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COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG

(1917 - 1949)

VOLUME 3

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OPEN LETTER TO FRATERNAL SOLDIERS OF THE WHITE ARMY ON THE FORCED OCCUPATION OF MANCHURIA BY JAPANESE IMPERIALISM

25 September 1931

[Text] Fraternal soldiers!

Did not warlords of the Kuomintang often tell you that your duty is to "protect our country and defend our people?" But look, troops of Japanese imperialism have occupied by force all of the major cities in Manchuria, massacred with guns and bombs the toiling masses of workers and peasants and soldiers in Manchuria, and consider Manchuria wholly as a colony of theirs. May I ask you: How are warlords of the Kuomintang performing their duty to "protect our country and defend our people?" What are they saying to you now?

As far as Japanese imperialist brutality is concerned, warlords of the Kuomintang order you to "offer no resistance," to "receive adverse circumstances with acquiescence," to stretch out the neck so as to allow the Japanese imperialist bandits to massacre you. They order you to become "colonial slaves" of Japanese imperialism peaceably. From here you can see that warlords of the Kuomintang can only pay court and yield to imperialism, they can only act as running dogs of imperialism, they not only cannot "protect our country," but also cannot "defend our people!"

Nevertheless, the Kuomintang warlords, for the purpose of struggling for positions and extending their areas of exploitation and wholesale slaughter of the Chinese people, they have staged wild battles among themselves year after year. For the sake of these warlords' wars, they have very courageously driven you to the battlefield to kill your own brothers and destroy the life and property of the people. They are exacting exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies, impressing men and horses for military coolie-service, and sucking dry the last drop of blood of the toiling people. They are massacring the revolutionary workers and peasants; they are compelling people to cultivate opium so as to infect the masses; they are creating all over the country calamities (flood, drought, famine), the like of which has never been seen before. In exploiting and massacring the people, they all have shown considerable resoluteness and fearlessness!

Above all others, at a time when the masses of workers and peasants in our Soviet areas, standing up voluntarily, have driven out all imperialists, toppled the rule of the Kuomintang, confiscated all land of the landlord class, carried out the 8-hour work system, created their own armed forces in the Workers and Peasants' Red Army, and established the Workers and Peasants' Soviet Government, all warlords of the Kuomintang are fighting desperately for their lives and demonstrating their determination and bravery, have relied upon help from the imperialists to attack us, not once or twice, but three times. They have used planes, bombs, poison gas, artillery, and machine guns to slaughter the people in the Soviet areas. All their attacks have been smashed fearlessly by us and by the people, but if we do not root them out completely, they will never ease up on us. In attacking the Soviet Government of the people and the Red Army of the people, they also are extremely brave!

Fraternal soldiers! Have you not suffered enough from the deceit and oppression of these warlords? Think about it: After all, why are you risking your life for these warlords? It may be that you are doing it so as to support your family. As a matter of fact, you yourselves often do not receive a cent in wages. You yourselves do not have enough to eat or enough to wear, then how can you support your family? Your superior officers take you as their oxen and horses, as cannon fodder, and want you to risk your life in killing your own fraternal worker and peasant brothers so that they may be promoted in rank and become wealthy!

Fraternal soldiers! You have got to think of a way out! There is a way out for you. It is revolution! Now what you have in your hands are guns. First of all, you kill your reactionary superior officers. Then join efforts with the workers, peasants, and all other toiling people in your locality to topple the government of the Kuomintang, confiscate the land of the landlord class and distribute it among the poor peasants, seize the grain and dwellings of the rich and portion them out for the poor to live and to eat. Make it so that workers labor for only 8 hours a day, and organize yourselves so that you manage your own affairs. In this way you will have created a workers, peasants, and soldiers' government--i.e., a Soviet Government--and you all will have become a workers and peasants' armed force--a workers and peasants' Red Army. If there is already a Soviet Government or a Red Army near your garrison, then you either catch your reactionary superior officers alive or kill them and go there and join the Red Army. Only the Soviet Government, only the Red Army, can safeguard the interests of workers, peasants, and soldiers, overthrow the Kuomintang, overthrow imperialism, and truly protect our country and defend our people!

Fraternal soldiers! Unite! Turn round your guns and fight so as to overthrow imperialism and the Kuomintang, which are exploiting, oppressing, and massacring the toiling masses of China, and establish a Soviet Government and a Red Army of the workers, peasants, and soldiers! Several hundred thousand fraternal soldiers of the Red Army welcome you to join our ranks!

Down with Imperialism and the Kuomintang!

Establish a Soviet Government of the Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers!

Long Live the Workers and Peasants' Red Army!

Long Live the Victory of a Soviet Revolution in China!

Commander-in-Chief, Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army and concurrently Commander, 1st Army Corps: Chu Teh

Director, General Political Department, Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army Mao Tse-tung

Commander, 2nd Army Corps, Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army Ho Lung

Commander, 3rd Army Corps, Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army P'eng Te-huai

Commander, 3rd Army, Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army Huang Kung-lueh

25 September 1931

°Soviet China, Soviet Union Foreign Workers Press (Moscow 1933)

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RESOLUTION ON PROMULGATION OF PROVISIONAL TAX LAW--ADOPTED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28 November 1931

[Text] 1. Tax yields are a most important source of state revenue and expenditure. In accordance with the provisions of the Constitution, the Central Government has abolished all land tax, poll tax, exorbitant taxes, miscellaneous levies, likin tax, etc. of the Kuomintang warlords and put into effect a single progressive tax.

2. To any sector, a single progressive tax means that only one category of tax shall be levied. The fundamental rule of tax collection is that apart from placing the burden of paying taxes on the exploiting class, the matter shall be resolved according to the principle of class. The exploited class and people from the poorest strata shall be exempt from taxes.

3. At the present time, due to the revolutionary war, the Soviet areas all over the country are not contiguous to one another. Because of this and many other special circumstances, agricultural tax can only be levied with the tax on staple products as a standard. For the time being, the tax on all subsidiary products will not be imposed. Also, agricultural tax is levied only from persons who produce more than enough to meet their necessary living expenses on a progressive scale. All those who do not reach that standard will be exempt from taxes. Taxes to be imposed on rich peasants will be comparatively heavy. For them the standard for taxation will be lower by one-half than that for poor peasants. This fundamental rule is prescribed to enable the various provincial governments to determine the agricultural tax rates according to local actual conditions.

4. With a view to developing the economy in the Soviet areas at present, commercial export and import duty and industrial production tax will be dispensed with for the time being.

5. This Tax Law will be put into effect on 1 December 1931.

Central Executive Committee
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

°Chinese Soviet Republic Economic Policy
*Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, No 4
7682
CSO: 4005

ELECTION LAW OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC--ADOPTED AT THE FIRST PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

November 1931

[Text] Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1

This Election Law is specially promulgated according to Articles 68 to 79 of the Constitution for the purpose of unifying the procedure of elections within the boundary of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 2

This Election Law shall become effective within the boundary of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 3

The Central Executive Committee has the right to suspend and revise this Law.

Article 4

Should a question arise about this Law or a dispute come about in its implementation, the right of interpretation of this Law is vested in the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter II Right To Elect and To Be Elected

Article 5

According to Article 68 of the Constitution, "All citizens residing within the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic who have reached the age of 16, irrespective of sex, religion, or nationality, shall have the right to elect and to be elected in the Soviet. However, these shall be limited to the following kinds of people:

(a) All people who do not exploit the labor of others, such as hired laborers, peasants, independent craftsmen, and the urban poor, and their family dependents;

(b) People serving in the navy, army, and air force of the Chinese Soviet Republic; and

(c) Those of the above two kinds of people who are at present incapable of working or unemployed."

Article 6

According to Article 69 of the Constitution, "People who belong to one of the following kinds shall not have the right to elect or to be elected:

(a) Those who exploit the labor of others (including rich peasants);

(b) Those who depend upon profits on their land or capital for a living and do not perform any labor themselves;

(c) Merchants, capitalists, and their agents, middlemen, and compradors;

(d) Missionaries of all religions, clergymen, Buddhist monks, Taoist priests, geomancers, and those who are preachers by occupation;

(e) The police, detectives, military police, bureaucrats, and warlords of the Kuomintang and other reactionary governments, and reactionaries who participate in opposing the interests of workers and peasants:

(f) Insane persons;

(g) People who have been convicted of a crime by the courts and are serving their sentences; and

(h) Family dependents of persons mentioned in Items (a) to (e)."

Article 70 of the Constitution stipulates that "any one of the three kinds of people listed in Article 68 of this Constitution who has committed any of the offenses mentioned in Article 69 likewise shall not have the right to elect and to be elected."

Chapter III Organs Dealing With Elections

Article 7

According to Article 71 of the Constitution, organs dealing with elections are listed as follows:

(a) In a municipality elections shall be conducted by an election committee to be organized by the municipal Soviet. Its members shall number not more than nine.

(b) In the countryside elections shall be conducted by a district election committee to be organized by the district executive committee. Its members shall number not more than 11.

Article 8

In a large municipality or large district, branch offices may be set up under the municipal election committee or district election committee and these branch offices shall carry out their work under the direction of the head office of the election committee concerned.

Article 9

Election committee members shall be reported by the municipal Soviets and district executive committees to the county executive committee concerned for investigation, after which the county executive committee shall report to the provincial executive committee concerned or its presidium for approval and appointment. However, only local residents shall be eligible for membership. In special circumstances, a nonrisident may be appointed to be a member by the government of the next higher level.

Article 10

The president of a municipal or township Soviet shall not become a member or chairman of the election committee.

Chapter IV Election Procedures

Article 11

The registration of electors shall be carried out 2 weeks before an election.

Article 12

Election committees may assign special deputies to act as registrars of electors. People who are affiliated with an organization may register with that organization. Those who are not affiliated with any organization may engage a special deputy to carry out registration.

Article 13

At the time of registration, entries shall be made on elector registration forms stipulated by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 14

When the registration is over, the elector registration forms shall be gathered together and sent to the election committee.

Article 15

At the end of the registration, the election committee shall publish the total number of electors and the number of representatives to be elected within the district under its jurisdiction.

Article 16

Before an election, the election committee shall publish through the municipal Soviet or executive committee, a namelist of persons who have been stripped of the right to elect.

Article 17

The election committee shall announce in advance to the various districts, organizations, and enterprises the place and date of the election meeting.

Article 18

In a municipality elections shall be conducted within each production unit. Those people who cannot carry out elections according to production unit shall hold election meetings according to designated places in a district. Family dependents of workers and laborers shall participate in elections in the same place as the workers and laborers themselves. In the countryside election meetings shall be held with each village as a unit. Several smaller villages may hold an election meeting together.

Article 19

After registering an elector who has the right to elect, the election committee shall issue to him an elector's certificate notifying him when and where to be present at the election meeting. Only with this certificate can an elector enter the place of the election meeting.

Article 20

An election committee has the right to use on loan a public place or a private house to hold an election.

Article 21

The place where the election meeting is to be held shall be decorated in advance by the election committee. At the entrance to the meeting place, special deputies shall be assigned to record all electors and only people bearing electors' certificates shall be admitted.

Article 22

The presidium of an election meeting shall comprise three persons, of whom two shall be selected by the election meeting and one shall be the chairman of the election committee or his fully accredited representative. A secretary shall also be selected to keep minutes of the election meeting.

Article 23

The post of chairman of the presidium of an election meeting shall be held by the chairman of the election committee or his fully accredited representative.

Article 24

After an election meeting is declared open, the chairman shall announce whether the number of people present forms a quorum or not.

Article 25

The agenda of an election meeting is stipulated as follows:

(a) The chairman of the election committee or his fully accredited representative shall announce which persons have the right to elect and to be elected and which persons have been stripped of the right to elect and to be elected.

(b) Election of full representatives.

(c) Election of alternate representatives.

(d) Approval of proposals submitted by electors through their representatives.

Article 26

The minutes of an election meeting, the register of participants, and all documents concerning the election shall be gathered together and transferred to the election committee for examination after the election.

Article 27

The minutes of an election meeting shall be signed by the entire presidium and the secretary.

Article 28

At an election meeting, an election shall be held when more than half of the electors are present.

Article 29

If the number of electors present is less than the required quorum, an adjournment of the meeting shall be declared and the election committee shall fix a date for convening another meeting. In the circumstances of reconvening an election meeting, election notices shall be reissued.

Article 30

If the second election meeting is adjourned again for lack of a quorum, the election shall be held at the third meeting to be convened regardless of whether there is a quorum or not, and the necessary number of representatives shall be elected.

Article 31

Election shall be conducted not by ballot, but by a show of hands. A candidate is elected when a majority of hands are raised for him.

