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signature of 8th Route Army in

LOOK AT ROME; CHUNGKING!

(An editorial of the Liberation Daily, Yenan, Aug. 21, 1943)

The coup d'etat in Italy on July 25th is not a historical event for Italy and the world alone, but one for the Chinese Kuomintang as well. For more than a decade, the Kuomintang has believed that, in this 20th century, every nation of the world should follow the line of Mussolini, and that no matter how many classes exist in a country, there should be only "one party, one leader, one principle". But where is this "one party, one leader, one principle" now in fascist Italy? Even before her capitulation was realized, the "one leader" of Italy had to "resign" and disappeared, the "one principle" outlawed, and the "one party" crushed by the enraged people and subsequently substituted in its place by many anti-fascist parties. These parties did not possess any "military or political power" before, nor did they have the privilege of twenty years of far-reaching fascist propaganda of anti-Communism, anti-liberalism, "obey the Leader", etc., nor did they have any cruel and savage "ways of handling the 'alien' parties". But in spite of all these, Italy has not been resurrected, not, until the downfall of fascism. From the tragic-comedy of Italy, how the Kuomintang should learn its bitter lessons! And how the people of China would like to see the Kuomintang turn over a new leaf of its history!

The Central News Agency, which openly admired Mussolini up to July 25th, 1943, was compelled, in front of the coup d'etat of Italy, to say something on behalf of the Kuomintang after a few days' heaven-knows-why silence. We are glad that the Central News Agency has at last raised its courage, changed its tune, broken the record of eighteen years' Kuomintang propaganda, and dared to criticize the Italian fascism, in spite that in its criticism, it still purposely and malignly compared the voluntary dissolution of the Third International with the downfall of Italian fascism, and still idolized Mussolini as a patriot of his country; thus hinting that all the anti-Mussolini Italian people are non-patriotic.

Indeed, the Central News Agency has criticized, to a certain extent, the Italian fascism, but it lacks the courage of self-criticism. Just as what was done by Mr. Chiang Kai-shek, who, in his "China's Destiny" alleges: "In China, if we do not talk of nationalism, but only of nazism, fascism and internationalism, our country and our race will be facing the danger of annihilation", it camouflaged with ornamented sentences the dirty fact of their being propagandists and executors of fascism.

There is no need of mentioning the "Incident of March 20th", 1926, and the "Purge" of April 12th, 1927, which by character are fascist coups d'etat, or the formation of the fascist "Association of Faithful Revolutionary Comrades" by Chiang Kai-shek and the Chen brothers (Chen Ko-fu and Chen Li-fu) for the purpose of destroying all "alien" forces and establishing Chiang as a fascist dictator. These are accounts too old that we do not intend to audit now. But we must demand the explanation why after 1938, an open fascist movement was so feverishly pushed on by Kuomintang members? And why a great number of the "faithful revolutionary comrades", including Mr. Chiang's son, were sent by the Kuomintang to Germany to be fascist apprentices there, and more than that German advisers and military trainers were invited to China to preach fascism? For nothing other than propagating fascism, how many training classes have you opened, how many books and newspapers published, how many youths poisoned, and how many anti-fascist people slain? Witnesses and evidences are too numerous. The Kuomintang can never deny this.

Then there was the formation of the Fu Hsing Sheh (The Renascent Society, or the Blue Jackets) in March 1938, which openly gave the reason for its inauguration as follows: "In view of the critical situation of

the country, and in order that national unification may be planned, and the practice of "internal subjugation before external repulsion" may be realized, the demand for a political dictatorship is more urgent in China than in any other country. It is upon this, and under the great determination of our Leader, that this society is initiated. Mr. Chiang Kai-shek in his "China's Destiny", has cursed the "reactionaries" for "using such terms as absolutism and dictatorship to contaminate and scandalize the magnificent work of national unification". But here, is it not Mr. Chiang himself who possesses the "great determination" to "demand" the "political dictatorship" and to be the "Leader"? The Fu Hsing Sheh was not satisfied with the C.C. Clique of the Chen brothers, denouncing them as corrupt and loose, and therefore, according to what they said, "the revolution must be renewed and a new revolutionary organization must be initiated", or in other words, "the soul of fascism must be put into the corpse of the KMT".

More frank expressions can be found in the book "Fascism and China's Revolution", which partly reads: "The KMT, in its organization and actions, has reached the stage of unreasonableness. To correct this phenomenon, the best remedy is to apply the fascist technique, to adopt the fascist spirit, and to inject a sufficient quantity of fascist blood into the organization". While Ting Moatsun, (an important figure of the C.C. clique, now a high official in Nanking) in his periodical "The Society News" opined: "It is only the KMT who can carry on this task--the task of fascist movement. Whether from the principle of the KMT or from its history, we cannot find any point contradictory with fascism. On the contrary, the Three People's Principles and the history of KMT are filled with fascist spirit."

