During the Anti-Japanese war period, Comparison of the newspaper distribution of the Communist Party of China between in the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and the Kuomintang area

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Abstract. The "Lugou bridge Incident" broke out on July 7, 1937. In order to save the country from subjugation, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party carried out the second cooperation. This cooperation is non party cooperation, and there are great differences in political, military and ruling regions. In response to these differences, the Communist Party of China adopted different newspaper distribution models and public opinion management modes. Based on the historical and environmental background of the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression, this paper collects the distributing data of Party newspapers and establishes the publishing database of Party newspapers of the Communist Party of China during the War of Resistance against Japanese Aggression. With the help of big data analysis technology, from six aspects of distributing policy, distributing management, distributing subject, distributing object, distributing target and distributing network, this paper studies the distributing mode and its differences of Party newspapers and periodicals in the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and the areas ruled by the Kuomintang during that period. Thus enriching the study of Party newspapers and periodicals in this period.

1 Introduction

In 1937, the Japanese war of aggression against China broke out. At this critical moment, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party united to resist aggression and reached a second cooperation. This cooperation took the form of the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China leading their respective armies and ruling their respective regions. The Kuomintang controlled areas included Sichuan, Yunnan and Guizhou. It covers a vast area, accounting for about two thirds of China's territory. Chongqing was the seat of the Kuomintang government. The areas under the leadership of the Communist Party are mainly northern Shaanxi and Northern China. Located at the junction of Shaanxi, Gansu and Ningxia, the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border region is the seat of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, with its capital in Yan'an in northern Shaanxi.

The Party newspaper distribution and public opinion management has always been attached great importance by the Communist Party of China. During the Yan’an period, the Party newspaper of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was based in Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia and spread all over the anti-Japanese base areas, broke through the censorship of the Kuomintang, touched the Kuomintang controlled areas, and even distributed overseas to gain the support of the anti-fascist state. According to local conditions, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China adopted different publishing strategies and different public opinion management modes in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border areas and the Kuomintang dominated areas. Most of the existing researches on the Party newspaper issuance and public opinion management in Yan’an Period are from the overall perspective of the distribution network and distribution characteristics, and lack of research on the distribution characteristics and public opinion management in by comparing different areas. This paper will investigate the Party newspaper distribution characteristics and public opinion management of the Communist Party of China in the Shan-Gansu-Ningxia border area and the Kuomintang dominated area during Anti-Japanese War period, so as to enrich the research of Party newspaper distribution and public opinion management of the Communist Party of China.

2 Methods and materials

During the anti-Japanese war period, the Communist Party of China newspapers were not only distributed to the anti-Japanese base areas such as the Shan-Gansu-Ningxia border area, but also to the Kuomintang-controlled areas, enemy-occupied areas and even overseas, forming a distribution network and finally forming a very good public opinion communication effect. In this paper, a large number of historical
materials were collected and the data structure was determined according to the characteristics of the text. In this study, the fields of the newspaper were classified according to the name of the newspaper, editing, founding time, closing time, circulation, period of publication, mode of publication, number of issues, circulation cycle, specifications, issuing agencies, distribution channels, introduction and so on, and the Database of the Communist Party of China Newspaper Distribution Information was established. This database takes the nouns in the classification as the ontology, and at the same time, ensures that the attributes and relationship structure of the ontology are basically the same, and finally forms structured data. Through statistics, a total of 3771 newspaper information and text historical materials created by the Communist Party of China have been collected. Among them this paper counts the number of Party newspapers in three periods (Figure 1): the period of Agrarian Revolutionary War (1927.08–1937.07), the period of Anti-Japanese War (1937.07–1945.08), and the period of National Liberation War (1945.08–1949.09). It can be seen that the number of party newspapers during the Anti-Japanese War ranked first with 1,591. This shows that during this period, the establishment, distribution and management of public opinion of the Party newspaper were valued by the Communist Party of China. Further analysis showed that the number of Chinese Communist Party newspapers and periodicals during the Anti-Japanese War was 1,601, of which 1,355 could be found in definite locations. The number of newspapers and periodicals in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area was 26, and the number of newspapers and periodicals in the anti-Japanese base areas was about 1,405. There were about 170 newspapers in the Kuomintang-controlled areas. It can be seen that the Communist Party of China newspaper distribution in the Kuomintang-controlled areas is also very important. Based on the information data analysis and text data analysis in the database, the following is a horizontal comparison to explain the distribution characteristics of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area and the nationalized area respectively.