Article 32

Candidates for election may be nominated separately or jointly in one list according to the opinion of the majority of electors at an election meeting.

Article 33

The election of full representatives and that of alternate representatives shall not be conducted at the same time. The election of alternates shall take place after the election of representatives is completed.

Chapter V Procedure of Elections of Representatives to the Different Levels of Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet and the Proportion of Representatives to Residents

Article 34

Representatives to the worker-peasant-soldier Soviet of a township shall be elected in a meeting of the electors of the entire township. For every 50 residents one representative shall be elected.

Article 35

Representatives to the worker-peasant-soldier Soviet of a municipality shall be elected in a meeting of the electors of the entire municipality. For every 200 residents one representative shall be elected.

(Note) Aside from full representatives to the worker-peasant-soldier Soviet of a township or municipality, alternate representatives shall be elected. The proportion of alternate representatives to full representatives shall be one to five.

Article 36

Representatives to be elected by the various township worker-peasant-soldier Soviets shall make up a district congress of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets. The number of representatives to be elected shall be on the basis of one representative for every 400 residents.

Article 37

Representatives to be elected by the various district congresses of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets and municipal worker-peasant-soldier Soviets shall make up a county congress of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets. The number of representatives to be elected shall be on the basis of one representative for every 500 residents in a municipality and one representative for every 1,000 residents in the countryside.

Article 38

Representatives to be elected by the various county congresses of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets and worker-peasant-soldier Soviets of municipalities directly under a provincial government shall make up a provincial congress of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets. The number of representatives to be elected shall be on the basis of one representative for every 5,000 residents in a municipality and one representative for every 25,000 residents in the countryside.

Article 39

Representatives to be elected by the various provincial congresses of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets and worker-peasant-soldier Soviets of municipalities directly under the central authority shall make up the National Congress of Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers of the Chinese Soviet Republic. The number of representatives to be elected shall be on the basis of one representative for every 50,000 residents in the countryside and one representative for every 10,000 residents in a municipality.

Article 40

The qualifications of representatives to the district, hsien, and provincial congresses of worker-peasant-soldier Soviets shall be verified by the credential committee to be organized by the Soviet Congress of that level.

Article 41

Where the population in an area is less than the number of electors stipulated, they may nevertheless elect one representative. That representative has the right to speak, but no right to vote.

Article 42

Workers and peasants' armed forces and the Red Army under the jurisdiction of a district Soviet shall participate in the elections of the district Soviet. Workers and peasants' armed forces and the Red Army under the jurisdiction of a county Soviet shall participate in the elections of the county Soviet. Workers and peasants' armed forces and the Red Army under the jurisdiction of a provincial Soviet and those units not under the jurisdiction of a provincial Soviet but are stationed within its territory shall participate in the elections of the provincial Soviet. Regulations governing elections among the Red Army shall be promulgated separately by the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter VI Recognition and Invalidation of Basic (Municipal and Township) Elections, and Recall of Representatives

Article 43

An election shall be deemed valid and given recognition when it is conducted in accordance with the Constitution and the procedure prescribed in this Law.

Article 44

An elector may bring a complaint before the municipal Soviet or district executive committee against an election that has not been conducted in accordance with the Constitution or the procedure prescribed in this Law. Upon receipt of the complaint, that Soviet Government shall immediately organize a committee to investigate it.

Article 45

After an election, the election committee shall gather together all documents concerning the election and transfer them to the municipal Soviet or district executive committee for examination.

Article 46

On receiving the documents concerning the election, the municipal Soviet or district executive committee shall organize an expert committee to examine them.

Article 47

When it is discovered that a certain part of the election is not according to the electoral procedure, the right to invalidate that part of the election is invested in the municipal Soviet or district executive committee.

Article 48

If it is discovered that the entire election is in violation of the electoral procedure, the right to invalidate the election is invested in the Soviet Government of a higher level.

Article 49

When a dispute arises concerning the validity of an election, it shall be resolved by the municipal Soviet or district executive committee.

Article 50

The Central Executive Committee shall be the organ of last resort in all appeals concerning elections.

Article 51

A representative of a municipal or township Soviet who violates the trust of the people by not performing his official duties or commits a criminal act shall be dismissed by the municipal or township Soviet. Their electors also have the right to recall that representative and hold another election. But in these circumstances, the matter shall be reported to the Soviet Government of a higher level for investigation.

Chapter VII Election Expenses

Article 52

The expenses for holding elections shall be borne by the national treasury.

Article 53

All election committees shall each work out a budget covering expenses for holding elections. These shall be reported by the municipal Soviet or district executive committee to the county executive committee for approval, after which payments shall be made from the election expenses appropriated by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 54

After an election, the election committee shall submit a final report to the municipal Soviet or district executive committee and draw up a final account to be submitted by the municipal Soviet or district executive committee to the county executive committee for approval.

Chapter VIII Supplementary Provisions

Article 55

This Law shall be effective from the date of its promulgation.

Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

° "Election Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic," Central Executive Committee,
* Chinese Soviet Republic, December 1931

Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, No. 3, 1935

7682
CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION ON THE MARRIAGE LAW--ADOPTED AT THE FIRST SESSION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28 November 1931

[Text] Under the feudal rule the marriage system was so barbaric as to be inhuman. The oppression and distress suffered by women were even worse than those by men. Only when the workers' and peasants' revolution is won and men and women have attained primary emancipation economically will marriages unavoidably undergo changes and marriages based on freedom of choice be realized. At present, marriages have acquired a foundation of freedom. We should really establish a marriage system based on freedom of choice and abolish the feudal marriage system based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and on pecuniary considerations.

However, women who have just been emancipated from feudal oppression, have not yet recovered from the many serious injuries (e.g., bound feet) to their bodies or achieved complete independence economically. Hence, in the question of divorce, emphasis for the time being should be placed on the protection of the interests of women, leaving most of the obligations and responsibilities arising out of the divorce for the men to undertake.

Children are the masters of the new society. Particularly in the old society, it was the custom not to pay heed to the caring of children. Therefore, special stipulations are made for the protection of the interests of children.

This Law will be promulgated on 1 December 1931 and come into force immediately.

Central Executive Committee

Chairman:	Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen:	Hsiang Ying
	Chang Kuo-t'ao

*"Marriage Law," Directive of the Chinese Soviet Republic, Provisional Central Government, December 1931

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CSO: 4005

PROVISIONAL TAX LAW--NOTICE NO 4 OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

1 December 1931

[Text] Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1

To establish a single progressive tax, all exorbitant taxes and miscellaneous levies of the Kuomintang government, such as land tax, poll tax, and likin tax, shall be abolished.

Article 2

Taxes shall be divided into three categories: business tax, agricultural tax, and industrial tax.

Chapter II Business Tax

Article 3

Tax rates: For the purpose of a capital levy, business capital ranging from 200 yuan to 100,000 yuan shall be differentiated into 13 classes. Tax rates shall be fixed according to these classes to levy income tax on profits earned by capital (i.e., on receipts from services rendered and goods sold, and not on capital). Tax rates for businesses capitalized in excess of 100,000 yuan shall be fixed separately. The tax rates for businesses capitalized under 100,000 yuan are as follows:

Class	Capitalization (yuan)	Tax Rate (%)
1	200 - 300	2
2	301 - 500	2.5
3	501 - 700	3
4	701 - 1,000	3.5
5	1,001 - 1,500	4.5
6	1,501 - 3,000	5.5
7	3,001 - 5,000	6.5
8	5,001 - 10,000	8

Class	Capitalization (yuan)	Tax Rate (%)
9	10,001 - 20,000	9.5
10	20,001 - 30,000	11.5
11	30,001 - 50,000	13.5
12	50,001 - 80,000	16
13	80,001 - 100,000	18.5

Article 4

Method of levy: The tax rate for a shop shall be determined according to its capitalization as set down in the business license obtained by the shop from a financial organ of the government and that rate shall be used in levying the tax on its profits.

Article 5

Levying periods: There shall be two levying periods in a year. However, levy of taxes on a seasonal business may be made at the close of the business.

Article 6

Tax exemption:

(a) All consumers' cooperatives organized in compliance with the regulations promulgated by the government governing cooperatives and further registered with county government shall be granted exemption from taxation upon submission by the county government of a report concerning the matter to the provincial government concerned.

(b) Peddlers and farmers who sell their surplus products direct shall uniformly be exempt from business tax.

(c) Shops with a capitalization of less than 200 yuan shall uniformly be exempt from taxes.

(d) Merchants who have met with dangers or suffered unexpected damages may be granted exemption from taxation if their losses are reported to the government and subsequently verified.

(e) Certain categories of essential commodities and quartermaster goods may be declared as tax-exempt under government orders at any time.

Chapter III Agricultural Tax

(Note) At present, farm production and the prices of produce are extremely complex and unified measures to levy agricultural tax cannot be stipulated. We can only lay down the principle of levying agricultural tax and the different provinces may fix an appropriate agricultural tax according to this principle and in the light of local conditions.

Article 7

After land is allotted to a peasant, the annual per capita output of the peasant and his family as well as their necessary living expenses shall be fixed by averaging the annual yield of staple products among the entire family. On the basis of this standard, the minimum amount at which taxation begins for each person and his progressive tax shall be determined.

Article 8

Tax shall be levied on staple products (grain and wheat) only. For the time being, no tax shall be levied on subsidiary products.

Article 9

Tea gardens, cotton and hemp fields, and orchards allotted to peasants in lieu of paddy fields or wheat fields shall be subject to taxation if their yields have become the principal production of the peasants concerned.

Article 10

Family dependents of the Red Army shall uniformly be exempt from taxes in accordance with the preferential treatment of the Red Army.

Article 11

Tenant farmers and laborers who have been allotted arable lands shall uniformly be exempt from taxes.

Article 12

In cases where poor peasants still cannot maintain their families despite the fact that their incomes have reached the amount at which taxation begins, the township Soviet concerned may decide to reduce their taxes individually or exempt them from taxes.

Article 13

Taxes on former rich peasants shall be slightly higher.

Article 14

Areas suffering from natural calamities such as flood and drought or ravaged by White bandits shall either be exempt from taxes or be granted a tax reduction according to the severity of losses.

Article 15

Any increase in income from agricultural production attributable to seed improvement or improvement in farming technique shall not be taxed.

Article 16

Agricultural products harvested by opening up waste land shall be exempt from taxes for 3 years. In the case of rich peasants, such yields shall be subject to a lower tax or be exempt from taxes for 1 year.

Article 17

Method and periods of levying agricultural tax: Levying of taxes shall begin within 1 to 2 months of harvest of agricultural products. At the time of collection, the amount of tax due from each person according to the prescribed rates shall be collected from the different families.

Article 18

Agricultural tax shall be levied in cash or in kind according to the wish of the peasants concerned.

Appended are measures being taken to levy agricultural tax in Kiangsi Province to be used for reference by other provinces:

Farm Produce	Tax Rate (%)
Taxation begins at the level of 4 tan of dry grain per capita in each household.	
4	1
5	2
6	3
7	4
8	5
9	6.5
10	8
11	9.5
12	11
13	12.5
14	14.5
15	16.5

In the case of rich peasants, taxation shall begin at the level of 2 tan per capita in the amount of 1 percent; 3 tan at 2 percent, and so forth.

Chapter IV Industrial Tax

Article 19

All producer cooperatives registered with a county government shall be granted exemption from taxation upon submission by the county government of a report concerning the matter to the provincial government concerned.

Article 20

With a view to accelerating industrial development in the Soviet areas at the present time, no industrial production tax shall be levied for the time being.

Article 21

An income tax shall be levied on the profits of industrial enterprises at rates to be fixed according to capitalization. The rates shall be set forth separately, but they shall be lower than those of business tax.

Chapter V Supplementary Provisions

Article 22

This Tax Law shall be effective the date of its promulgation.

Central Executive Committee
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairman: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

1 December 1931

°Chinese Soviet Provisional Central Government Proclamation No. 4
*Directive of Chinese Soviet Provisional Central Government: "Chinese Soviet Republic Provisional Tax Law"
*Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, No. 4

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CSO: 4005

MARRIAGE LAW

1 December 1931

[Text] Chapter I General Provisions

Article 1

Marriage shall be based on the free choice of partners. The feudal marriage system which is based on arbitrary and compulsory arrangements and the exaction of money or gifts shall be abolished. Child betrothal shall be prohibited.

Article 2

Monogamy shall be put into effect. Polygamy shall be prohibited.

Chapter II Marriage

Article 3

Before a marriage can be contracted the man must have reached 20 years of age and the woman 18 years of age.

Article 4

Marriage shall be based on the complete willingness of the two parties. Neither party, nor a third party, shall use compulsion.

