

SUMMARY OF THE
CONVERSATIONS

政府與中共代表會談記要

(附英文譯本)

(再版本)

573
426

行印社版出際國

政府與中共代表會談記要

中國國民政府 蔣主席於抗戰勝利後，邀請中國共產黨中央委員會主席毛澤東先生商討國家大計。毛先生於八月廿八日應邀來渝，進見 蔣主席，曾作多次會談，同時雙方各派出代表，政府方面爲王世杰，張羣，張治中，邵力子四先生；中共方面爲周恩來，王若飛兩先生。迭在友好和諧的空氣中進行商談，已獲得左列之結果。並仍將在互信互讓之基礎上，繼續商討，求得圓滿之解決。茲特發表會談紀錄要點如下：

(一) 關於和平建國的基本方針

一致認爲中國抗日戰爭，業已勝利結束，和平建國的新階段，即將開始，必須共同努力，以和平民主團結統一爲基礎，並在 蔣主席領導之下，長期合作，堅決避免內戰，建設獨立自由和富強的新中國，澈底實行三民主義。雙方又同認 蔣主席所倡導之政治民主化，軍隊國家化，及黨派平等合法，爲建國和平建國自由之途徑。

(二) 關於政治民主化問題

一致認爲應迅速結束訓政，實施憲政，並應先採必要步驟，由國民政府召開政治協商會議，邀請各黨派代表及社會賢達，協商國是，討論和平建國方案，及召開國民大會各項問題，現雙方正與各方洽商，政治協商會議名額組織，及其職權等項問題。雙方同意一俟洽商完畢，政治協商會議即應迅速召開

(三) 關於國民大會問題



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中共方面提出重選國民大會代表，延緩國民大會召開日期，及修改國民大會組織法選舉法和五五憲法草案等三項主張。政府方面表示國民大會已選出之代表，應爲有效，其名額可使之合理的增加，和合法的解決。五五憲法草案，原會發動，各界研討，貢獻修改意見，因此雙方未能成立協議。但中共方面聲明，中共不願見因此問題之爭論而破裂團結，同時雙方均同意將此問題提交政治協商會解決。

(四) 關於人民自由問題

一致認爲政府應保證人民享受一切民主國家，人民在平時應享受身體，信仰，言論，出版，集會，結社之自由，現行法令，當依此原則，分別予以廢止或修正。

(五) 關於黨派合法問題

中共方面提出，政府應承認國民黨共產黨及一切黨派的平等合法地位。政府方面表示，各黨派在法律之前平等，本爲憲政常軌，今可即行承認。

(六) 關於特務機關問題

雙方同意，政府應嚴禁司法和警察以外機關，有拘捕審訊和處罰人民之權。

(七) 關於釋放政治犯問題

中央方面提出除漢奸以外之政治犯，政府應一律釋放。政府方面表示，政府準備自動辦理，中共可將應釋放之人提出名單。

(八) 關於地方自治問題

雙方同意各地應積極推行地方自治，實行由下而上的普選，惟政府希望不以此影響國民大會之召開。

(九) 整編全國軍隊問題

政府應公平合理地整編全國軍隊，確定初期實施計劃，並重劃軍區，確定征補制度，以謀軍令之統一。在此計劃下，中共願將其所領導的抗日軍隊，由現有數目，縮編至二十四個師，至少二十個師的數目，表示可迅速將其所領導而散布在廣東，浙江，蘇南，皖南，皖中，湖南，湖北，河南（河北不在內）八個地區的抗日軍隊，着手復員。並從上述地區，逐步撤退。應整編的部隊，至隴海路以北及蘇北皖北的釋放區集中。政府方面表示，全國整編計劃，正在進行，此次提出商談之各項問題，果能全盤解決，則中共所領導的抗日軍隊，縮編為二十個師的數目，可以考慮。關於駐地問題，可由中共方面提出方案討論決定。中共方面提出，中共及地方軍事人員，應參加軍事委員會，及其各部的工作。政府保障人事制度，任用原部隊人員為整編後的部隊的各級官佐。編餘官佐應實行分區訓練，設立公平合理的補給制度，並確定政治教育計劃。政府方面表示，所提各項，均無問題，亦願商談詳細辦法。中共方面提出解放區民兵，應一律編為地方自衛隊，政府方面表示，祇能視地方情勢有必要與可能時，酌量編置。為具體計劃本項所述各問題起見，雙方同意組織三人小組（軍令部軍政部及第十八集團軍各派一人）進行之。

