

A circular telegram concerning the Hsian Incident  
(Dec. 19, 1936)

(From the central authority of the Chinese Communist  
Party and the Chinese Soviet Government)

Messrs. Kung Yung-yuan, Sun-Che-Shen, Feng-Huan-chan,  
Chen-Li-fu in Nanking; Members of the Nationalist Party  
and the Nationalist Government; Chang-Han-chiang-shin,  
Yang Hu-cheng, Wang Ting Fang, Sun-Ju in Hsian; members of  
the Northwest Provisional Military Council or the  
Anti-Japanese United Army.

Since the Anti-Japanese programs were proposed at Hsian,  
the country was thrown into a turmoil. The "internal  
Peace first and expulsion afterwards" policy could no  
longer be continued. It is a fair view that the  
people in Hsian do not fall behind the others in their  
ardent patriotism. They insist on immediate anti-  
Japanese actions. The Nanking Government with the  
exception of pro-Japanese elements is in favor of  
anti-Japanese actions though its pace is rather slow.  
They do not want civil wars. In view of the present  
situation, without the movement we cannot survive  
and without unity and cooperation, the movement cannot  
attain its objective. The continuance of civil wars  
would lead us to nowhere but to a final collapse.  
At this critical moment, our party and our government  
offer the following proposals to both sides.

- a. Tung Kuan shall be the border between both  
armies. Nanking army shall wait for the outcome of  
the peace conference within Shensi Province.
- b. A peace conference shall at once be called  
by Nanking. In addition to the representatives of  
both Nanking and Hsian, the members of various parties, factions  
and armies shall be invited. Our party and our  
government start preparations for dispatching representa-  
tives.
- c. Prior to the conference, a draft on the  
Anti-Japanese Salvation problem shall be presented  
and the disposal of Mr. Chiang Kai-shek shall be  
discussed. However, the fundamental principle shall  
be the national unity, the opposition against civil wars  
and the united anti-Japanese actions.
- d. The conference shall be opened in Nanking.  
The above mentioned proposals are the most reasonable  
and effective measures for solving the present urgent  
problems. We hope that the gentlemen in Nanking  
would instantly decide national policies in order not  
to give the Japanese an opportunity to take advantage  
of our national confusion. Further we hope that all  
the parties and factions of the peoples would spur  
the opening of a peace conference in order to dis-  
cuss definite national policies and face the national  
crisis.

crisis.

21. A circular telegram addressed to the Third General Congress of the Chinese Nationalist Party by the central organization of the Chinese Communist Party. (10 Feb. 1937). Honorable Representatives attending the Third General Congress of the Chinese Nationalist Party. The whole nation congratulates on the peaceful solution of the Hsian Incident, which will open the way to the establishment of a principle on peaceful unification and united effort for defending the national honour. This is a happy event for the country and the people. At this critical moment for the Chinese people caused by the Japanese invasion this party earnestly hopes that the Third General Congress of your party would adopt the following items as the ~~national policies~~ based upon the above mentioned principles.

a. Cessation of all internal strifes, concentration of national powers, united actions concerning foreign affairs.

b. Freedom of speech, gathering, and party organization; Release of all political criminals.

c. A conference of representatives from all parties, factions, circles, and armies shall be convened. All competent persons throughout the country shall be called upon to save the country by united actions.

d. All preparations for a war against Japan shall be speedily completed.

e. Betterment of peoples livelihood. In case the Third General Congress of your party decisively adopt the aforementioned national policy, this party swears to the Third General Congress of your party to execute the following as a means to express the seriousness of this party in its effort to defend the national honour by united actions.

1. Cessation of armed revolts aiming at the downfall of the Nationalist Government throughout the country.

2. The name of the Soviet Government will be changed to that of the Chinese Special District Government, and the name of the Red Army will be changed to that of the National Revolutionary Army. Both will be subjected to the direct guidance of the central government in Nanking and the Military Committee respectively.

3. Ordinarily understood system of democracy will be adopted within the district under the Special District Government.

4. Confiscation of lands owned by land owners will be discontinued and the common principles for the united anti-Japanese racial front will be strickly adhered to. The situation is becoming more critical everyday which does not allow us to waste time in waiting. This party can swear to God that it is loyal to the country. If you people accept in earnest the request of this party for the sake of the country.

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the united front for the national salvation by defending the national honour will be realized. We are as much the descendants of the Wang Emperor and the children of the Chinese race as you are. It is a great prelude to the final freedom for the Chinese race to make a common effort in intimate collaboration abandoning all old political views at this immediate national crisis. With a greeting worthy of a racial revolution we hereby send this telegram in anticipation of a wise answer.

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party

The publication of this proposal by the Chinese Communist Party was received favourably by a wide mass of the people and gave good impressions abroad. It was welcome not only to the general patriotic faction but even to some of the influential members of the Nationalist Party. Resumption of three great principles - "alliance with Russia", "collaboration with the Communists", "Protection of industrial workers and farmers" - was proposed publicly to the Third General Congress with joint signatures of central executive committee members of the Nationalist Party, Feng Yu-hsiang, Chang Jen-chieh, Li Shih-hueh, Sun Ko, Lu Chung-ling, Shih Ying, Chang Chih-peng, Shih Chin-ting, Li Lieh-chun, Chu Chi-chin, Liang Han-tsao, Ching Ting-yi, Sung Chin-ling, Ho Hsiang-yi etc.,. Heated debates concerning this problem were conducted between the left and right wings of the Third General Congress. However, the preponderance of the right wing influence prevented the Congress from adopting drastic reorientation concerning internal and external policies. On the contrary, the Congress passed a resolution on "annihilation of red evils" instead of collaboration between Nationalists and Communists criticising severely the Communist Party. It was for the first time during the session of the Third General Congress that the central executive committee of the Nationalist Party took up the question of collaboration with the Communist Party since the rupture of the Nationalists and the Communists in 1927.