Article 5

Marriage between collateral relatives by blood, up to the fifth degree of relationship, shall be prohibited.

Article 6

Marriage shall not be allowed where one party is suffering from such dangerous and infectious diseases as venereal disease, leprosy, and tuberculosis. If a doctor gives his approval upon examination of the abovementioned diseases, the marriage shall be allowed.

Article 7

No man or woman who is suffering from mental disorder or paralysis shall be allowed to marry.

Article 8

In order to contract a marriage, both the man and woman shall register in person with the Soviet of a hsiang or municipality and obtain a marriage certificate. Betrothal money or gifts and dowry shall be done away with.

Chapter III Divorce

Article 9

Freedom of divorce shall be affirmed. Divorce shall be granted when husband and wife both desire it. When only one party insists on divorce, it shall also be granted.

Article 10

Husband and wife desiring to divorce shall register with the Soviet of a hsiang or municipality.

Chapter IV Bringing Up of Children After Divorce

Article 11

The father shall be responsible for all children born prior to the divorce and have the duty to bring them up. If both parents are willing to bring up the children, the mother is given custody of the children.

Article 12

The mother shall have custody of a baby still being breast-fed.

Article 13

Arable land allocated to the child or children shall be retained by the child or children.

Article 14

If the mother is given custody of a child, the father shall be responsible for two-thirds of the necessary cost of maintaining the child until the age of 16. Payment may be made in cash or by tilling the land allocated to the child.

Article 15

If the woman remarries and her husband is willing to assume the cost of maintaining the child by her former husband, the father of the child may be exempted from the duty to support the child.

Article 16

The new husband who is willing to support the child shall register with the Soviet of a township or municipality. Once he registers, he shall be responsible for maintaining the child until the maturity of age, and not stop halfway or maltreat the child.

Chapter V Settlement of Property After Divorce

Article 17

In case of divorce, the husband or wife may dispose such arable land, property, and debts as belong to him or her. When the marriage had lasted more than a year, the property jointly acquired by husband and wife shall be divided equally. If there are children, such property shall be divided equally according to the number of persons.

Article 18

After divorce, debts incurred by husband and wife during the period of their living together shall be paid off by the husband.

Article 19

After divorce, if both parties are unwilling to leave their home, the husband shall sell his share of the house to the wife so that she can go on living there.

Article 20

After divorce, if the wife has not remarried, the husband shall bear the cost of her maintenance or till the land for her until she remarries.

Chapter VI Maintenance of Children Born Out of Wedlock

Article 21

Where the paternity of a child born out of wedlock is established, the identified father shall bear two-thirds of the cost of maintaining the child. Articles 11 to 15 of Chapter IV shall also apply.

Chapter VII Supplementary Provisions

Article 22

Persons violating this Law shall be punished in accordance with the law.

Article 23

This Law shall come into force from the date of its promulgation.

Central Executive Committee of the
Chinese Soviet Republic

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

°"Marriage Law," Provisional Central Government, Chinese Soviet Republic, December 1931

*"Red China," No. 2, (Chapters 1-4, Article 12), 18 December 1931

*"Soviet China," Soviet Foreign Workers Press (Moscow), 1933

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CSO: 4005

ON THE ELECTION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE MEMBERS AND PEOPLE'S COUNCIL MEMBERS AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC--NOTICE NO 1 OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1 December 1931

[Text] The First National Congress of the Soviet of Chinese Workers, Peasants, and Soldiers was held in the Kiangsi Soviet Area on 7 November 1931, the anniversary of the October Revolution of the Soviet Union. The Congress adopted a political platform and the Constitution, and enacted the Land Law, Labor Law, and other ordinances concerning the Red Army question and economic policy. It declared the founding of the Chinese Soviet Republic and elected the following as members of the Central Executive Committee, which is the highest organ of political power when the National Congress is not in session:

Mao Tse-tung
Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao
Chou En-lai
Lu Fu-t'an
Chu Teh
Ch'u Ch'iu-pai
Chang Ting-ch'eng
Teng Fa
Wang Chia-hsiang
Hsu Hsi-ken
Fan Lo-ch'un
Ch'en Shao-yu
P'eng Te-huai
Kuan Hsiang-ying
K'ung Ho-p'ang
Fang Chih-min
Jen Pi-shih
Ho Lung
Shen Tse-min
T'an Chen-lin
Huang P'ing
Tseng Shan
Lin Piao
Ch'en Yu
Lo Teng-hsien
Hsia Hsi
Teng Tzu-hui
Liu Shao-ch'i
Liu Ta-ch'ao
Ch'en Cheng-jen
Yuan Te-sheng
Ts'ui Ch'i
Ch'u Teng-kao
Tuan Te-ch'ang
Ko Yao-shan
P'eng Kuei
Ch'en Fu-yuan
Ku Ta-ts'un
Wei Pa-ch'un
Chang Hau-hsien
Ho Shu-heng
Huang Su
Hu Hai
T'eng Tai-yuan
Hsiao Heng-t'ai
Lo Ping-hui
Ch'en I

Chang Yun-i
Chou I-li
Lu Te-kuang
Hu Chun-hao
Hsu T'e-li
Shao Shih-p'ing
Hung Tzu-ch'ing
Liu Kuang-wan
Yu Han-ch'ao
Wu Chih-min
Liu Chien-chung
Li Tsung-po
Liu Sheng-yuan
Wang Yung-sheng
Juan Hsiao-hsien

The Central Executive Committee held its first meeting on 27 November and elected:

Mao Tse-tung as Chairman and Hsiang Ying and Chang Kuo-t'ao as Vice-chairmen of the Central Executive Committee.

Under the Central Executive Committee, it organized the People's Council as the central administrative organ of the Chinese Soviet Republic and elected:

Mao Tse-tung as Chairman;
Hsiang Ying and Chang Kuo-t'ao as Vice-chairmen;
Wang Chia-hsiang as People's Commissioner of Foreign Affairs;
Chu Teh as People's Commissioner of Military Affairs;
Hsiang Ying as People's Commissioner of Labor;
Teng Tzu-hui as People's Commissioner of Finance;
Chang Ting-ch'eng as People's Commissioner of Land;
Ch'u Ch'iu-pai as People's Commissioner of Education;
Chou I-li as People's Commissioner of Internal Affairs;
Chang Kuo-t'ao as People's Commissioner of Justice; and
Ho Shu-heng as People's Commissioner of Worker-Peasant Examination.

At the same time, it set up the National Political Security Bureau under the People's Council with Teng Fa as Director.

The establishment of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic has been proclaimed. From this day on, there are within Chinese territory two states that are diametrically opposite to each other. One is the so-called Republic of China. It is a tool of imperialism and a state being used by warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, and the bourgeoisie to oppress workers, peasants, soldiers, and other toiling people, and the National Government of Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei is the counterrevolutionary organ of political power of this state. The other is the Chinese Soviet Republic, a state of the broad masses of exploited and oppressed workers, peasants, soldiers, and other toiling people. Its banner is to down with imperialism, exterminate the landlord class, overthrow the Kuomintang warlord government, and set up a Soviet Government throughout the country, so as to strive for the interests of the several hundred million oppressed and exploited workers, peasants, soldiers, and other oppressed people, and for genuine peace and unity all over the country. Its foundation is built upon the hopes and support of the several hundred million oppressed and exploited workers, peasants, soldiers, and poverty-stricken people in the Soviet areas and non-Soviet areas. It possesses vast influence to deal a heavy blow to

the Kuomintang warlord government, such that it has caused the latter to step onto the road from disintegration to dissolution. It must quickly score a victory in the revolution all over the country.

The Chinese Soviet Republic and the Central Executive Committee, accepting the trust of the National Congress, ought to spare no efforts to implement the political platform, Constitution, Labor Law, Land Law, and all other ordinances and resolutions drawn up by the Congress, establish a consolidated and extensive revolutionary base, create a massive Red Army, and organize a large-scale revolutionary war, so as to gain an initial victory in the revolution in one or several provinces until a nation-wide victory is won. At a time when the Government is setting about its work, this notice is specially sent to workers, peasants, soldiers, poverty-stricken people, and all oppressed people throughout the country for their information.

	Chairman:	Mao Tse-tung
1 December 1931	Vice-chairmen:	Hsiang Ying
		Chang Kuo-t'ao

° "Red China," No 1, 11 December 1931

* Report No 1, Central Executive Committee, Chinese Soviet Republic

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CSO: 4005

LAND LAW OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC--ADOPTED AT THE FIRST NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE CHINESE WORKER-PEASANT-SOLDIER SOVIET

1 December 1931

[Text] With each passing day the peasants' struggle led by the proletariat is continuing to develop and grow stronger. The soviet movement is cresting and continuing to expand despite the frenzied opposition of the imperialist warlords. It is bringing about the self-arming of the Chinese peasants, the organization of the Red Army, and the liberation of peasants, in one county after another, from the several-thousand-year-long oppression of the feudal landlords. The land owned by these oppressors is being confiscated and distributed, the feudal system is being smashed, and the political power of the Kuomintang is being destroyed to establish the political power of the worker-peasant-soldier soviet. This is the political power that can overthrow the imperialists and bring about agrarian revolution.

The first national congress of the Chinese worker-peasant-soldier soviet approved the confiscation of land held by landlords and other big private landowners and, in order to formulate a unified system of confiscation and distribution, it has proceeded from the basis of serving the basic interests of the peasant masses and the future of the revolution's development to adopt the following land law as the best guaranty for solving the land question.

Article 1.

Regardless of whether they are leased out or self-farmed, land belonging to all feudal landlords, evil gentry, warlords, bureaucrats, and big, private landowners are to be confiscated with no compensation. The confiscated land will be distributed by the poor and middle peasants through the soviet, and the original owners will have no right to participate in the distribution. Hired help, coolies, laborers and farmers, regardless of sex, all have jurisdiction over land distribution. With the approval of the peasant masses, the unemployed independent laborers in the townships and villages will also have similar right to distribution. The aged and the feeble, the lame, and the widows who are unable to engage in labor and who have no family members to provide them with support should be given social assistance by the government of the soviet or handled separately after the distribution of the land.

Article 2.

The Red Army members are advanced fighters who support the political power of the soviet and the overthrow of imperialism, and land must be distributed to them, regardless of whether a soviet has been established in their base areas or whether their areas are still under reactionary rule. And the soviet government will seek means to have this land farmed on their behalf.

Article 3.

As the rich peasants of China have the characteristics of semi-landlords or usurers, their land should also be confiscated, whereas the land of the middle peasant class will not be confiscated. The rich peasants can be given some comparatively poor "land distributed for labor." However, there is one condition, and that is this land must be farmed by their own labor.

Article 4.

Confiscate the land and assets of all organizers of counterrevolution, organizers of armed columns of the White army, and active participants of counterrevolution. However, exceptions may be made of poor and middle peasants who oppose the soviet not of their own volition but by being lured into it, and found by the local soviet to be exemptable from prosecution, but their leaders will be prosecuted unconditionally in accordance with the law.

Article 5.

The first national congress found that the most thorough of all measures to be taken to wipe out all vestiges of feudalism and slavery and to get away from the private ownership rights of landlords is the equitable distribution of all land. However, under no circumstances should the local soviet government implement this through force or by fiat. This measure must be explained to the peasants in a comprehensive manner, and it can be carried out only on the foundation of willingness from the basic peasantry and with their direct support. When the majority of the middle peasants is unwilling, they may abstain from participation in the equal distribution of land.

Article 6.

The soviet government must assiduously strive to turn over to the peasants all shrines, temples, and other public land unconditionally. But, at the time of implementation and handling, the willing support of the peasantry must be obtained on the general principle of not interferring with their religious sentiments.

Article 7.

Should the more opulent farmers attempt to distribute confiscated land on the basis of means of production, it must be sternly stopped as such attempts have

been found by the First Congress to be deliberate attempts to enrich themselves and impede the development of agrarian revolution. In accordance with the local conditions in the villages, the local soviet will select a principle that will serve the best interests of the poor and middle peasants and base the distribution of land on it, or on the basis of availability or scarcity of labor in each family and the size of the family, or, again, distribute equally in accordance with the population count of middle and poor peasants and tenant farmers. Distribution to rich peasants will be made on the basis of available labor units (i.e., in the areas where land is distributed equally on the basis of population distributed land received by rich peasants with available labor should be equal to the land received by each individual under the principle of equal distribution in accordance with populace) with population as a supporting factor. In distributing land, not only is the area of the land but, also, the quality (especially in the form of yields) to be considered. Agrarian reform should also be carried out by all means possible and suitably at the time of land distribution as a step toward whiping out all vestiges of feudalism such as narrow mindedness, one-sidedness, and large (ownership of?) farm lands.