No matter how antagonistic it is between the Fu Hsing Sheh and the C.C. Clique of the KMT, it is evident that they recognize unambiguously the fascist character of the party and consider Mr. Chiang Kai-shek as China's Mussolini. In the book "Biography of Mussolini", edited by two important KMT central executives Chen Li-fu and Yeh Chu-tsang, it says: "We need a person like Mussolini to lead us all, and in fact such a person has long existed in the political arena of China." Who is this "person like Mussolini"? Who can it be if not Mr. Chiang Kai-shek? Another book named "Sayings and Deeds of our Leader" advances one step further by comparing "the Leader" with Hitler and Mussolini, it says: "Our Leader, and Hitler and Mussolini are important figures of the world. But Germany is easier to control, and so is Italy. Hence the great merit of our Leader actually surpasses that of either Hitler or Mussolini". If Mr. Chiang Kai-shek is not a fascist, but only a revolutionary of the San min Chu I, as he calls himself, why and how dare his close disciples "contaminate and scandalize" him by comparing him with the fascist robbers? And how can Mr. Chiang deny it with all these witnesses and evidences?

You may say that the KMT fascist movement is a matter of the past, something happened before the anti-Japanese War, and that the promoters of such movement, the Fu Hsing Sheh and the C.C. Clique have already been dissolved years ago, and therefore, the KMT has now divorced with fascism. But who believe in such ghost talks? Who does not know that the achievement of Mr. Chiang's dissolution of the Fu Hsing Sheh and the C.C. Clique is somewhat like the achievement of "price control" in Chungking and Mr. Chiang's dissolution has only made the two cliques more complicated and more diversified in their organization? Who does not know that the KMT propaganda of "one party, one leader, one principle" is broader and more intense after the anti-Japanese war than before it? Who does not know that even after declaring war with Germany and Italy, the Central Weekly, official KMT organ, still honored Hitler and Mussolini as two of the six great leaders of the world? And who does not know that the publication of Mr. Chiang's book "China's Destiny" in March this year is to

3 render fascism more legalized than ever in China?

What is fascism after all? Dimitrov defined it as the open and horrid dictatorship of the most reactionary financial capitalists. Is not the above description exactly fit for the KMT rule at present? If you do not recognize the definition of Dimitrov, then, let us take a definition of your own people. On Nov. 4th, 1934, an Italian-returned subordinate of Kang Tze (one of the Fu Hsing leaders) defined fascism in the following terms: "The slogans of fascism are: (1) We have only the country and nothing else; (2) We have only the practice and no discussions; (3) We have only the duties and no rights; (4) Our spirit is patriotism, duty and discipline..... The contents of fascism are: (1) extreme nationalism; (2) anti-communism; (3) anti-liberalism, anti-democracy, absolute obedience of individuals to the country, tendency toward oligarchy, refusal of Rights of Man; (4) opposition of socialism; recognition of private capital and private enterprises; (5) tendency toward the restoration of ancient cultures, expulsion of foreign cultures; (6) opposition of class struggle, recognition of class cooperation."

Can you find from Mr. Chiang's "China's Destiny" anything that is not coincident with the above-mentioned principles and characteristics of fascism? If the position of the author of "China's Destiny" presents him from openly advocating a dictatorship and necessitates the use of more moderate terms, an article of Sa Meng-wu, professor of the Central Political Institute, of KMT, is not so euphemistic. Professor Sa's article, which was titled "A comparison of legislative systems", particularly recommended by the Central Weekly, openly proposes, after introducing in detail the fascist systems of Italy and Austria and the feudal-autocratic systems of the Chin and Han dynasties, that (1) one-party dictatorship must be quickly strengthened, (2) an absolute leader system must be established, and (3) a party-rule system must be advocated. Another article titled "The San Min Chu I Political system" appeared in the KMT periodical "National Culture" even says: "In fact, political dictatorship does not necessarily mean fascism.... It is quite evident that the KMT does not wish to share its political rights with the people... To render politics open to the people is somewhat like to open your door to the burglars, to destroy yourself with your own hands". Heavens! What is this.. if it is not fascism? Step by step, China is going the fascist road. Resistance and national unity is facing a crisis. The people cannot even breathe freely. What can you deny with all these witnesses and evidences?

You may argue that you have only absorbed the good points of fascism, and have not given up your own standpoint, and you are still believing in the San Min Chu I. Then read the "principle, organization and leadership" of the Fu Hsing Sheh: "Fascism is just the same. In China it is national fascism; in Germany, it is racial fascism; while in Japan, it is military fascism. Therefore we should not disregard the original environment of our country in adopting the principle of fascism". This viewpoint is supplemented by another fascist publication "The Political Review": "The dictatorship politics of China is not the Italian type of fascism, nor is it the German type. It is a fascism, formed through the association of military forces and the intelligentsia according to the historical Characteristics of China". No doubt, a minority of the intelligentsia has "associated" with fascism under the pressure of being buried alive, but the "characteristic" of Chinese fascism is certainly not as mentioned above, but lies in its compradore-feudal nature. It is different from the fascism of Germany or Japan indeed. But what has it in common with the San Min Chu I of Dr. Sun?