![](https://doi.org/10.1051/shsconf/202315703014)

**Fig. 1.** Number of party newspapers in different periods.

### 3 Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area

In 1935, after a difficult long March, the Red Army finally arrived in northern Shaanxi. In May 1936, Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Region was formally established, with Yan 'an as its capital. The natural environment of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area is bad. There are frequent natural disasters, little arable land, mountainous areas, extremely inconvenient transportation, low levels of education, high illiteracy rate and poor health conditions.[1] However, this situation changed after the Communist Party of China came to northern Shaanxi. Young intellectuals from all over the country began to scramble to come to Yan 'an, which made a great change in the cultural level of Yan 'an. [2]

### 3.1 Policy of distribution

The distribution business in Yan 'an occupies the central position and is the starting point of the prosperity of the distribution business. The Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area undertakes the distribution work of newspapers and periodicals in all anti-Japanese base areas and nationalized areas. The distribution work is carried out closely around the Anti-Japanese War. Its distribution scope is based on the border area, penetration of the Kuomintang dominated areas, facing the whole country, the distribution level is diversified, the issue subject is diversified. In order to carry out political propaganda, the Communist Party of China in Yan 'an Period creatively established a wide range of Party newspapers
and periodicals distribution network with smooth communication. [3]

3.2 Management of distribution

During the second period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, the Party Newspaper Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was approved to be established in order to lead the Xinhua News Agency and the Central Printing House. Meanwhile, the Department of Publication and Distribution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Central Bureau of Publication, which inherited from the Central Soviet Region, were also responsible for the administration of distribution.

3.2.1 The party newspaper committee of the central committee of the communist party of China

Party Newspaper Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was founded in early 1931 and moved to Yan'an in 1937. The Party Newspaper Committee of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China is composed of three departments: the Information Section, the Distribution Section and the Central Printing House.[4]

3.2.2 Publication and distribution department of the central committee of the communist party of China

The Central Publishing Department was established in 1939, consisting of the Organization Section, the Distribution Section and the Accounting Section. Later, it was renamed the Publishing and Distribution Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, which directly managed Xinhua Bookstore, Central Printing House and other important distribution and printing departments. The Department of Publication and Distribution of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China shall be responsible for the distribution and administration of anti-Japanese base areas, areas under the control of the Kuomintang and areas under occupation.

3.2.3 Bureau of publication of the central committee of the communist party of China

Publication and Distribution Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China was renamed the Bureau of Publication of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China in 1941. It consists of three departments: Publishing Department, distribution Department and guidance Department. It led the main branch of Xinhua Bookstore, the Central printing House and other departments, and guided the publishing and distribution work of all base areas.[5]

3.3 The subject of the distribution, the object of the distribution, the object of the distribution, Network of the distribution.

Yan'an is responsible for the overall deployment of the national distribution. With Yan'an as the center, radiation distribution routes to important areas of the country. This has enabled the central press to reach the base areas and the base publications to reach the Central Authorities on schedule. Under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, a top-down distribution network shall be established: distributed by provincial Party committees -- distributed by district committees, distributed by distributors -- distributed by trade unions and mass organizations.