Article 8.

Estates and liquid assets of all feudal lords, warlords, landlords, and evil gentry, their houses, storehouses, livestock, and farm implements are to be confiscated. After the land has been distributed to the rich peasants, remaining houses, farm implements, livestock, water pumps, and oil extracting machines are to be confiscated. The confiscated houses are to be distributed on the basis of the interests of middle and poor peasants and through the local soviets, to the poor and middle peasants and through the local soviets, to the poor and middle peasants who are homeless for residential purposes, and some of these houses are to be allocated for use as schools and clubs, by the committees of local soviets, of the party, and of the youth league, and by the red trade unions, poor peasants groups, and various organizations and agencies. Livestock and agricultural implements may be distributed to each family or to groups of poor and middle peasants. In accordance with the wishes of the peasantry, the various confiscated agricultural tools can be utilized as the preliminary step to forming cooperatives, or through the suggestion of the peasantry, and with the concurrance of the soviet, they can be used to establish a livestock-agricultural implement administrative office to provide the poor and middle peasants with these things for use in their farming work. The administrative office should be managed by the local soviet, the peasants should pay rentals at a fixed rate, and all repairs of agricultural tools and implements and the subsidizing of the administrative office's workers, as well as the procurement of new tools and livestock should be reimbursed by the peasants at a certain percentage of the expenditures.

Article 9.

While the assets and the land of landlords and evil gentry are being confiscated, all verbal and written agreements on tenancy rents must be wiped out,

erasing all obligations and debts to these assets and land, and also proclaim null and void all debts and usury (debts). All agreements between former landlords and peasants for voluntary return and reimbursement should be strictly prohibited by revolutionary law, and the peasants should not be allowed to return in part the land once owned by the landlords and evil gentry or partially reimburse the debts owed them.

Article 10.

All water conservancy works, rivers, lakes, streams, timberland, pastures, and large, wooded mountains are to be managed by the soviet and construction carried out which will facilitate public use of these resources by poor and middle peasants. In accordance with the wishes of the local peasantry, mulberry groves, bamboo groves, tea hills, and fish ponds are to be allocated to them for use in the same way as paddy or wheat fields.

Article 11.

For the concrete and thorough realization of the benefits of agrarian reform, the First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet has proclaimed the tenant farmers' union, the manual laborer's union, the poor peasants group, are necessary groups, and viewed these organizations as the pillars of the soviet implementation of agrarian revolution.

Article 12.

The First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet holds that under the political rule of the Soviet the nationalization of land and water conservancy works is a necessary step toward the thorough elimination of all feudal relationships in the rural areas, which is, in fact, to bring about a surging, rapid development of the rural economy. However, the actual implementation of this measure will be possible only under the condition that the agrarian revolution is victorious in the crucial areas of China, and there is basic support of nationalization by the peasant masses. At this stage of the revolution, the soviet government should explain to the peasants the benefits to be derived from the nationalization of land and water conservancy works. But, at present, the buying and selling of land, and the leasing of it are not prohibited. However, the soviet government should, at the same time, strictly prohibit speculative activities of the rich peasants in buying back their original land from the land owner.

Article 13.

If the situation is favorable, the local soviet is to operate the following enterprises: 1. land reclamation; 2. handling of population relocation; 3. building new and improvign existing drainage and irrigation systems; 4. planting forests; 5. speeding up construction of roads and enterprises to impel the development of the rural economy.

Article 14.

This law is applicable not only in current soviet areas, but also in non-soviet areas and areas where soviet power had been newly established. If the land already distributed in the various soviet areas conform with this law, it will remain as it is, but those not conforming to this law should be redistributed.

Hsiang Ying [7309 5391], Chou I-li [0719 0110 2698], Tseng Shan [2572 1472], Teng Fa [6772 4099], Chang Ting-cheng [1728 7844 0015], Chen Ching-jen [7115 2973 0086], Chu Teh [2612 1795].

Standing Committee Chairmen, Presidium of the First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Hsiang Ying, [7309 5391], Chang Kuo tao [1728 0948 3614] Vice Chairmen
1 December 1931.

°Land Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic (printed)
*Northern Edition of HUNG CHI, Vol 15, 25 October 1931
*Soviet Laws, Vol 2, Judicial People's Delegates Section (Moscow) July 1934

8439
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ECONOMIC POLICY OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

1 December 1931

[Text] For the development of agrarian revolution and anti-imperialism, and for the consolidation of the revolutionary union of workers and peasants, the First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet sets forth the following articles as the basis of the current economic policy of the soviet.

I. Industry

1. To ensure a completely independent government of the soviet, all economic life lines in the hands of imperialism (such as concessions, customs, banks, railroads, navigation, mines, and factories) are to be nationalized. Lend-lease contracts will be re-negotiated on some foreign business enterprises currently being allowed to operate and production will continue. However, they must abide by all the laws of the soviet, implement an 8-hour work day system and carry out various other regulations. Should the owners of these enterprises contravene these conditions, engage in work slow-downs, shut down the enterprise, or interfere in the domestic affairs of the soviet government and support the counterrevolution, then the enterprises are to be immediately confiscated and nationalized.

2. With regard to business enterprises and handicraft industries run by Chinese capitalists, the soviet will not nationalize them, but allow them to remain in the hands of their original owners. However, they will be operated under the supervision of workers, the factory committee and the trade union. But, should the owners of these business enterprises slow down production, sabotage the laws of the soviet, or participate in such counterrevolutionary activities as deliberately sabotaging or slowing down production, these business enterprises will be confiscated immediately and, in accordance with concrete conditions, handed over to the workers labor cooperative or the soviet government to manage.

3. Strive strenuously to further the development of industry. The soviet government pays special attention to ensuring the development of all business enterprises that supply the Red Army (factories, workshops, handicraft industries, home enterprises, etc.).

II. Commerce

1. The soviet should guarantee freedom of commerce. It should not interfere with the routine workings of the commodity market. But the soviet must strictly prohibit such speculative activities by businessmen as the raising of prices. It should disband chambers of commerce and prohibit big and small merchants from monopolizing prices in the name of the chamber of commerce. Should it discover sabotage or economic blockage by businessmen, thereby endangering the supply of basic daily necessities needed by the masses, or because of Red Army needs, the soviet government should set price ceilings on basic commodities. These measures are to be taken only when they are necessary, and, when it becomes possible, freedom of commerce is to be restored.

2. In trade with non-soviet areas, "monopoly of foreign trade" absolutely cannot be implemented as yet, but, at the same time, the soviet government should supervise such trade in order to ensure a supply of basic necessity commodities to the soviet area. The outflow of currency must have the permission of the soviet.

3. For the trade of the entire soviet area and to ensure the interests of the working poor and to improve the supply of necessary commodities to the masses, the soviet must extend all-out assistance to the organization and development of consumer cooperatives. The soviet should give financial aid and grant tax exemptions to cooperatives, and it should turn over in part some of the buildings and shops that were confiscated for the use of the cooperatives. Moreover, in order to guarantee supply to the laboring masses, the government should promote public warehouses to store food grains so as to be able to give aid to the masses or sell the grains to them at a low price.

III. Finance and Revenue Laws

1. Wipe out the entire tax system of the warlord government of the Kuomintang and its unlawful levies, the soviet will promulgate a unified progressive tax so that the burden will fall, instead, on the capitalists. The soviet government should exempt from taxation the Red Army, workers, and families of the poor in urban and rural areas. In cases of unforeseen disasters, taxes should either be remitted or reduced.

2. Negate all past verbal and written agreements of slavery and usury, void all usurious obligations of peasants and the poor of the cities, prohibit anticipatory taxation or debtor's bondage. The revolutionary laws should be applied so as to strictly guard against, and also prevent, all attempts to restore relations between usury and slavery. All items pawned by the urban and rural poor are to be returned to their original owners without compensation, and the pawnshops are to be turned over to the soviet.

3. Old currency notes, for the present, are to be permitted to circulate in the soviet areas, but market differences must be eliminated. However, these old currency notes must be given scrutiny and verification to facilitate

supervision. The soviet should issue its own currency notes and exchange them for the old, and, at first, the old currency notes may be kept in circulation with the addition of a stamped marking. All currency notes from other areas must be exchanged for the soviet notes or the stamped currency notes.

4. As a step toward helping all the working poor and to implement a uniform currency system, the soviet should establish a Worker-Peasant Bank and open branches in the various areas of the soviet. This bank has the special authority to print currency. It will process loans to people engaged in peasant family enterprises, and to cooperatives and small businessmen for economic development. It shall carry out currency exchange, and its branches will, in addition, act as the taxing agency.

5. The soviet should dispatch representatives to keep an eye on the activities of this bank and all other big, privately owned banks and money changers, and prohibit them from issuing any kind of currency. The soviet shall strictly prohibit all attempts by bankers to utilize local banks and engage in counter-revolutionary activities.

IV. Municipal Administration

1. Necessary adjustments should be made by the soviet to lighten the rent burden of the urban poor. The houses and assets of landlords, despotic gentry, warlords, bureaucrats and politicians are to be confiscated, the houses are to be turned over to workers, laborers, and apprentices for residential purposes, and the assets are to be divided by the urban poor or applied to public enterprises by the soviet. The urban soviet should utilize all means to improve the housing conditions of the poor.

Hsiang Ying, Chou I-li, Tseng Shan, Teng Fa, Chang Ting-cheng, Chen Cheng-jen, and Chu Teh
Executive Committee Chairmen,
The Presidium,
The First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet,

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Hsian Ying, Chang Kueo-tao, Vice Chairmen

1 December 1931

* "Soviet China," Soviet Union Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow) 1933

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CIRCULAR FOR THE ARREST OF KU SHUN-CHANG, TRAITOR TO THE REVOLUTION

Unnumbered directive of the People's Committee of the Provisional Soviet Central Government.

10 December 1931

[Text] To the various levels of soviet government in the provinces, counties, districts and villages of the soviet areas and the Red Guards units of the Red Army and the broad working masses of workers and peasants:

To the workers and peasants in the areas under White rule and all oppressed masses:

When he was arrested by the counterrevolutionary investigative units of the Kuomintang in Hankow on 25 April 1931, the renegade Ku Shun-chang (also known as Li Ming [2746 2494], originally called Ku Feng-ming [7357 7364 7686] and has gone under the aliases of Hua Kuang Chi Ni Shu Shih [0553 1684 1142 778 5880 1597]. About 27 or 28, native of Wu Sung [0702 2646], Shanghai; short in build with bulging eyes and prominent nose) immediately capitulated to the reactionary regime and revealed the existence of the multi-county soviet government of western Kwangtung Province a communication complex of the Chinese Communist Party located in Wuhan office of the Red Second Army Corps. This resulted in a sweep and the caputre of a dozen or so revolutionary fighters who were all murdered out of hand by the Wuhan reactionary government later. He even revealed a worker on a steamship plying the river who was sympathetic to the revolution and of whose existence he alone knew, thereby sending the worker into the prisons of the counterrevolutionaries. With such a bloody price and the assurance it brought him to back him up he repeatedly cabled Nanking requesting a personal meeting with Chiang Kai-shek, and upon arrival in Nanking, he not only secretly reported to the Kuomintang counterrevolutionaries about the organizational set-ups and activities of the Chinese Communist Party, the soviet government, the Red Army, and all revolutionary groups of worker-peasant masses, he also identified Yun Tai-ying [1926 0108 5391], a member of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and a national leader of revolutionary youths, who had already been sentenced to prison by the Nanking government with other comrades. All of them were immediately shot by the counterrevolutionaries. At the same time he disclosed the five residential locations

of Chou En-lai, Chu Chiu-pai [4234 4428 4101], Li Wei-han [2621 4850 3352] and other members and leaders of the Chinese Communist Party's Central Committee, whom he had come to know while he was in Shanghai, to the counterrevolutionaries. Orders were immediately cabled to the Shanghai Bureau of Public Safety and, in coordination with imperialist police, raids were carried out at the residences of each of the individuals. Fortunately, these comrades had already left Shanghai at that time and escaped harm. Following this, he repeatedly sent relatives and household members to Shanghai and, using what knowledge he had, investigated the whereabouts of the Chinese Communist Party organization and revolutionary groups and their leaders. Unfortunately, it was in this net that he had spread that Comrade Hsiang Chung-fa [0686 1813 4099], General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party, was taken and killed. This became the greatest contribution made by Ku Shun-chang in his betrayal of the revolution and capitulation to counterrevolution. Thenceforth, Ku Shun-chang gradually became an important official in the K K assassination organization of Chiang Kai-shek. He became an assassin for Chiang Kai-shek in the company of such counterrevolutionary criminals as Ch'en Kuo-fu [7115 2654 1133], Ch'en Li-fu [7115 4539 1133], Hsu En [1176 1869], and Tseng Chang-fu [2582 2254 5706].

