Chinese characters of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party.
A. The Lukouchiao Incident of July 7 marks the beginning of the all-out offensive of Japanese imperialism on China proper. The resistance of the Chinese troops at Lukouchiao marks the beginning of China's nation-wide resistance. As a result of the Japanese invaders' ceaseless offensives, the resolute struggle of the people of the whole country, the national bourgeoisie's inclination towards resisting Japan, and the policy of the Anti-Japanese National United Front which, energetically advocated and resolutely carried out by the Chinese Communist Party, has won nation-wide support—as a result of all these, the Chinese authorities have, after the Lukouchiao Incident, begun to change their policy of non-resistance to Japan, adopted ever since the "Incident of September 18," to one of resistance, and the Chinese revolution, following the December 9 Movement, has developed

1 On July 7, 1937, the Japanese aggressors attacked the Chinese troops stationed at Lukouchiao (Marco Polo Bridge), about ten kilometres southwest of Peking. Spurred on by the anti-Japanese upsurge of the whole nation, the Chinese troops resisted the Japanese. Thus began the heroic eight-year War of Resistance of the Chinese people.

2 On September 18, 1931, Shenyang (Mukden) was seized by the Japanese "Kwantung" army stationed in China's Northeast. Under Chiang Kai-shek's order of "absolute non-resistance," the Chinese Northeastern Army in Shenyang and elsewhere withdrew to the south of the Great Wall. The Japanese troops were thus able to occupy in rapid succession the northeastern provinces of Liaoning, Kirin and Heilungkiang.

3 The year 1935 witnessed a new upsurge of the people's nation-wide patriotic movement. Students in Peking, under the
from the stage of ending the civil war and preparing for resistance to the stage of carrying out resistance. The initial changes in the Kuomintang’s policies—with the Sian Incident¹ and the Third Plenary Session of the Central Executive Committee of the Kuomintang as their starting point—Mr. Chiang Kai-shek’s Lushan statement of July 17 on the question of resistance to Japan, and many of his measures for national defence all deserve commendation. All the troops at the front, the land and air forces and the local armed units, have carried on a courageous resistance and demonstrated the heroic spirit leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, organized a patriotic demonstration on December 9, shouting the slogans, “End the civil war!” “Unite against foreign aggression!” and “Down with Japanese imperialism!” The movement broke down the reign of terror imposed by the Kuomintang government in league with the Japanese aggressors and immediately won the support of the people throughout the country, and has since been generally referred to as the “December 9 Movement.” After that, changes in class relations in China became manifest and all patriotic people openly advocated, as the only means to save the motherland, the Anti-Japanese National United Front proposed by the Communist Party. The treacherous policies of the Chiang Kai-shek government were thus checkmated.

¹ The Northeastern Army under Chang Hsueh-liang and the Seventeenth Route Army under Yang Hu-cheng, Kuomintang troops which had come under the influence of the anti-Japanese movement of the Red Army and the Chinese people and had accepted the Communist proposal for an Anti-Japanese National United Front, urged Chiang to unite with the Communists and resist Japan. Chiang not only rejected their demands, but even actively prepared to “annihilate the Communists” and massacred a number of patriotic youths in Sian. Under these circumstances Chang Hsueh-liang and Yang Hu-cheng arrested him in Sian on December 12, 1936. This was the famous Sian Incident. Finally they released Chiang and let him return to Nanking after he accepted the terms of uniting with the Communists and resisting Japan.
of the Chinese nation. With the greatest fervour, the Chinese Communist Party salutes in the name of the national revolution our patriotic troops and fellow countrymen throughout China.

B. But on the other hand, after the Lukouchiao Incident of July 7 the Kuomintang authorities, resuming the erroneous policy they had pursued since the "Incident of September 18," have made compromises with and concessions to Japan and suppressed the activity of the patriotic troops as well as the national salvation movement of the patriotic people. Relying on its own brutal military force, buoyed up by the encouragement of German and Italian imperialism and exploiting the vacillation of British imperialism and the estrangement of the Kuomintang from the broad toiling masses of the people, Japanese imperialism, after seizing Peiping and Tientsin, will undoubtedly persist in its policy of large-scale offensives and take the second and third steps in its premeditated war plan, i.e. launch fierce attacks on the whole of North China and various other places. In places like Chahar and Shanghai, the conflagration of war is already