(十) 關於解放區地方政府問題

中共方面提出，政府應承認解放區各級民選政府的合法地位。政府方面表示，解放區名詞，在日軍無條件投降以後，應成為過去，全國政令，必須統一，中共方面開始提出的方案，為依照現有十八個解放區的情形，重劃省區和行政區，並即以原由民選之各級地方政府名單，呈請中央加委，以謀政令之統一。政府方面表示，重劃省區，變動太大，必須通盤籌劃，非短時間所能決定。同時政府方面表示，依據蔣主席曾向毛先生表示，在全國軍令政令統一之後，中央可考慮中共推薦之行政人選。

收復區內原任抗戰行政工作人員，政府可依其工作能力與成績，酌量使其繼續爲地方服務，不因黨派關係而有所差別。於是中共方面提出第二種解決方案，請中央於陝甘寧邊區，及熱河，察哈爾，河北，山東，山西五省，委任中共推選之人員爲省府主席及委員。於綏遠，河南，江蘇，安徽，湖北，廣東等六省委任中共推選之人員爲省府副主席及委員，因以上十一省或有廣大解放區，或有部分解放區，於北平，天津，青島，上海四特別市委任中共推選之人員爲副市長，於東北各省容許中共推選之人員參加行政。此事討論多次後，中共方面對上述提議有所修改，請委任省府主席及委員者，改爲陝甘寧邊區及熱察冀魯四省，請委省府副主席及委員者，改爲晉綏兩省，請爲副市長者，改爲平津青島三特別市，政府方面，對此表示，中共對於其抗戰卓著動績，且在政治上具有能力之同志，可提請政府決定任用。倘要由中共推選某某省主席及委員，某某省副主席等，則即非真誠做到軍令政令之統一。於是中共方面表示，可放棄第二種主張，改提第三種解決方案，由解放區各級民選政府，重行舉行人民普選，在政治協商會議派員監督之下，歡迎各黨派各界人士還鄉參加選舉，凡二縣有過半數區鄉已實行民選者，即舉行縣級民選，凡一省或一行政區，有過半數縣已實行民選者，即舉行省級或行政區級民選。選出之省區縣級政府，一律呈請中央加委，以謀政府之統一。政府方面表示，此種區加委方式乃非謀政令之統一，惟縣級統一民選加委可以考慮，而省級民選須待憲法頒布。省的地位確定以後，方可實施，目前祇能由中央任命之，省政府前往各地接管行政，俾即恢復常態，至此中共方面提出第四種解決方案，各解放區暫維現狀不變，留待憲法規定民選省級政府實施後，再行解決。而目前則規定臨時辦法，以保證和平秩序之恢復。同時中共方面認爲可將此項問題提交政治協商會議解決，政府方面以政令統一，必須提前實現，此項問題之懸而不決，殊爲和平建設之障礙，仍亟盼能商得具體解決方案，中共方面亦同意繼續商談。

(十一) 關於奸僞問題

中共方面提出嚴懲漢奸，解散偽軍，政府方面表示，此在原則上自無問題，惟懲治漢奸要依法律行之，解散偽軍亦須妥慎辦理，以免影響當地安寧。

(十二) 關於受降問題

中共方面提出重劃受降地區，參加受降工作，政府方面表示，參加受降工作在已接受中央命令之後，自可考慮。

中華民國三十四年國慶紀念日於重慶

王世杰

(此處留有空隙
以補張羣補簽)

張治中

邵力子

王若飛

(編者按：此項談話中文本係據中央社發表原文)

surrender of Japanese troops, and that the areas of surrender should be redefined. The Government representatives answered that the participation of the Communist Party in accepting the surrender of Japanese troops could be considered after the troops of the Communist Party accepted the orders of the National Government.

NOTE:—This text is according to the version released by Central News Agency.—Ed.

to return to their native places to participate in the elections. A popular election is to be held in any district in which the public officers of more than one half of its sub-districts or villages have been elected by popular vote. In the interest of administrative integrity the names of all the provincial or hsien officials thus elected should be submitted to the National Government for appointment.

The Government representatives replied that this formula is not acceptable as such a process is not conducive to real administrative integrity. But the Government might consider the appointment of popularly elected hsien officials. Popular election of provincial government functionaries could only be held after the status of the province has been definitely defined following the promulgation of the Constitution. For the time being only those provincial officials who have been appointed by the National Government should be allowed to take up their posts so that conditions in the recovered areas may be restored to normalcy at the earliest possible moment.

At this point a fourth formula was proposed by the Communist representatives that in all liberated areas the provincial governments temporarily retain their status quo until a constitutional provision for the popular election of provincial officials has been adopted and put into effect. For the time being an interim arrangement should be arrived at in order to guarantee the restoration of peace and order.