In spite of the fact that the Chinese Communist Party and the revolutionary mass organizations are under extremely difficult conditions of White terror, their organizations have become even more consolidated and tightly knit with the help of the support given by the revolutionary masses, the recent victories won by the Red Army in the soviet areas, the founding of the Provisional Soviet Central Government, and the upsurge of the anti-Kuomintang, anti-imperialist struggle waged by the worker-peasant working masses in White dominated areas. They are even more determinedly leading the worker-peasant masses to rally around the soviet banners and carry on the struggle. Therefore, the venomous plans of renegade Ku Shun-chang to wipe out the revolutionary organizations and revolutionary leaders were not successful. This, therefore, lead to changes in tactics, and baldfaced charges were made to slander our revolutionary comrade leaders and the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee and make them out as murderers in an attempt to use this vicious stratagem to destroy the trust the masses have in the Chinese Communist Party and its leaders. In an even more despicable move, Ku Shun-chang himself published notices in the newspapers calling for the arrest of Comrade Chou En-lai and other leading members of the Chinese Communist Party. He also declared that he had never harmed anyone in the Communist Party, and he had been sequestered in scholarly pursuits in his home. Such shameless denials can never cover up the bloody havoc wrought upon the revolution by his viciously cruel and poisonous hands. This is obvious to everyone in the revolutionary masses. As for arrest warrants, it is not necessary to wait for renegade Ku Shun-chang's notices in the newspapers. Every revolutionary fighter and the worker peasant masses will have their names on the wanted list of the counterrevolutionaries when they physically take part in the revolution, and their lives are forfeit if captured.

Class animosity has reached the stage of struggle to the death, because those that the Kuomintang wanted the counterrevolutionaries to arrest are those the broad working masses of workers and peasants want to support. Anyway, such cruel and fiendish renegades as Ku Shun-chang are abetted by the Kuomintang counterrevolutionaries, and they are precisely the ones the working masses of workers and peasants want to wipe out. Landlords, bourgeoisie, Kuomintang warlords, and bureaucrats are the kind of people the counterrevolutionaries are dependent upon, and they are now at the end of their tether. Whereas those who take part in the revolution, and those who support it, are the extremely broad masses of workers, peasants, the poor of the urban areas, and all oppressed people. And the victorious government of the soviet and the Chinese Communist Party are leading them to wrest nationwide victory for the revolution. The high tide of revolution is continuing to crest, and the 200,000 to 300,000 soldiers of the Kuomintang have been defeated time and again by the worker peasant Red Army, with the Red Army encountering very little resistance from them. So how can one Ku Shun-chang and the Chiang Kai-shek killer organization, the K K group, destroy the revolution? On the contrary, they will be drowned in the huge waves of the revolution!

For this purpose, the Provisional Soviet Central Government issues a special order to the various levels of soviet government, the Red Army, and the Red Guards of various areas, and also proclaims to the working masses of workers and peasants throughout the country to be on special alert against the devious machinations of the Kuomintang counterrevolutionaries and, with one mind, endeavor to capture this renegade, Ku Shun-chang. If this renegade is found in the soviet areas, he is to be captured and handed over to a revolutionary court to stand trial. If he should be encountered in areas under White rule, every revolutionary fighter, every worker, peasant, or the poor has the duty to eliminate him. The capture and destruction of this renegade Ku Shun-chang is a conscious and glorious duty of every revolutionary fighter and of the worker-peasant masses. Such methods as rewards and bribery used by landlords, capitalists, and running dogs of counterrevolution cannot be used to insult us, the exploited and oppressed masses. The broad worker peasant masses!

Consolidate your fronts and strive with one accord for the capture of Ku Shun-chang!

Spread the revolutionary struggle and thoroughly eradicate Chiang Kai-shek's killer organization, the K K!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairmen

People's Committee

10 December 1931

° HUNG CHI Weekly, Vol 27, 17 December 1931
* Historical Material on the Ebb and Flow of Power Within the Chinese Communist Party. Edited by Hsiao Tso-liang [5618 0155 2733] University of Washington 1967.

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OPEN LETTER TO THE PEOPLE OF THE WHOLE COUNTRY ON THE BETRAYAL OF CHINESE NATIONAL INTERESTS BY THE KUOMINTANG REACTIONARY GOVERNMENT

11 December 1931

[Text] Dear Beloved workers, peasants, soldiers and revolutionary students! The Kuomintang reactionary government is once more engaging in new secret deals to betray China, the Chinese national interests, and the Chinese people. According to the news in the papers: The Kuomintang government has reorganized the setting up of a neutral zone in Chin-chou, has proposed the organizing of international control of Tientsin and has recognized all previous secret treaties betraying the country and the national interests.

Brothers and sisters! Do you all understand what this means? It means that tens of thousands of li of territory in Manchuria and several tens of millions of people are irrevocably lost to Japanese imperialism and for them to trample upon! It means that Chin-chou and Tienstsin are to be presented on a platter to international imperialism and for them to despoil, and it is to put heavy chains and shackles on the 400 million people of China so that generation upon generation of our children will be forever subjugated to the oppression and exploitation of Japanese and International imperialism and become slaves without a county! Brothers and sisters! This is unprecedented and shocking news of plotting to betray the nation, but the reactionary ruling class is clamoring such lies as "revolutionary diplomacy," final preparations," and "march north to recover lost territory." This is truly the most shameless plot ever hatched under the sun!

Brothers! Sisters! Can we allow the reactionary rule to connive freely with imperialism to carve us up like sheep? Can we watch our land being forcefully taken away by Japanese imperialism? Can we endure the cruelest kind of oppression, slaughter, and humiliation suffered by slaves in the colonies? Can we silently watch our own brothers being whipped, killed, and slaughtered? Can we unfeelingly watch our sisters being molested, insulted, and raped? No! No! Ten thousand times no! We must rise in unison to oppose, oppose the aggression of Japanese and international imperialism, oppose the shameless capitulation of the Kuomintang rulers, to imperialism, and its betrayal of China! Go on

strike, boycott classes, and stop work! Seize the weapons of the reactionaries to arm ourselves and let us all strive to drive out Japanese imperialism and overthrow the running dogs of imperialism--the Kuomintang!

Brothers! Sisters! Can we still have any illusions and hopes for the Kuomintang rule? The Kuomintang rule has brought year after year of famine without end, caused tens of millions of the working masses to live a life of suffering, homeless, destitute, hungry, and cold, turned millions of jobless workers in the streets with no means of livelihood, fomented endless wars of the warlords which resulted in the death of tens of thousands of soldiers, whose bones lie scattered in the wilderness, made orphans and widows homeless, manufactured countless tragic incidents and secret treaties undermining national interests and humiliating the nation, and caused China to fall under the iron heel of imperialism with no hope of emancipation. Can we have one more minute of patience with the reactionary rule whose crimes stink to high heavens? No, no, ten thousand times no! What should we do, then? We should all rise as one and topple this reactionary rule of the Kuomintang! Organize and unite, prepare our forces and weapons, and carry out armed uprisings to overthrow the Kuomintang rule and establish a people's own government! Carry out a war of anti-imperialism and national liberation under the leadership of our own political political power!

Brothers! Sisters! Can we be victorious over Japanese and international imperialisms after we overthrow the reactionary rule and organized our own political power to fight a revolutionary war? Can we smash the well-trained and well-supported troops of imperialism? Yes, yes, ten thousand times yes! After 4 years of massive war, the bone-weary worker and peasant masses of Russia relied on their own power and the leadership of the Bolsheviks to smash the allied army of 14 nations. And so can we. The unity of tens of millions of people is a force that is superior than all the planes and artillery of the imperialists, and, what is more, we have the proletariat of the world, the oppressed slaves of the colonies, and the USSR, which occupies one-sixth of the world, on our side. Rise up, overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, establish our own government, and wage a bloody war to the death with imperialism!

Brothers! Sisters! The Provisional Central Soviet Government announces to you: The soviet government is the only revolutionary government that opposes imperialism to the end. With the objective to achieve the complete independence and liberation of the Chinese nation, we oppose all open and secret unequal treaties between the reactionary government of China and imperialism; we oppose secret diplomacy; we propose the ousting of all land, sea, and air forces of imperialism from China; we propose the confiscation of all banks, mines, railways, and enterprises of imperialism in China; we deny all foreign debts; we regard the Kuomintang governments in Nanking and Kwangtung as no different from the traitorous government of landlords and the capitalist class, and they have no right whatsoever to represent the working masses of China. The soviet government holds that all negotiations and agreements between them and imperialism are null and void. With regard to the Manchuria incident, we

propose the immediate and unconditional pull-out of all Japanese troops from China, abrogate all Sino-Japanese treaties, confiscate all Japanese banks, mines, railways, and business enterprises in China, recover all foreign concessions, abolish consular jurisdictional rights, and draft new and equal treaties with due respect to the independence and freedom of Soviet China. Otherwise, we shall carry out a resolute war of national liberation against the Japanese imperialists. However, in order to attain the independence and liberation of the Chinese nation, in order to carry out the war of national liberation and achieving victory, it is necessary to first of all overthrow the traitorous, counterrevolutionary Kuomintang government, the betrayer of Chinese national interests, and establish a soviet type democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants over the entire country!

Brothers! Sisters! Imperialist aggression is becoming more and more ruthless, the national betrayal of the Kuomintang is becoming more despicable day by day, and the sufferings of the working masses have become more and more unbearable! Rise up, the working masses of the entire nation, unite, organize, and arm to fight a decisive battle with imperialism and with the Kuomintang! Rally around the banner of the soviet and wipe out the counterrevolutionary rule of the Kuomintang with the worker-peasant revolution, overthrow the semi-colonial type of rule of imperialism in China, and achieve the freedom and liberation of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people! Oppose imperialism and oppose the oppression and the butchering of the anti-imperialist movement by the Kuomintang with strikes, school boycotts, and work stoppages!

Arm the masses and drive out Japanese imperialism!

Abrogate all negotiations and secret treaties between the Kuomintang and imperialism!

Overthrow the counterrevolutionary rule of the Kuomintang!

Down with imperialism!

Support the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic--the Chinese people's own government!

Support the Red Army--the Chinese people's own, and the only armed force that opposes imperialism to the end!

Long live the independence and liberation of the Chinese nation!

Long live Soviet China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
Vice Chairmen

The Provisional Central Revolutionary
Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Fourth Anniversary of the Kwangtung Uprising, December 1931

o "Soviet China," Soviet Russia Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow) 1933

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IMPORTANT DIRECTIVE ON CONSTRUCTION OF THE SOVIET

15 December 1931

[Text] In the past, the organization of the various levels of the soviet has been poorly structured. First, administrative areas were too large to facilitate administration; second, too many levels of government slowed the flow of directives and caused poor liaison; and, third, of special importance is the fact that election procedures were not comprehensive. The election of various levels of government was done either by simply calling mass meetings or by convening representatives meetings or joint conferences of chairmen without passing through the various stages of the election process. Especially the basic organization of the soviet--the urban and rural soviets--had not been truly established. Fourth, the division of labor and the work procedures within the various levels of government were, on the whole, unsuitable. All of the above contradicted the constitution of the soviet and the laws and regulation of the central government.

The provisional central government now announces that the county government in the various areas must begin anew to delimit administrative areas and reorganize the various levels of government in accordance with the constitution and the provisional laws and regulations proclaimed by the central government. First in importance is the re-demarcation of (administrative) areas and villages (abolishing hamlets and small units) in accordance with the provisional regulations governing the delimiting of administrative areas. Next is the election of village and town soviets (these are the basic organizations of the soviet) in accordance with the election process, and then, in accordance with the provisional laws and regulations governing the organization of local governments, reconstruct the entire structure of the soviet from the village and town levels to the provincial soviet. This is a task of the utmost importance and every level of local government must, with the greatest determination and with all its power, carefully and meticulously carry it out. Only by so doing will we be able to avoid having the re-delimited administrative areas become as full of faults and riddled with imperfections as the former ones were, and only thus can the various newly reorganized levels of government avoid becoming like the old. If such weaknesses are to be eliminated the various provincial governments must exert their greatest efforts in directing this movement to construct the local soviets. Besides giving instructions the issuance of various notices with detailed specifics, conferences of

persons with principal responsibilities in the two levels of county and administrative area governments are to be convened at local sites and provincial locations. Then, select a suitable [deletion] to call a meeting of persons with principal responsibilities in the various village governments, with the provincial and county governments dispatching personnel to direct these meetings and discuss clearly and in detail the significance of the soviet construction movement and the practical ways to carry it out. Moreover, the leadership must dispatch personnel to various counties to inspect when the actual delimiting of administrative areas and reelection of governments are in progress in order to resolve difficulties and problems and correct errors as they arise. The direction of administrative areas by county, and village by administrative area, should follow this procedure. It is imperative to achieve excellent results in this current movement of soviet construction.