3.3.1 Internal distribution in Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area

3.3.1.1 Xinhua bookstore

The main channel of internal distribution in Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area is Xinhua Bookstore. At the beginning of the establishment of the Shan-Gansu-Ningxia border area, most of the Party newspapers were distributed by their superiors and sent books to their doorways. Government agencies, military units and schools are the main distribution objects, a few are sold by stores or by mail. "Xinhua bookstore" from 1937 began to take over the issue of party newspaper. During this period, both the supply system and the transformation into an independent business entity were retained. In 1939, Xinhua Bookstore in Yan'an was transformed into an independent bookstore, which adopted the manager responsibility system and carried out independent operation. "Xinhua Bookstore" has set up branches and branches all over the country for distribution. Newspapers are first delivered to each branch and then delivered, thus forming a distribution system of "main store -- branch store -- subbranch". In 1940, the Post and Purchase Department was approved to be set up as a new department of the "Xinhua Bookstore". The establishment of the post and Purchase Department made the distribution work specialized, and for readers with distant addresses, it was delivered by post. In addition, the campaign of "sending books and newspapers to rural areas" extends the distribution network of "Xinhua Bookstore" to remote rural areas. "Xinhua Bookstore" has set up Anding, Luochuan, Shenmu, Jingbian and other branches. At the same time, cooperate with associations, individuals and vendors to sell Party newspapers by setting up stalls, participating in bazaars, and establishing literacy and newspaper distribution points, in response to the "books and newspapers to the countryside" activity. By 1941, The complimentary distribution was abolished completely, and the "Xinhua Bookstore" implemented the purchase system completely. In order to adapt to the shortage of funds of farmers in backward areas, "Xinhua Bookstore" allowed the use of agricultural products for exchange or
credit. The complimentary distribution has finally come to an end. [6]

In addition to the Xinhua Bookstore, the establishment of post offices and communication stations has also enriched distribution channels and expanded the network transportation lines from cities to districts, counties and villages in the border area. [7]

### 3.3.1.2 Post office

The Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area uses the postal communication network developed from the communication network of the Soviet area. During the Anti-Japanese War, the postal department was responsible for the distribution of newspapers and periodicals. The postal distribution network had its own system. By 1940, it had set up four branch stations, 24 district and county stations and 16 liaison stations, and communicated with Zhonghua Post in the Kuomintang-controlled areas.

### 3.3.1.3 Border communication stations

Border communication stations are under the leadership of the Civil Affairs Department of the border government. The scope of its distribution work is mainly in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, with Yan’an as the center and radiation to various districts and counties, external connection with the northwest Shanxi. Communication stations are open from two directions, day and night. The conveying speed is very fast.

### 3.3.2 Distribution in anti-Japanese base areas

In 1941, the publication of Party newspapers in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area began to expand to many anti-Japanese base areas, such as Shancha-Hebei, Shansi-Suiyuan and Shandong, and explored ways to adapt to the local environment. In base areas behind enemy lines, newspapers and periodicals were distributed mainly through military stations, relying on the Eighth Route Army and using military communication lines to transport them. The first transport route is to set up branch stations in Xingxian County, northwest of Shanxi. Party newspaper from Yan’an Xinhua bookstore transport to the sub-station, and then transferred to Shanxi, Chaji and other places. The second is through Xi’an transfer station. Party newspapers were escorted by troops to the New Fourth Army detention, and then distributed to the detachment. Xinhua Bookstore is still undertaking the task of distribution to the anti-Japanese base areas. Starting from the vicinity of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border area, Xinhua Bookstore first set up branches in adjacent base areas, and then in other anti-Japanese base areas from near to far. Thus, the distribution network of Xinhua Bookstore main store to the other branches of the base was formed. Under the circumstances of war, due to the difficulty of transportation and high cost of distribution, only samples of newspapers and periodicals were issued to base areas behind enemy lines, and when they arrived there, they were reprinted, published and distributed in the name of Xinhua Bookstore and its press office. When the distribution department has certain conditions and scale, it will be separated and developed independently. After breaking through the blockade of the enemy, in the interior of each base area, the distribution often adopted the Xinhua bookstore distribution, military mail, along the village and other distribution modes. When the distribution department has certain conditions and scale, it will be separated and developed independently. After breaking through the blockade of the enemy, in the interior of each base area, the distribution often adopted the Xinhua bookstore distribution, military mail, along the village and other distribution modes.

