**DECEMBER 1, 1939** 

I, In the long-term and brutal war for national liberation, in the great struggle to establish a new China, the Communist Party must be good at attracting intellectuals, before it can organize great resistance forces, organize millions of peasant masses, develop revolutionary cultural activities and develop the revolutionary united front. Without the participation of intellectuals, revolutionary victory is impossible.

II, Since three years, our Party and our army have already expended significant efforts in the area of attracting intellectuals, and have attracted a large batch of revolutionary intellectuals to join the Party, join the Army and join government work, conduct cultural activities and mass activities, and develop the united front, this is a great achievement. But the cadres in many army units still have not paid attention to the importance of intellectuals, and maintain attitudes of fearing intellectuals or even rejecting intellectuals, many of the schools we run still do not dare to recruit large amounts of students with a free hand. Many localities' Party departments still are unwilling to attract intellectuals into the Party. The occurrence of this sort of phenomenon, is because the importance of intellectuals towards the revolutionary undertaking is not understood, the difference between intellectuals from colonialist or semi-colonial countries and capitalist countries is not understood, the difference between intellectuals serving landlords and capitalism and intellectuals serving the working and peasant class is not understood, the importance of bourgeois parties making disparate efforts to vie with us for intellectuals, and Japan also using all sorts of methods to buy off and poison Chinese intellectuals is not understood, and especially it is not understood that our Party and army already has created a hard core and a backbone, and we have this sort of beneficial conditions to gasp the abilities of intellectuals.

III, Therefore, henceforth, it should be noted that: (1) all war regions' Parties and all Party troops should attract great quantities of intellectuals to enter our ranks, enter our schools and enter our government work. As long as they are intellectuals who are willing to resist Japan, are relatively faithful and are relatively able to endure sufferance and work hard, they should be attracted in every way and given education, enabling them to tempering themselves in battle and in work, enabling them to serve the army, the government and the masses, and according to concrete situations, a part of the intellectuals who possess conditions to enter the Party is to be absorbed into the Party. As for a part of the intellectuals who cannot join the Party or who are unwilling to join the Party, good common work relations should also be established with them, leading them into work together. (2) under this sort of policy of attracting in large numbers, we should beyond all doubt fully pay attention to refusing enemies and elements dispatched by capitalist parties, and refuse unfaithful elements. We should adopt a serious attitude in refusing these sorts of elements. Where these sorts of animals have already infiltrated our Party, our army and government, we should rely on conclusive evidence, and firmly and differentiated clear them out. But we must not because of these distrust relatively faithful intellectuals; we must take strict precautions against counterrevolutionaries harming good people. (3) all relatively faithful intellectuals that have some use should be allocated suitable work, they should be well educated and led, progressively overcome their weak points in long-term struggle, making them revolutionized and popularized, making them gain a good

understanding with old Party members and old cadres, and making them gain a good understanding with worker and peasant Party members. A Part of the cadres oppose intellectuals participating in work, especially some cadres in the main army force, they should be realistically persuaded, making them understand the necessary of attracting intellectuals to participate in work. At the same time, worker and peasant cadres are to be realistically encouraged to intensify their study and raise their cultural levels, enabling worker and peasant cadres' intellectualization and the worker and peasant popularization of cadres, and realizing these at the same time. (5) In Guomindang-controlled areas and Japanese-occupied territories, the above principles basically apply, but when attracting intellectuals into the Party, even more attention should be paid to their degree of faithfulness, in order to guarantee that the Party organization becomes even tighter. We should establish suitable links with broad intellectuals outside the Party who sympathize with us, and organize them into resistance against Japan and the grand democratic struggle, organize them into cultural activities, and organize them into united front work.

IV, The comrades in the entire Party must recognize that correct policies towards intellectuals are one of the important conditions for revolutionary victory. In our Party, during the period of land revolution, many localities and many army units held an incorrect attitude towards intellectuals, and this should not be repeated from now on; and the creation of intellectuals in the proletariat itself, also may absolutely not deviate from using the assistance of existing intellectuals in society. The Centre hopes that all levels' Party Committees and the comrades in the entire Party strictly pay attention to these issues.