The two provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien, and the affiliated county of Jui-ching, have set the period beginning from 20 December 1931 to 31 March 1932 as the period for the movement of constructing soviets in accordance with the new laws. The soviets of these two provinces and of Jui-ching county, should immediately draw up suitable work schedule during this set period to enable the re-delimiting of administrative areas and election of various level soviets to be accomplished in a planned and successful manner within period of 100 days (the delimiting and election of the first level of village will consume a major portion of the effort and time), as well as keeping the central government constantly informed of what has transpired so that it can give timely directions. The other provinces are to implement as of date of receipt of this directive.

By order of

Mao Tse Tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao, (Vice Chairmen)

Executive Committee of the Central Government

15 December 1931

o "Red China," Vol 2, 18 December 1931

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RESOLUTION ON THE EXECUTION OF THE LABOR LAW

20 December 1931

[Text] The following decision has been made by the Central Executive Committee on the execution of the labor law:

1. It is to be executed in accordance with the articles of the labor law passed by the First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet.

2. This labor law becomes effective as of 1 January 1932.

3. Following the implementation of this labor law all decrees and laws and decisions on labor questions previously announced by the various levels of government become ineffective.

4. The People's Committee and the Ministry of Labor of the Central Government can promulgate various special laws, specific regulations and tables in accordance with the regulations set forth in the labor law and to expand their applications.

5. Should there be amendments and addenda to the labor law it will be done by order of the Central Executive Committee.

6. This labor law is effective within the territories of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

7. Offenses against the various articles of the labor law and all other laws regarding labor to be promulgated in the future will be punished in accordance with the penalty set forth in the criminal code.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

Central Executive Committee

20 December 1931

o "Soviet China," USSR Foreign Workers' Publishing House (Moscow) 1933

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LABOR LAW

Adopted at The First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet

Issued 1 January 1932

[Text] Chapter One. General Provisions

Article 1.

All hired workers in businesses, factories, mines, and workshops, as well as all production enterprises and various organizations (State, cooperative, and private are all included) should enjoy the provisions of this labor law.

Article 2.

Fighters and commanders serving in the Army, Navy, and Air Force of the Chinese Soviet Republic are not subject to the restrictions of this law.

Article 3.

Collective labor agreements and other labor contracts, regardless of whether they have, or have not, been put into effect, are all declared ineffective if their conditions of labor are inferior than those stipulated under this law.

Article 4.

Besides enjoying the benefits of the working conditions stipulated by regulations proclaimed separately by the Central Executive Committee, the People's Committee, and the Ministry of Labor, tenant farmers, forestry workers, seasonal workers, transportation workers, coolies, female domestics and kitchen help, and other workers with special job descriptions are also covered by the general stipulations of this labor law.

Article 5.

A separate determination will be made by the Ministry of Labor of the Central government on the weight of loads handled by manual laborers (including stevedores, cart pullers, boat handlers, sedan chair bearers, and pole carriers) and specific regulations covering the entitlement of independent laborers to the rights stipulated under the labor law when hired will be proclaimed separately by the Ministry.

Chapter Two. Hiring Procedures

Article 6.

The process of hiring workers must be handled by trade unions and employment offices and it must be based upon the collective contract. All types of contracting on piece work system and foreman contracting system made by the so-called foremen, labor contracting personnel and compradores, as well as by any private agencies are strictly prohibited.

Article 7.

All employment offices must be organized by the labor departments of the various levels of government and it is strictly prohibited to set up private employment offices or hiring agencies.

Article 8.

Requiring workers to pay for finding them jobs or garnishee their wages for compensations for so doing.

Article 9.

Those who are in search of work shall register with the employment offices set up in various localities by the Ministry of Labor and be listed in the register of unemployed workers.

Chapter Three. Collective Contracts and Labor Contracts

Article 10.

A collective contract is an agreement drawn up between the trade union representing the workers and staff on the one hand and the employer on the other. In this collective contract are stipulated the job requirements as set forth by employers in businesses and organizations, and private and household employers for the employee. In this contract the contents of the contract agreement to be drawn up between the employer and the employee are further stipulated.

Article 11.

The stipulations of the collective contract are applicable to the entire body of workers in businesses or organizations regardless of whether they have or have not joined the trade union.

Article 12.

Collective contracts duly registered with the Ministry of Labor become effective as of the date of signing by both parties concerned or as of the date set forth in the contract.

Article 13.

A labor contract is an agreement between one or several workers and the employer, and should the conditions of the labor contract be inferior to the conditions set forth in the current labor law or in the collective contract they are to be completely nullified. The length of the effective period of the limited collective contract and labor contract shall not exceed 1 year. The union has the right to request cancellation before the end of the contracted period.

Chapter Four. Working Hours

Article 14

In accordance with the stipulation of this labor law, the normal daily working hours for all hired workers shall not exceed 8 hours.

Article 15.

The daily working hours for young workers between the ages of 16 and 18 shall not exceed 6 hours, and those for child workers between the ages of 14 and 16 shall not exceed 4 hours.

Article 16.

All workers in industrial departments hazardous to health (such as underground mining for lead, and zinc and other work with poisonous substances) shall have their daily working hours curtailed to less than 6 hours, and in certain kinds of work in industries which are harmful to health the daily working hours shall be curtailed to a certain number of hours, and this will be stipulated and proclaimed by the Ministry of Labor.

Article 17.

The normal work period for night workers shall be 1 hour less than normal working hours (an 8-hour normal working day will be shortened to 7 hours, a 7-hour day to 6 hours, and so on).

(Note) Night work is defined as the work hours beginning at 9 in the evening to the morning hours of the next day.

Article 18.

All industrial and seasonal work shall not exceed the time limit set by this labor law, with the exception of those certain industrial departments that have been specially authorized to do so by labor inspection organizations or by trade unions.

Chapter Five. Rest Periods

Article 19.

Every worker shall normally have a continuous 42 hours of unbroken rest every week.

Article 20.

Workers who have worked continuously for over 6 months in any business enterprise must have at least 2 weeks vacation with pay. Workers engaged in industries with health hazards shall have at least 4 weeks vacation with pay each year.

Article 21.

All work shall cease on the following commemorative and festive days: a) 1 January, New Years; b) 21 January, the anniversary of the death of Lenin, the leader of world revolution; c) 7 February, the day commemorating the massacre of Peking-Hankow railway workers by the warlords; d) 18 March, commemorating the Paris Commune; e) 1 May, International Labor Day; f) 30 May, commemorating the 30 May Massacre and Anti-imperialism Day; g) 7 November, marking the proletarian revolution and the founding of the Chinese Soviet Republic; h) and 11 December, commemorating the Canton Uprising.

(Note) The labor departments at various levels of government may, in consultation with the local general trade union and in accordance with the local situation, set aside local commemorative days as special rest days and wages will be paid as usual for these commemorative rest days.

Article 22.

Working hours on the eve of rest days, commemorative days, and festive days shall be 6 hours at the most.

Article 23.

The daily work hours specified in this labor law include a meal time of from 30 minutes to 1 hour for which wages shall not be deducted.

Article 24.

Leaves of absences due to sicknesses and pregnancies given to workers and staff are not to be included in the vacation period stipulated under Article 20.

Chapter Six. Wages

Article 25.

The wages of any worker shall not be less than the actual minimum wage level stipulated by the Ministry of Labor. The minimum wage level of the various industrial departments shall be reviewed at least once every 3 months by the Ministry of Labor.

Article 26.

The actual wages in various business enterprises (State or private shall be stipulated through the collective contract entered into by the workers (as represented by the union) and the owner or manager of the business enterprise.

Article 27.

Workers are to be paid double wages for extra work specially authorized by labor inspection agencies and the trade unions.

Article 28.

Workers working on rest days or commemorative days with authorization from the labor inspection agency shall receive double wages.

Article 29.

Female and young workers doing the same work as adult male and female workers shall receive equal pay. Although child and young workers have a shortened work period, their wages shall be calculated on the basis of an entire day's work in accordance with the wage level of that profession.

Article 30.

Pay for night work shall be higher than for normal (day) work. A one-seventh increase in wages shall be made for those working 8 hours of night shift and one-fifth for those working the 6-hour schedule (hazardous work) at night. Those who work nights on a piece-work basis shall not only receive their earned wages but also have their wages increased by one-fifth of their average pay if they work 8 hours.

Article 31.

Wages are to be paid in cash (not in kind) and they shall be paid once every week or once every half-month. (This shall not be later than half a month and the accumulation of unpaid wages by any means is prohibited), and shall be paid directly into the hands of the worker.

Article 32.

Vacation pay shall be paid to workers and staff before they go on vacation each year.

Article 33.

On piece work employment the workers (with the trade union representing the worker) and the employer may draw up a collective contract. Daily production rate and daily median wage shall be stipulated on all piece work (to be calculated on the basis of time required for each piece of work in every industry).

Chapter Seven. Female, Youth, and Child Workers

Article 34.

The following articles specially protecting female, youth, and child workers are formulated in addition to the general rights they enjoy under the chapters of this law.

Article 35.

Female, youth, and child workers are prohibited from working in industrial departments where the work is complicated, heavy or dangerous. The industrial departments where female, youth, and child workers are to be prohibited will be reviewed and announced by the Ministry of Labor (such as underground mining, rubber, lead, copper, resin, tin foundries and other similar areas of work where the work area is either too high or too low).

Article 36.

Female workers are prohibited from working in any business enterprise where lift loads exceed 40 catties. Should it be necessary to include some female workers in some special industries or in the course of operation, their work periods should not exceed two-thirds of normal work time.

Article 37.

Male or female workers under the age of 18, or female workers who are pregnant or with nursing infants are strictly prohibited from doing night work.

Article 38.

All female workers engaged in physical labor will rest for 8 weeks before and 8 weeks after giving birth and their wages will be continued during this period. Female staff in organization engaged in mental labor (such as female clerks and secretaries) shall rest with pay for 6 weeks before and 6 weeks after giving birth. Two weeks rest with pay is given for miscarriages. (Note) Wages paid to female workers for the period of rest preceding and following the giving of birth and for miscarriages are to be borne by the owner of the factory. Where social insurance offices have been established it will be paid through them.

Article 39.

It is not permitted to terminate female workers during the period covering the 5 months preceding the giving of birth and 9 months after giving birth. Without obtaining their agreement they cannot be sent out on business or transferred to another locality.

Article 40.

Besides enjoying the regulations under Article 23 of this Labor Law female workers with nursing infants will have a regulated half-hour rest every 3 hours for the purpose of nursing the baby and wages are not permitted to be deducted for this. Furthermore, a nursery and nursing room will be set up in the factory and the factory will be responsible for employing personnel to look ater them.

Article 41.

The hiring of males and females under the age of 14 is strictly prohibited and child workers between the ages of 14 and 16 can be hired only after permission has been given by the labor inspection agency.

Article 42.

A complete and thorough registration of ages, work periods, and wages of youth and child workers must be made by every business enterprise.

Article 43.

Vocational or factory schools will be established to further advance the skills of young workers and they will also be provided with supplementary education. The factory will cover the expenses. The old system of apprenticeship and the apprentice system fostering the development of various types of wages are strictly prohibited. All conditions inferior to the stipulations carried in this labor law (such as wages, hours, and benefits) are proclaimed null and void.

Chapter Eight. Work Safety

Article 48.

All sorts of fines and docking of wages must be strictly prohibited. Reimbursement for damages is also prohibited. At the same time, collection of money for security collateral or for salary savings are strictly prohibited.

Article 49.

No wage deductions should be made for work stoppage during production due to the factory's fault (such as damage to machinery, insufficient raw materials, and the factory's inability to implement regulations set forth by the Soviet).

Article 50.

Regardless of the length of time involved, there shall be no docking of wages of workers participating in soviet elections, attending a mass meeting of the soviet, going to a mass meeting or conference of workers and staff, performing the work of a factory committee member, or being summoned by a court as a material witness, an expert witness, or to jury duty.

Article 51.

Workers and staff losing their jobs on being conscripted for military service with the Red Army are to be compensated with 3 months average wages before their departure.

Article 52.

Employers must provide workers with tools and they shall not deduct wages for the usage of the tools. If the worker uses his own tools, the employer will reimburse him the original cost. A detailed method will be worked out in the collective contract.

Article 53.