### 3.3.3 Distribution in areas under the Kuomintang

Different from that of the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border areas, flexible distribution methods must be adopted according to the special conditions of the Kuomintang-controlled areas. Issues to the public organs of the military, government and the Party shall be sent by post offices or military stations; Issuance of Kuomintang organs was mainly sent out by the Kuomintang Post Office in Yan’an. However, the main force of distribution to Kuomintang controlled areas was still Xinhua Bookstore. Xinhua Bookstore and Progress Bookstore to establish a business relationship, forming a distribution network. During the second period of cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party, Xinhua Bookstore, as the general responsible for the distribution of newspapers and periodicals to the Kuomintang-controlled areas, was confronted with the strict suppression and unwarranted seizure by the Kuomintang. Therefore, it had to continue to distribute a certain amount of newspapers and periodicals through open channels on the one hand, in order to confuse the enemy. On the other hand, they carried out secret distribution and sent a large number of newspapers and periodicals to Chengdu, Chongqing and other nationalized areas such as Guangxi, Yunnan and Guizhou through underground transportation lines. [8]

### 4 The Kuomintang-Controlled areas

The Kuomintang-controlled areas are the "areas under the control of the Chinese Kuomintang". In Kuomintang-controlled areas, inflation was rampant, urban workers lived in poverty, and rural people were heavily taxed. The government had no faith in the revolution, and the top officials were corrupt and extravagant. [9] The Kuomintang spies, arresting people in the street and assassinating patriots, made the whole society afraid. In 1937, the Anti-Japanese War broke out in full force. In order to jointly defend against the Japanese invasion, the Kuomintang and the Communist Party of China decided to cooperate. In this background, the Communist Party of China set up the Southern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Nanjing Office of the Eighth Route Army, and actively prepared the Party newspaper Xinhua Daily and the
Party magazine Masses weekly. From its preparation, spies monitored and interfered with it. When applying for registration, they deliberately delay and make difficulties. During press censorship, propaganda supporting the party's voice is strictly prohibited from appearing in newspapers. Once found, delete. [10]

4.1 Management of distribution, subject of distribution

The Yangtze River Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Southern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China are mainly responsible for the distribution management of the newspaper offices. The subject of distribution is the sales department.

4.2 The object of the distribution, the policy of the distribution

Xinhua Daily persisted in publication and distribution for more than nine years under the Kuomintang's persecution and blockade. In the publishing work, the core concept of serving subscribers wholeheartedly is adhered to. At the launch of Xinhua Daily and Mass Weekly, staff members went door-to-door to find readers rather than sitting in the sales department. At the same time, newspapers often send staff to return visits to readers, rather than sitting in the sales department. The Kuomintang has also done a very good job of protecting its readers, so it has won the support of the masses. After he fled to Taiwan, Chiang Kai-shek said, It was the biggest mistake of my life to allow Xinhua Daily to be published.

4.3 Distribution network

The Xinhua Daily was surrounded by military police, which at most amounted to a regiment of soldiers, making it extremely difficult for the newspaper to be distributed. 1 The Kuomintang sent spies and paid off hooligans. In the city and on the outskirts of Chongqing, they beat, imprisoned comrades who delivered newspapers, confiscated and tore up newspapers. In order to resist, the newspaper staff formed a team to sell newspapers on the street. When the spy made trouble and arrested people, they gathered, united, loudly questioned and protested, so as to win public opinion. 2 The Kuomintang threatened the newspaper vendors in the city not to sell our newspaper, so the newspaper office recruited a group of poor children, provided board and lodging, organized its own team, and gave them cultural courses, so that they gradually grew into professional publishers. 3. The Kuomintang did not allow people to read Xinhua Daily. If they were found, they would be docked or fired. But people still read and helped the beaten newspaper boy. Every bowl of herbal tea and every rescue are readers' support for the publishing work. This is also the most important experience of our Party during the Anti-Japanese War: to keep close contact with readers and rely on the masses to overcome difficulties. 4 Xinhua Daily was far inferior to the Kuomintang in terms of material conditions, but it played a revolutionary role in itself, so that Xinhua Daily was often the first to break the dawn.