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¹ After the Lukouchiao Incident the Chinese people unanimously demanded war against Japan. Under the nation-wide pressure of the people, Chiang Kai-shek made a public statement declaring a War of Resistance to Japan. But at the same time the Chiang Kai-shek government continued its parley with the Japanese invaders and even accepted their proposal to negotiate for so-called peaceful settlements with local authorities. It was not until August 13, 1937, when the Japanese invaders launched a large-scale offensive on Shanghai and thus endangered Chiang Kai-shek's dominant position in Southeast China, that he was compelled to start the armed resistance; but even then, and right up to 1944, Chiang Kai-shek never ceased his clandestine attempts to make peace with Japan.
raging. To save our motherland from peril and subjugation, to resist the attacks of the powerful invaders, to defend North China and the seacoast, and to recover Peiping, Tientsin and the Northeast, the people of the whole country and the Kuomintang authorities must thoroughly learn the lesson of the loss of the Northeast, Peiping and Tientsin, beware of the path that led Abyssinia to her doom and acquaint themselves with the history of how the Soviet Union defeated foreign enemies in the past as well as the experience of how Spain is victoriously defending Madrid at present, and firmly unite together to fight to the end in defence of the motherland. Our task will henceforth be “to mobilize all forces for winning victory in the Armed Resistance,” and the pivot here lies in a total and thorough change of the Kuomintang’s policies. The progress shown by the Kuomintang on the question of resistance is commendable; to such a progress, which has been long expected by the Chinese Communist Party and the people of the whole country, we tender our welcome. But the Kuomintang has not changed its policies at all in matters

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1 Cf. History of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (Bolsheviks), Short Course, Chapter VIII.
2 The defence of Madrid, starting in October 1936, lasted for two years and five months. In 1936 fascist Germany and Italy made use of their Spanish jackal, the fascist warlord Franco, to launch a war of aggression against Spain. The Spanish people, led by the People’s Front Government, carried out a heroic war of resistance to defend democracy and repel foreign aggression. The battle of Madrid was the bitterest one in the whole war. As imperialist countries like Britain and France helped the aggressors through their hypocritical policy of “non-intervention,” and the people’s front itself disintegrated, Madrid finally fell in March 1939.
like arousing the masses into action and making political reforms; basically the Kuomintang is still unwilling to unleash the people's anti-Japanese movement, is still unwilling to make fundamental changes in the government apparatus, still has no plans for improving the people's living conditions, and is still not sincere enough in its co-operation with the Communist Party. If, at this critical moment when our nation is threatened with destruction, the Kuomintang still procrastinates, sticks to these policies and refuses to change them quickly, it will cause a great disaster to the Armed Resistance. Some Kuomintang members say: Let political reforms be carried out after the victory of the Armed Resistance. They think that the Japanese invaders can be defeated through a resistance by the government alone, but they are wrong. Through a resistance by the government alone we might win a few battles but can never thoroughly defeat the Japanese invaders. Only through a total national resistance can the Japanese invaders be thoroughly defeated. To carry out a total national resistance, however, requires that the Kuomintang's policies be completely and thoroughly changed, that the whole nation, from the leaders down to the rank and file, put into effect a thoroughgoing programme for resisting Japan, i.e. a national salvation programme proposed in the spirit of the revolutionary Three People's Principles¹ and three cardinal policies drawn up personally by Dr. Sun Yat-sen when the Kuomintang and the Communist Party cooperated for the first time.

C. The Chinese Communist Party earnestly proposes to the Kuomintang of China, the people of the whole country, all parties and groups, all circles and all armed forces throughout the country a Ten-Point National Salvation Programme for thoroughly defeating the Japanese invaders. The Chinese Communist Party firmly believes that only by carrying out this programme completely, earnestly and resolutely is it possible to attain the goal of defending the motherland and defeating the Japanese invaders. Otherwise the responsibility for allowing the situation to deteriorate must rest with those who procrastinate; and lamentations can be of no avail once the doom of our whole nation is sealed. The Ten-Point National Salvation Programme is as follows:

(1) Down with Japanese imperialism.

Break off diplomatic relations with Japan; expel Japanese officials, arrest Japanese agents and confiscate Japanese property in China; repudiate debts to Japan; abrogate treaties signed with Japan; abolish Japanese concessions.

Fight bitterly to a finish in defence of North China and the seacoast.

Fight bitterly to a finish for the recovery of Peiping, Tientsin and the Northeast.

Drive the Japanese imperialists out of China.

Oppose all kinds of vacillation and compromise.

(2) General military mobilization throughout the country.

Mobilize the land, sea and air forces of the whole country to carry out a nation-wide armed resistance.

Oppose the passive operational line of pure defence and adopt the positive operational line of initiative and independence.
Step up a permanent council of national defence to discuss and decide upon plans of national defence and operational direction.

Arm the people and expand the anti-Japanese guerrilla warfare to carry on operations in co-ordination with the main forces.

Reform the political work in the armed forces to achieve complete solidarity between officers and men.

Achieve complete solidarity between the army and the people to call forth the activity of the army.

Give support and aid to the Anti-Japanese Amalgamated Armies of the Northeast to disrupt the enemy's rear.

Place all troops carrying on the Armed Resistance on an equal footing as regards supplies.

Establish military districts in all parts of the country and mobilize the whole nation to join in the war, thereby effecting a gradual change from the mercenary system to conscription.

(3) General mobilization of the people of the whole country.