The factory will fund the construction of workers' dormitories and allocate them to workers and their families free of charge. Factories which have not yet constructed dormitories will subsidize workers with a suitable sum of rent money every month.

Article 54.

The employer shall issue half a month's average wage as severance pay if workers and staff are willing to dissolve the labor contract. If the employer terminates workers or staff, he must give them 3 months' average wages as severance pay.

Article 55.

The employer must preserve his original salary and average salary should a worker or staff become temporarily incapicitated.

Article 56.

The implementation of the labor law will be surpervised by the labor inspector. He has the authority to close down that enterprise which he considers as having the potential of causing immediate harm to the physical well-being and the life of the workers. The duties of the labor inspector will be defined separately by the Ministry of Labor.

Article 57.

All those who contracted occupational diseases in the course of their work after being employed are held in the sight of this law as similar to sustaining work-related injuries and shall be fully compensated.

Chapter Nine. The All-China Federation of Trade Unions and Other Organizations.

Article 58.

The All-China Federation of Trade Unions is formed by uniting all workers and staff of all business enterprises and organizations throughout the nation. All types of trade unions and other local organizations must be organized in accordance with the rules and regulations passed by the National Congress of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions. All types of joint associations not organized in accordance with the said rules and regulations shall not be termed as a trade union, and also shall not be permitted to enjoy the legal rights of a congress of workers.

Article 59.

The Soviet guarantees the trade unions freedom of action. They have the right to proclaim and lead strikes, negotiate on behalf of workers, and sign contracts. The general trade unions of industrial workers in the various counties and provinces may represent workers in ratifying collective contracts of commerce and industry of local workers.

Article 60.

All collective or labor contracts are to be implemented under the supervision of factory or shop committees because they are the basic organizations of trade unions in enterprises. They are also allowed to supervise the implementation of this labor law and other laws pertaining to labor.

Article 61.

The principal task of the trade union is to represent individual or collective workers and protect the interests of all hired workers. It is also to strive for means to improve all economic and cultural conditions of the worker, using various means to vigorously assist and strengthen the development, as well as protecting, the soviet movement and the soviet government.

Article 62.

In all the business enterprises of the State and cooperatives, the trade union directly participates and assists in the economy and the administration of these industries. In a private industry the trade union establishes a special organization to supervise production.

Article 63.

The soviet government provides material assistance to trade unions organizations and also allows them to enjoy such municipal public utilities as the mails, telephones, telegrams, electricity, running water, and preferential treatment on railways and steamers.

Article 64.

The employer will set aside a sum equivalent to 2 percent of the total wages for administrative expenses of the trade union, and another 1 percent for cultural expenses for the workers.

Article 65.

The employer must have the agreement of the trade union to terminate a worker. Representing the workers, the factory and shop committees of the trade union participate in arbitration committees to resolve all disputes between labor and capital.

Article 66.

Every factory and shop committee is for protecting the working conditions of the workers in their own industry. Every factory committee must select three to seven active workers to organize a special committee on labor safety. The role of this committee is to a) inspect whether all the articles on labor safety in the labor law and in the collective contract have been implemented; and b) whether the proposals made in the inspection log of the labor inspection organization have been put into effect.

Article 67.

The trade union has the right to propose to the Soviet government for the proclamation of various types of labor laws and also to nominate and recommend

(the appointment of) labor inspectors. The members of the factory committee have the right to freely enter and leave the factory and inspect the entire factory with the credentials of the factory committee.

Chapter Ten. Social Insurance.

Article 68.

Social insurance is applicable to all hired workers regardless of whether he is with State, cooperative, or private industry, his length of service, or the wage system he comes under.

Article 69.

Besides the regular wages he should pay, the employer must turn over 10 to 15 percent of the total wages as social insurance funds. This table of percentages will be separately proclaimed under special order of the Ministry of Labor. It is absolutely forbidden to collect insurance premiums from the insured or to deduct them from his wages.

Article 70.

The following are the types of compensations under social insurance:

A. Free medical aid: Medical expenses will be paid regardless of whether it is for general illness, illness contracted from work, work related injuries or deaths, or occupational diseases. His family also enjoy similar free medical aid.

B. Subsidies for those temporarily incapacitated from work: The wages during absences from work due to sudden illnesses, injuries, separations, pregnancies, giving birth, and attending to ailing family members.

C. Unemployment compensation: 1. Trade union members with over a year's service are eligible, and over 2 year's employment is required for non-members; 2. The unemployed worker will be able to receive unemployment compensation only when he has registered with the employment office or the local trade union, or an organization certifies him as an ex-employee, or he has a trade union membership card; 3. The length of the period for paying unemployment compensation may be limited in accordance with the local situation and the condition of the insurance fund. However, an unemployed worker may still be eligible for a reasonable amount of unemployment compensation.

D. Compensation for the disabled and the aged and infirm: Cash compensation must be paid to any worker who becomes partially or totally disabled through occupational disease, injury, or for any other reason, or can no longer work because of age, and after the nature and severity of the disability and his family situation have been examined and verified by a special committee created for this sole purpose.

E. Child subsidy: As in the case of a worker who, after giving birth, needs to obtain subsidy for the purchase of necessary commodities and milk for the baby for 10 months. However, the aggregate total of such a subsidy shall not exceed 2 months' wages.

F. Funeral and burial subsidy: At the death of the worker or his family member, funeral and burial expenses are to be obtained from the social insurance office.

G. Poverty stipend for workers' families: When a worker whose family depend wholly on his earnings dies or is missing, his family is entitled to compensation. The size of the compensation and the length of the payment period will depend upon such conditions as the size of the worker's family, and this is to be examined and decided upon by the special committee. A worker who has been hired by, and has worked for more than 6 months in any business enterprise is entitled to this stipend. (Note) Sudden illness compensation is calculated from the first day of the illness and may be as high as the worker's wages. However, it shall not exceed the maximum amount normally stipulated for such compensations. A person disabled from occupational disease is equally entitled to this sickness compensation until the stipulated disability compensation becomes effective.

(Note) Minor's unemployment compensation may be applied and obtained by the worker regardless of the number of hours he works or of the type of work he is engaged in.

Article 71.

The employer cannot question the management of the social insurance office and the application of the social insurance funds. He has only the obligation to pay the social insurance premiums. The congress of trade unions will elect a control committee for social insurance organizations. Furthermore, with the approval of the government and under the supervision of the trade union and the Ministry of Labor, this committee will manage the collection of social insurance funds and its application.

(Note) The various subsidies listed under this chapter will be borne by the employer if a social insurance office has not yet been established.

Chapter Eleven. The Organization for Arbitration Between Labor and Capital and for Handling Cases of Labor Law Crimes

Article 72.

All cases concerning labor law crimes and disputes between labor and capital will either be decided by the labor court of the People's Court and enforced, or resolved peacefully through the adjudicative committee formed by representatives from both labor and capital and the arbitration committee in the Ministry of Labor. Details of the functions of the adjudicative and the arbitration committees will be announced separately by the Ministry of Labor.

Article 73.

Crimes against the labor law and all laws on labor as well as collective contracts will be handled by the labor court of the People's Court, regardless of what punishment will be meted out under the criminal code.

Chapter Twelve. By-Laws

Article 74.

The Ministry of Labor will interpret the labor law should questions arise and there is dispute in the course of implementation. In areas which have not yet been united with the central soviet areas the labor department of the provincial government of that soviet area will do the interpreting.

Article 75.

In the soviet areas not yet united with the central soviet area, the highest political power organization has the authority to proclaim all detailed regulations and tables that the Ministry of Labor has the authority to promulgate.

o Anthology of Red Bandits Reactionary Documents, Vol 5, 1935

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DETAILED FUNCTIONS OF THE ELECTION COMMITTEE

Adopted at the First Session of the Central Executive Committee

December 1931

[Text] Chapter One. General Provisions

Article 1.

In accordance with the articles 76 to 79 of the Constitution, and as set forth in the various articles of the election process, a work procedure (standard operations procedure?) is especially proclaimed to facilitate the work of the election committee.

Article 2.

The Central Executive Committee has the authority to rescind or revise this process, and it has the right to interpret unclear points or points in dispute regarding this work procedure.

Article 3.

This work procedure is to be implemented in the entire territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic, and all election committees shall function in accordance with this procedure.

Chapter Two. Staffing of the Election Committee

Article 4.

After the election committee has been established in accordance with the election process, the members of the committee should lose no time in assigning work among themselves, with each member shouldering part of the function of the election committee.

Article 5.

The committee members should not be divorced from production. They may be relieved of the work assigned to them when they are managing an election so as to devote themselves to it.

Article 6.

The employment of special functionaries, such as secretaries and registration clerks, may be considered, but, whenever possible, employ those from the executive committeesof administrative areas and urban soviets.

Article 7.

It is not necessary to set up a separate office as the premises of the administrative areas' executive committees and of the urban soviets may be utilized.

Chapter Three. Pre-election Work

Article 8.

Voter registration should be carried out in an election area 2 weeks before the election. In registering voters, the election committee may assign special registration clerks for the unorganized electorate, and this task may be entrusted to the leaders of the organized electorate.

Article 9.

Registration of voters should be made on voters registration cards published by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 10.

After the registration, the election committee must designate members to organize committees for examining these cards.

Article 11.

When the examination has been completed, a list of qualified voters should be published and put up in the residential areas or in the fields of the voters. (Note) In accordance with the election laws, election notices should be circulated. However, in order to facilitate the election work, the publication of a voters' list is substituted as a temporary measure.

Article 12.

The voters' list should be published 3 days before the election takes place.

Article 13.

The draft of the proposals forwarded by the voters through their representatives should be prepared before the election and first published in the areas where the voters live so that they will have prior understanding of what proposals should be made.

Article 14.

Before the election, the committee should publish the total number of voters in the various locales of the elections and the number of representatives and alternate representatives that should be elected (a ratio of five representatives to one alternate representative). If the number of alternates are not enough to fulfill this ratio, one alternate member may be elected. Besides, a list of those stripped of their voting rights should be published after it has been processed through the executive committee of the area and the urban soviet.

Article 15.

The time and place of the election must be made public 3 days before the election.

Article 16.

Prepare the election site, post gate guards, the assign workers to register the people entering the site. Voters should be let into the election site in the order of the name list.

Chapter Four. Work During the Election

Article 17.

Any and all of the election meetings must be attended by the chairman of the election committee, or assign a fully empowered representative to participate.

Article 18.

The chairman of the election committee or the fully empowered representative should announce the opening of the election meeting followed by an announcement on whether the attendance of the meeting has the full required number as prescribed by law.

Article 19.

The chairman of the election committee or the representative plenipotentiary is the presiding chairman of the election.

Article 20.

The first item on the agenda of the election meeting is the announcement by the chairman of the election committee or the fully empowered representative, in accordance with requirement of articles 73, 74, and 75 of the Constitution, of who has the right to vote, who has the right to be elected, who has been stripped of his right to vote or to be elected.

Chapter Five. Post Election Work

Article 21.

The election committee must collect together the documents of the election (such as voters' registration lists, minutes of the election meetings, registration of attendance) and hand them over to the executive committee of the area or the urban soviet for review.

Article 22.

The election committee must make a summation report on the meeting to the area's executive committee or the urban soviet. A detailed financial report should also be made to the area executive committee or the urban soviet on the expense outlay of the election committee.

Article 23.

After the close of the meeting, the election committee will wind up its affairs, turn over everything bought by the committee to the area executive committee or the urban soviet and cease its function.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairmen

Central Executive Committee

o "Detailed Election Regulations of the Chinese Soviet Republic," printed by the Central Executive Committee, December 1931
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PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR CARRYING OUT REGULATIONS GOVERNING PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR RED ARMY MEMBERS

Directive No 9 of the Executive Committee

1 February 1932

[Text] The First National Congress of the Chinese Worker-Peasant-Soldier Congress passed the regulations governing preferential treatment for Red Army members. These regulations on preferential treatment have set forth many superior privileges for the Red Army members. Why so many superior conditions have to be regulated for the Red Army members? Because, in the past several years of struggle, the Red Army has been the main force in the resolute implementation of agrarian revolution, the determined opposition against imperialism, and against the Kuomintang warlords, and it is a powerful defender of the soviet government. In the past history of the revolutionary struggles of China it has a glorious record of heroic struggles. Presently, the Chinese revolution is in an environment of savage revolutionary warfare and it is in a period of actively carrying out this revolutionary warfare, to wage even more ferocious warfare against the imperialist Kuomintang warlords. To first achieve victory in one or several provinces, and then victory throughout the nation, there must be a massive Red Army. The Red Army fights for the liberation of workers, peasants, and all oppressed people. They are fighters who do battle for the soviet political power, struggle for the liberation and the interests of workers and peasants and all oppressed people with the greatest spirit of sacrifice. Therefore, the soviet government and the worker-peasant masses should naturally give special preferential treatment to the Red Army members so that these fighters will feel assured and will not worry about their families, thereby enabling them to concentrate wholly on fighting bravely. For this reason the First National Congress specially set forth these regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army members.