In Kuomintang controlled areas, the distribution channels of Chinese Communist newspapers and periodicals are as follows: 1. Domestic newspaper retail. Xinhua Daily was retailed in stores, distributed to Progressive Bookstore for retail, and employed children from poor families as newspaper boys for retail. The retail area reached the suburbs of Chongqing. 2. External distribution depends on the establishment of underground distribution stations. In view of the Kuomintang's illegal detention of mailed newspapers and periodicals, the Communist Party set up underground party organizations, open up secret underground traffic lines, secretly issued at night, usually covered with camouflage cover, dispersed mail out; 3 Use branch library distribution. In this way, Xinhua Daily could distribute newspapers and periodicals to the entire Kuomintang controlled areas. 4. Directly book subscribers and promote Party newspapers.

4.4 Target of distribution

According to the survey data, the reading groups of Xinhua Daily and Mass weekly are mainly concentrated among young intellectuals and patriotic students. Xinhua Daily, in particular, is popular among young students and young workers in Chongqing.[12]

5 Conclusions

The quantity chart of anti-Japanese base areas, people's army newspapers and mass organization newspapers during the Anti-Japanese War was analyzed (Figure 2). It can be seen that the number of anti-Japanese base newspapers and people's army newspapers is overwhelming. This shows that the distribution of newspapers of Chinese Communist Party mainly depends on the leadership of the Party. Meanwhile, combined with the above analysis of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, anti-Japanese base areas and Kuomintang-controlled areas, it can be concluded that the party newspaper distribution and Public opinion management in the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border area during the Anti-Japanese War had the following characteristics: first, the public opinion leadership must be firmly in the hands of the Party, and the publishing leadership is carried out by the Central Committee from top to bottom. Second, there are various distribution channels, including Xinhua Bookstore, post office, border communication stations, etc. Xinhua Bookstore is the main channel. Third, The distribution scope is centered on the Shanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area, radiates to all anti-Japanese base areas, penetrates into the Kuomintang controlled areas, and covers the whole country. Fourth, there are various subjects of the distribution, including Xinhua Bookstore, post office, communication station, military, bookstore, cultural cooperative, rural organizations, vendors and individuals. In contrast, the characteristics of the Party's newspaper
distribution and public opinion management in the Kuomintang controlled areas during this period were as follows: First, the distribution and public opinion management needs to rely on the support of the masses, in addition to Xinhua Daily and the post office, newspaper boys, progressive bookstores, progressive people's help is also essential; Second, object of the distribution of Party newspapers is relatively simple, mainly patriotic young intellectuals, patriotic students, young workers; Third, the distribution channels are not limited to public issuance. In order to resist the suppression and avoid the destruction of spies, underground transportation lines are used for secret issuance; Fourth, the scope of issuance is mainly limited to the areas governed by the Kuomintang, but it will also be issued to foreign embassies in Chongqing or overseas. (Table 1)

![Diagram](https://example.com/diagram.png)

**Fig. 2.** During the anti-Japanese war period the number of party newspapers with different attributes.

**Table 1.** A list of the differences of Party newspaper distribution in six aspects, between Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border region and Kuomintang-controlled regions.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Shaanxi-gansu-ningxia border region</th>
<th>Areas ruled by the Kuomintang</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td><strong>Policy of Distribution</strong></td>
<td>Centered on the war of resistance, it was based in the border areas, infiltrated into areas controlled by the Kuomintang and faced the whole country</td>
<td>Make it convenient for subscribers and serve them wholeheartedly</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Management of Distribution and public opinion</strong></td>
<td>Party News Commission of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, Publication and Distribution Department of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and Central Publication Administration.</td>
<td>At first it was led by the Yangtze River Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and later by the Southern Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Subject of Distribution</strong></td>
<td>Xinhua Bookstore, post office, border communication stations, Party committees at all levels, military and the masses</td>
<td>Xinhua Daily, Newspaper boy, Progressive bookstore, progressive people, Post Office</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Target of Distribution</strong></td>
<td>All the people</td>
<td>Young intellectuals, patriotic students, young workers</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Object of Distribution</strong></td>
<td>Party newspapers of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area are published.</td>
<td>Xinhua Daily, The Masses weekly</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
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References