In resisting Japan and saving the nation, all the people of the country, with the exception of collaborators, should

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1 Upon Japan's seizure of China's Northeast in 1931, the Chinese Communist Party called upon the people there to put up armed resistance. It organized anti-Japanese guerrilla corps and the Northeastern People's Revolutionary Army, and rendered assistance to anti-Japanese volunteer forces of every description. In 1934, all anti-Japanese contingents in the Northeast were reorganized under the leadership of the Party into the Anti-Japanese Amalgamated Armies of the Northeast with Yang Ching-yu, an outstanding Communist, as Commander-in-Chief. For a long time, the armies kept up anti-Japanese guerrilla activities in the Northeast.
enjoy freedom of speech, the press, assembly, association and armed resistance to the enemy.

Annul all old laws and decrees that restrict the people's patriotic movement and promulgate new, revolutionary laws and decrees.

Release all patriotic and revolutionary political prisoners and lift the ban on the parties.

Let the whole Chinese people be mobilized, arm themselves and join in the Armed Resistance and let those who have labour power give labour power, those who have money give money, those who have guns give guns and those who have knowledge give knowledge.

Mobilize on the principle of national self-determination and autonomy, the Mongolians, the Huis and all other national minorities to join in the common fight against Japan.

(4) Reform the government structure.

Convoke a national assembly genuinely representative of the people to adopt a genuinely democratic constitution, to determine the policies of resistance and national salvation and to elect the national defence government.

The national defence government must draw in the revolutionary elements of all parties and groups and mass organizations, and expel the pro-Japanese elements.

The national defence government shall adopt the system of democratic centralism which is at once democratic and centralized.

The national defence government shall carry out revolutionary policies for resisting Japan and saving the nation.

Carry into effect the principle of local autonomy, remove all corrupt officials and establish a clean government.
(5) Anti-Japanese foreign policy.
In so far as there is no infringement of sovereignty or loss of territory, form anti-aggression alliances and conclude anti-Japanese pacts for mutual military aid with all countries that are opposed to Japanese aggression.
Support the international peace front and oppose the front of aggression of Germany, Japan and Italy.
Unite with the worker-peasant masses of Korea and Japan to oppose Japanese imperialism.

(6) Wartime financial and economic policy.
Financial policy is to be based on the principle of letting those who have money give money and confiscating the property of the collaborators to defray the expenses of the war. The economic policy consists in overhauling and expanding defence production, developing rural economy and assuring self-sufficiency in wartime supplies; encouraging the use of Chinese goods and improving home products; and completely boycotting Japanese goods, suppressing unscrupulous merchants, and banning speculation and the manipulation of the market.

(7) Improvement of the people's living conditions.
Raise the pay of workers, office workers, teachers and soldiers fighting the Japanese.
Take good care of the families of the soldiers fighting the Japanese.
Abolish exorbitant assessments and miscellaneous taxes.
Reduce rent and interest.
Relieve the unemployed.
Regulate food supplies.
Give aid to victims of natural calamities.

(8) Anti-Japanese educational policy.
Change the old educational system and curriculum and put into effect a new system and curriculum aimed at resisting Japan and saving the nation.

(9) Elimination of collaborators, traitors and pro-Japanese elements in order to consolidate the rear.

(10) National solidarity for resisting Japan.

On the basis of Kuomintang-Communist co-operation, build up an Anti-Japanese National United Front of all parties and groups, all sections of the people and all armed forces of the country to direct the Anti-Japanese War and, with genuine solidarity, meet the national crisis.

D. The line of a resistance by the government alone must be abandoned, and the line of a total national resistance must be carried out. The government must unite with the people, revive fully the revolutionary spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen and put into effect the above-mentioned Ten-Point Programme in order to win complete victory in the Anti-Japanese War. The Chinese Communist Party, together with the masses of the people and the armed forces under its leadership, will adhere resolutely to the above-mentioned programme and go to the front line of the Anti-Japanese War and defend the motherland to the last drop of its blood. The Chinese Communist Party, adhering to its consistent policy, is willing to form a common front with the Kuomintang of China and other parties and groups throughout the country, unite with them hand in hand and build up a solid Great Wall of the national united front to defeat the infamous Japanese invaders and strive for a new China of independence, freedom and happiness. To achieve this end, we must resolutely oppose the collaborators' theories of capitula-
tion and compromise, as well as that kind of national defeatism which considers it impossible to vanquish the Japanese invaders. The Chinese Communist Party firmly believes that, if the above Ten-Point Programme is put into practice, the goal of defeating the Japanese invaders can definitely be attained. If our four hundred and fifty million countrymen all exert themselves, the final victory will certainly belong to our nation.

Down with Japanese imperialism!

Long live the victory of the national revolutionary war!

Long live the new China of independence, freedom and happiness!

August 25, 1937
毛泽东

为动员一切力量争取抗战胜利而斗争

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