Finally, the Communist representatives suggested that this particular problem be submitted to the Political Consultative Council for discussion and settlement. The Government is desirous of the early establishment of administrative integrity so that peaceful reconstruction might not be delayed, and hoped that an agreement could soon be worked out on this matter.

(11) On Traitors and Puppet Troops

The Communist representatives proposed that traitors be severely punished and puppet troops be disbanded. The Government representatives' reply was: In principle, there is no question but traitors should be dealt with according to due process of law and the disbandment of puppet troops should be carried out in such a manner that peace and order in the area concerned would not be disturbed.

(12) On Accepting the Surrender of the Japanese Army

The Communist representative asked that Communist troops be allowed to participate in the task of accepting the

fully and thoroughly. Thus it cannot be resolved in a short time. At the same time Government representatives indicated that President Chiang has made agreement with Mr. Mao that the government would take into consideration the administrative personnel nominated by the Communist Party. The government would consider retaining the services of these functionaries who have served in the recovered areas during the war on the basis of their ability and record without regard to party affiliation.

Upon this a second formula was proposed by the Communist representatives asking the National Government to appoint nominees of the Communist Party as chairman and members of the provincial governments of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region, and the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Hopei, Shantung and Shansi. They further asked that Communist nominees be appointed deputy-chairmen and members of the provincial governments of Suiyuan, Honan, Kiangsu, Anhwei, Hupei and Kwangtung and deputy-mayors of the special municipalities of Peiping, Tientsin and Tsingtao and Shanghai. The Communist representatives also requested participation in the administration of the Northeastern provinces.

After lengthy discussion of this topic, the Communist representatives modified their proposals by requesting the appointment of their nominees as chairmen and members of the provincial governments of the Shensi-Kansu-Ninghsia Border Region and the provinces of Jehol, Chahar, Hopei and Shantung, as deputy-chairmen and members of the provincial governments of Shansi and Suiyuan and as deputy-mayors of the special municipalities of Peiping, Tientsin and Tsingtao.

The government representatives replied that the Communist Party might nominate some members of the Communist Party who possess administrative ability and have rendered commendable service during the war to the Government for appointment. But if the Communist Party should insist upon nominating chairman, deputy-chairman or member of a provincial government for specific provinces this would not be sincerely endeavoring to achieve military and administrative integrity.

The Communist representatives then said they would withdraw their second suggestion and proposed a third formula. They suggested that general elections be held in the liberated areas under the existing popularly elected governments. Under the supervision of the Political Consultative Council, the Communist Party would welcome members of various professions

up to 20 divisions if the other issues coming up in the present talks could be satisfactorily settled. In regard to the garrison areas, the Chinese Communists may submit plans for discussion and decision.

The Chinese Communists proposed that the Communist military personnel should participate in the work of the National Military Council and the various departments under the Council, and that the Government should respect the personnel system of the army units and commission the original officers after their units have been reorganized. Discharged officers should be given training in different areas and the Government should adopt a reasonable and satisfactory system of maintenance and political education.

The Government indicated that it was ready to consider the proposals and discuss the details.

In reply to the Chinese Communists' proposal that all the militiamen in the liberated areas should be reorganized into local self-defence corps the Government expressed the view that this matter will have to be determined in accordance with local conditions and needs. In order to formulate concrete plans in regard to all the questions mentioned in this section we agreed that a sub-committee of three with one representative each from the Board of Military Operations of the National Military Council, the Ministry of War and the 18th Group Army be formed.

(10) On Local Government in the Liberated Areas

The Communist representatives proposed that the Government should recognise the popularly elected governments in the liberated areas. The government representatives pointed out that after the unconditional surrender of Japan, the term "liberated area" becomes obsolete and the integrity of the administrative authority of the country should be respected.

The initial formula advanced by the communist representatives was to redemarcate the provincial and administrative areas according to the conditions that now exist in the 18 liberated areas. And to preserve administrative integrity the Communist Party would submit to the Government a list of officials of the popularly elected governments for re-appointment.

The government representatives replied that the re-demarcation of provincial boundaries would involve changes of unusual latitude and the question should be considered care-

tang and the Communist Party as well as that of all other parties. The Government stated that a common attribute of constitutional government is that all parties are equal before the law and that this fact will be given immediate recognition.

(6) On the Special Service Agencies

Both parties agreed that the Government should strictly prohibit all offices other than law courts and police to make arrests, conduct trials and impose punishment.

(7) On Release of Political Prisoners

The Chinese Communists proposed that all political prisoners with the exception of those guilty of treason, should be released. The Government representatives stated that the Government is prepared to do this of its own accord and that the Chinese Communist Party may submit a list of people who they think should be released.