The fascist theorists of China therefore bring forth a formula: "China's revolution should not be separated from the san Min Chu I. It must be San Min Chu I plus fascism". No wonder in his "China's Destiny" Mr. Chiang lays great emphasis on the idea that "San Min Chu I is unchangeable but the method of its realization is not unchangeable."

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"This is to say, that while Dr. Sun has his method of realizing his San Min Chu I, Wang Ching-wei has another method of his own, and Chiang Kai-shek has still another. Here, we shall not go any further on the "changeable" methods. But some quotation from the "unchangeable" San Min Chu I may be helpful. In the first lecture of San Min Chu I, Dr. Sun definitely pointed out: "The world has now arrived at a stage of democracy. We must hurry studying it and should not oppose it simply because of some defects in what the former people have said about it, as in the "Social Contract" of Rousseau..... Observing from every phase, we know that the world is progressing day by day. No matter how it will be hampered or how it will temporarily fail, democracy will maintain for long in the world. This is why our comrades firmly decided, even thirty years ago, that if we are going to carry on the revolution, it is absolutely necessary for us to realize democracy.... If we oppose the tide of the world.... no matter how strong and successful we are temporarily, we shall lose at the end and shall not be able to restore in the future.... However there are still some people who are so ignorant and stubborn, that we do not know how to deal with them.... The object of my speech here is to let everybody know what democracy is. If we do not master its meaning,....our comrades will be fighting against each other and so will our countrymen. Civil wars will continue in the country and the sufferings of the people will be endless".

It seems that every word of Dr. Sun's grave and heart-moving speech here was aimed at Chiang Kai-shek to-day. But let us see how Mr. Chiang replies to the words of Dr. Sun. He says, in the "China's Destiny", "Since the signing of the unequal treaties, the Chinese people have lost their self-confidence in their learnings and thoughts, and only know how to follow blindly the foreign theories. A certain portion of the people adopts some European theories of the eighteenth or the nineteenth centuries to destroy the law-ruling idea of our nation. They read Rousseau's theory of the Rights of Man, and assert that China's revolution must follow the road of the European revolutions of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries---to fight for "freedom"... The most non-restrained people in the world are the Gypsies, whose freedom, as we know, means only a loose and wandering life.... Why should we compare ourselves with the Gypsies?" Incidentally, a somewhat similar idea is expressed by Mussolini: "If the nineteenth century is the century of socialism, democracy and liberalism, the twentieth century is a century of power and authority, a century of Fascism." Here we can see that both Mr. Chiang and Mussolini object the thoughts of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in exactly the same manner. But was not Rousseau or Lincoln, from whom Dr. Sun derived his revolutionary principles, representative of democracy in the eighteenth or the nineteenth centuries? And is it not that in what he says, Mr. Chiang has rebelled against Dr. Sun, a supporter of Rousseau and Lincoln, and converted instead to be the disciple of Mussolini?

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If "the only faithful disciple" and "the only heir" of Dr. Sun behaves like this, why should we wonder that the fascists of China, and even the traitor Wang Ching-wei, call themselves the "believers of San Min Chu I"? What we wonder is that how Mr. Chiang would feel recalling the time of the first anniversary of Dr. Sun's death when he has not yet become "the only heir" of Dr. Sun, and he denounced the anti-Communist, anti-democratic elements of the rightist group for distorting Dr. Sun's principles, in the following terms: "If they treat Dr. Sun with such an attitude, Dr. Sun will cry for ten days if he knows of it under the ground". "They claim that they worship him, but by their deeds, they are merely insulting him, therefore they are no disciples of his and we should beat our drums and assail them.", we wonder why Mr. Chiang is not afraid now that Dr. Sun would cry for ten days under the ground, if he

know it."

Gentlemen of the KMT! Can you tolerate to see that Mr. Chiang becomes "a person like Mussolini"? It is not too late yet to change your direction. Our wish is that the KMT authorities shall take the collapse of Italy as a bitter lesson; derive some experiences therefrom; voluntarily dissolve all the fascist organizations, the anti-Communist, anti-popular C.C. Clique and the Fu Hsing Sheh, the secret-service corps, training classes, concentration camps, as well as other open and the secret political prisons; prohibit all the publications that advocate for Hitler, Mussolini, fascist dictatorship, anti-Communism, or anti-liberalism; stop the reactionary propaganda of "one party, one leader, one principle, "abolishment of the Border Region", "dissolution of the Communist Party" etc.; withdraw the publication of the "China's Destiny"; and restore the genuine San Min Chu I of Dr. Sun that includes the three revolutionary policies. It is only upon these that the national solidarity can be renewed, for the preparation of the coming counter-offensive and the arrival of the final victory of the world anti-fascist war and the war of resistance of the Chinese people. Other than these, all are wish-fancies and can only end like bubbles.