(8) On Local Self-Government

Both sides agreed that local self-government should be vigorously promoted. General election should be conducted from the lower level upward. However, the Government expressed the hope that this would not affect the convocation of the National Assembly.

(9) On the Nationalization of Troops

It was proposed by the Chinese Communists that the Government should effect an equitable and rational reorganization of the entire Chinese army, decide on the program and different stages of reorganization, redemarcate the military zones and inaugurate a conscription and replenishment system with a view to unifying military command. Under this program the Chinese Communists finally expressed their readiness to reduce the troops under their command to 24 divisions or to a minimum of 20 divisions. The Chinese Communists further stated that they would take prompt action to demobilize their anti-Japanese troops now deployed in Kwangtung, Chekiang, South Kiangsu, South Anhwei, Central Anhwei, Hunan, Hupeh and Honan (not including North Honan) and that such troops as are to be reorganized will be gradually evacuated from the said areas to be concentrated in the liberated areas north of the Lunghai Railway and in Northern Kiangsu and Northern Anhwei. The Government representatives stated that the national troop reorganization program is being carried out and the Government is willing to reorganize the Communist-led, anti-Japanese troops

(2) On Political Democratization

It was agreed that the period of political tutelage should be brought to an early conclusion, that a constitutional government should be inaugurated and that necessary preliminary measures should be immediately adopted such as the convocation by the National Government of a political consultative council to which all parties and non-partisan leaders will be invited to exchange views on national affairs and discuss questions relating to peaceful national reconstruction, and the convocation of the National Assembly. Both parties are now conferring with various interested quarters on the membership, organization and the functions of the proposed council. It was agreed that as soon as such consultations are completed the proposed council shall be convened.

(3) On the National Assembly

Three proposals were advanced by the Chinese Communist Party, namely, re-election of all delegates to the National Assembly, postponement of the date of the convocation of the Assembly and revision of the organic and election laws of the Assembly, and of the May 5th Draft Constitution. The government representatives maintained that the election of the delegates for the National Assembly already held should be valid, but the number of delegates may be reasonably increased and the increase should be legalized. As regards the May 5th Draft Constitution, the government representatives reminded the Communists that the Draft Constitution had already been submitted to the public for study and suggestions for its revision were invited. No agreement was reached on those points. But the Communist representatives made it known that they do not wish to permit national unity to be ruptured by the differences. Both parties agreed that the points concerned shall be brought before the proposed political consultative council for settlement.

(4) On the People's Freedoms

It was agreed that the government should guarantee the freedoms of person, religion, speech, publication and assembly, the rights enjoyed by people in all democratic nations in normal times. The existing laws and decrees should be either abolished or revised in accordance with this principle.

(5) On the Legality of Political Parties

The Chinese Communists proposed that the Government should recognize the equality and legal status of the Kuomintang

SUMMARY OF THE CONVERSATIONS
BETWEEN
THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT
AND
THE REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHINESE
COMMUNIST PARTY

With a view to discussing matters of national interest, President Chiang Kai-shek, upon the successful conclusion of the war, invited Mr. Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, to come to Chungking. Mr. Mao arrived in Chungking on August 28 and called on President Chiang. Since then the President and Mr. Mao have had a number of talks. Meanwhile, representatives on their behalf were appointed. The government representatives were Dr. Wang Shih-chieh, General Chang Chun, General Chung Chih-chung and Mr. Shao Li-tze, while the Communist representatives were Mr. Chao En-lai and Mr. Wang Jo-fei.

The government and Communist representatives met and conferred on many occasions in an atmosphere of friendliness and harmony and they reached a number of conclusions. Their talks will continue on the basis of mutual trust and mutual concession to seek a satisfactory solution of the issues still outstanding.

A summary of the conversations held so far is as follows:—

(1) **Basic Policy on Peaceful National Reconstruction**

It was agreed that as the Chinese war of resistance against Japanese aggression has been brought to a victorious conclusion, China is now on the threshold of a new era of peaceful national reconstruction and that peace, democracy, solidarity and unity should form the basis of the nation's concerted efforts. It was likewise agreed that under the leadership of President Chiang, co-operation should be perpetuated and resolute measures be taken to avert internal strife so that a new China, independent, free and prosperous, may be built and the Three Principles of the People fully implemented. Both parties, as advocated by President Chiang, are absolutely essential in achieving peaceful national reconstruction.

**SUMMARY OF CONVERSATIONS between the Chinese Government
and the Representatives of the Chinese Communist Party**

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Between

THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT

and

**The REPRESENTATIVES OF THE CHINESE
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