In the past, the various local soviets have certainly set forth certain regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army members and their families. However, in their actual implementation, there was a lack of attention and care, and, in some areas, outright neglect or no implementation at all. That was tantamount to sabotaging the Red Army and created a great obstacle to the expansion of the Red Army and the strengthening of its combat

effectiveness. This is a major error. From now on all levels of soviet government should strictly rectify the errors of the past, and absolutely ensure the carrying out of the regulations passed by the All Soviets Congress on preferential treatment of Red Army members. Henceforth, should there again be neglect in giving preferential treatment to the Red Army members, or there is a dragging of feet in the implementation of regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army members, it will be punished in a similar manner as for counterrevolution. Therefore, the following practical measures for the implementation of the regulations governing preferential treatment of Red Army members are set forth to facilitate putting them into effect.

1. With the areas as the unit, immediately investigate who have become members of the Red Army, the number of people in the families of these members, how much land they have, how many labor effectives they possess, who lack, or have inadequate, labor, total them up and make two copies, retaining one for reference and one to be turned over to the county soviet for record. This task is to be completed as of 1 March.

2. The political departments and political commissars of the various armies of the Red Army and its independent divisions, as well as local armed forces divorced from production, will be responsible for detailed registration of all commanders, fighters, and workers by name, age, domicile, and family situation, and report them to the revolutionary military commission or the local soviet government. This task is also deadlined for completion before 1 March.

3. The local government and the political department and commissars of the Red Army will investigate to the best of their ability those fighters of the Red Army already sacrificed, and report to the revolutionary military committee or the local soviet government so as to have the county governments take action.

4. The responsible persons of various armies and local armed force units will investigate and differentiate by class composition, or by the principal or support roles played by those in the Red Army or local armed forces who have, in the past, participated in counterrevolutionary organizations regardless of whether they are those who have been sentenced or who have confessed, reformed, and remained in the units, and report them to higher echelon organizations so that decisions could be made on whether their land should, or should not be, confiscated and these decisions turned over to the various local governments for implementation after decisions have been reached in these cases.

5. Except for Red Army fighters with foreign domicile, the registration ledgers of the various armies are to be forwarded by the Central Government to the various area governments. They, in turn, will compare the name lists of the various army units with their own and report the result to their own higher level of government for record. If there are discrepancies, they are still required to be examined carefully and reported to the higher level government for review so as to avoid omissions or errors.

6. The current important problem on the implementation of the regulations governing preferential treatment is the mobilizing of the masses to help the families of Red Army members cultivate their land and to farm public land half for the Red Army. This should be done by the area and village government in accordance with the compiled name lists, totalling up the number of Red Army member families with no labor or have inadequate labor force, and calculate the amount of voluntary labor needed. Then total how much labor force is available in the various villages of the entire area and, accordingly, allocate the worker-peasant masses of a certain area to help the families of that area in farming their land and to cultivate the public land of the Red Army. The village soviets are assigned this responsibility and practical allocations are to be made and cultivation carried out by them.

7. After receipt of notice from the area soviet, the various village soviets are to immediately call a meeting of the village soviet and decide upon the method of implementation. Then call the families of Red Army members and the entire populace of the village to a meeting to discuss and publicize the significance of assisting families of Red Army members in farming their land and the cultivation of public land of the Red Army, and the number of voluntary labor force the village is obligated to provide. After the masses have approved, allocate the number of days of voluntary labor and the schedule in a practical manner. At the same time, the village soviet should also, do their best to convene a meeting of responsible persons of poor peasant groups and tenant farmer union and request their help in mobilizing the masses to carry out the cultivation of public lands held by the Red Army and extend assistance to families of Red Army members in the farming of their land. The village soviet will be responsible for the supervision at cultivation and harvesting periods and, at the same time, it must guard against giving coercive orders (the rich peasants are exceptions).

8. At the time of cultivation and at harvesting period the village soviet will apply the methods of propaganda and encouragement to mobilize the broad masses before they take place and assist the Red Army and the families of Red Army members in these tasks based the voluntary labor force assigned, thereby completing the cultivation and the harvesting of Red Army fields somewhat ahead of the others.

9. Regarding measures for retaining public land for Red Army fighters of foreign domicile, they should be in accordance with how much land has been distributed to each person in that area and the stipulated quota of public land set aside. This quota will be large or small in accordance with the land distributed. For example, the method set up by Kiangsi Province is to allocate public paddies for three to five people in villages where the per person distribution is 5 tan, and more for those villages with distribution exceeding 5 tan. Those villages distributing less than 5 tan per person should also allocate public paddies for at least two persons. The other soviet areas may allocate in a manner similar to Kiangsi's method. Besides

the necessity for old soviet areas to take measures for allocating public paddies, all newly developed areas must give their special attention to setting aside of public paddies when land is distributed.

10. With the administrative area as a unit all public paddies in the area are to be totalled and reported to the county and then to the provincial governments. A report on the total amount of public paddies in the entire province is then made to the Central Government. The General Political Department of the Red Army will then distribute the public paddies available in the various counties in accordance with the number of persons with foreign domiciles in the Red Army. While reporting this, on the one hand, to the Central Government for forwarding to local governments for announcement to the masses, on the other hand announcements will also be made to the fighters of various army units on how much public land have been newly allocated and their locations. The fighters of the various units will then elect representatives to inspect the allocated paddies at these locations.

11. Special markings should be set up by the area government on the public paddies in various areas with the notation that it is the public paddies of fighters of a certain army unit. Regarding such items as seeds and fertilizers, they will be mainly supplied by mobilizing the masses, and, when possible, the government will provide additional support.

12. After the harvest each year the area soviet will be responsible for selling the harvested products and changing them into currency. This will then be forwarded to the county government, and the provincial government will hand the currency over to the Red Army for distribution to the person enjoying the privilege of the public paddies.

13. The names, domiciles, and families of Red Army fighters with foreign domicile who have sacrificed their lives should be registered so that when the revolution developed to that area at a future date the Central Government will issue orders to the local government to investigate and certify in accordance with the addresses and give preferential treatment to their families in accordance with these regulations.

14. If, after the death of a Red Army fighter, his family has inadequate means, or no means at all, to maintain a livelihood, the government should give a financial subsidy in accordance with the living expense needs of the area until his children become self-supporting, or until the death of parents and spouse where there are no issues.

15. The children of Red Army members have the right to free tuition in areas where schools have been established. The village and area soviets will be responsible for carrying this out.

16. Red Army fighters and their families enjoy special privileges in communications, and this will be implemented in accordance with Directive No 1 of the People's Committee.

17. With regard to disabled Red Army fighters, they will be handled by the Red Army Relief and Comfort Committee of the (central) military committee and the Disabled Veterans Hospital in accordance with the regulations governing preferential treatment.

18. For the purpose of carrying out the aforementioned measures and all the stipulations set forth in the regulations governing preferential treatment of Red Army members, a committee has been set up under the military affairs department of the various county governments, and it will be responsible for the management of matters concerning the preferential treatment of Red Army members. A provincial committee has been set up under the provincial government with the responsibility to oversee and direct the various county committees for the preferential treatment of Red Army members.

19. In order to supervise the thorough implementation of regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army members by the various levels of government, the Worker-Peasant Inspection Department of the various levels of government will be responsible for dispatching personnel at any time to inspect, and if it is discovered that the regulations are not being implemented or charges had been brought by Red Army fighters or their families, the department will launch speedy investigations and take quick measures to rectify the situation. The courts may prosecute such cases and punishment will be meted out in accordance with the offense.

Spring is now here and spring cultivation is imminent. The various levels of governments and the political organizations of the Red Army must immediately discuss practical items of implementation and carry them out in accordance with the regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army members and the measures delineated in this directive. The progress of implementation is to be reported to higher echelon at all times up to the Central Government for review. It is of vital importance that there must be no negligence nor dragging of feet.

By Order of,

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Hsiang Ying, Chang kuo-tao, Vice Chairmen
Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

° "Soviet China," USSR Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow), 1933
* "Soviet China," Soviet Research Institution, China Book Store (Shanghai), 1932
* "Red China," Vol 8 (To be continued), 3 February 1932.

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RESOLUTION ON THE CONVICTION OF IMPORTANT MILITARY CRIMINALS OF THE REFORMED FACTION OF THE AB GROUP BY THE PROVISIONAL SUPREME COURT

February 1932

/Text/ the text of the three court rulings should be approved in its entirety. However, a revision must be made of the following points:

1. Ts'ao Shu-hsiang was originally sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, but this Executive Committee meeting considers this sentence to be too light. This is because she was commissar of the Fourth Branch Hospital of the Red Army Hospital and blatantly joined the AB Group to sabotage the Soviet regime and the Red Army, thus violating the trust of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Moreover, Ts'ao Shu-hsiang had studied in the Soviet Union for 3 years. During the time of her study in the Soviet Union, she sided politically with all bad elements. After her return to the homeland, she came to the soviet area to work and joined the AB Group. Thus it is obvious that her joining a counterrevolutionary organization was not accidental. Hence, her imprisonment must be increased by 2 years and 3 months. Altogether, she should be imprisoned for 3 years and 3 months. The period of time during which she is stripped of her right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.

2. K'ung Fan-shu should have served 3 years' imprisonment according to the decision. But because he had performed considerable work during the revolutionary war and had been wounded and become disabled, the court reduced his sentence by 1 year and 6 months. However, in the AB Group the duties he had assumed were those of general commander. Although he had performed considerable revolutionary work in the past, the penalty that has been laid on him is still too light. The imprisonment should be increased by 3 months. Altogether, he will be imprisoned for 1 year and 9 months. However, the period of time during which he is stripped of his right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.

3. Li Hsin-ch'eng was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, according to the decision. Because he had been brave in every battle and wounded several times, his sentence should be reduced by 6 months. As a result, he will be imprisoned for 1 year and 6 months. The period of time during which he is stripped of his right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.

4. Wei Pai-kang should serve 5 years' imprisonment, according to the court ruling. But according to the facts of the case, it is unavoidable that the punishment meted out is a little too heavy. Hence, it should be reduced by 6 months and the imprisonment is for 4 years and 6 months. However, the period of time during which he is stripped of his right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.

The above-stated counterrevolutionary criminals should be notified and made fully aware of this resolution on the reduction and increase of their respective terms of imprisonment.

Central Executive Committee
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

*Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, No 5

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LETTER FROM MAO TSE-TUNG TO YUAN KUO-P'ING

6 March 1932

/Text/ Comrade Yuan Kuo-p'ing:

1. Your first letter from Chiang-k'ou has been received here. Since the masses in San-tu are like what you wrote in your letter, such places as Ku-lung-kang ought to be even better than San-tu. We should exert ourselves even more to win them over and not slacken our efforts and keep back because of mass awareness.

2. Attention should be paid at all times to all tactics and methods used in this work. We should not let this work deviate from the general task of "winning over the masses to create a soviet area." It is not good to lower our political slogans to meet the demands of the political consciousness of the backward masses. Now and then, with the intent of winning over the masses, we of course can divide our work into a certain number of steps, but this should be done in a way that it will not deviate from our fundamental task, but will attain our general task of "winning over the masses to create a soviet area" in an even more realistic manner. On the whole, the tactics and methods of work indicated in Issue No 3 of the Bulletin of the General Political Department are correct, but all of you should apply them flexibly and not follow the methods in the booklet stupidly. Because our previous evaluation of the masses of the seven subdivisions of San-tu differs somewhat from what is said in your letter this time, the application of work tactics and methods cannot be carried out mechanically. For instance, judging from present conditions in San-tu, if we follow too mechanically the method of attacking the big landlords first and the small landlords later--this by no means is a tactical line--we will be stepping onto the road of opportunism. Furthermore, the process of transforming peasants associations into Soviets and poor peasants associations must not last a long time. First of all, we should make considerable efforts to arouse the masses of poor peasants, tenant farmers, and middle peasants to quickly rise and struggle. In the struggle, the fight against big landlords should be quickly developed into a fight against small landlords and rich peasants. (Goods should be distributed, fields distributed, and debts abolished.) As soon as a comparative majority

of poverty-stricken people have risen, that bunch of profiteering small landlords and rich peasants remaining in the peasants associations should be expelled completely, and organs of political power of the masses--the soviets--and class organizations of the masses--the poor peasants associations--should be established immediately. In a word, tactics and methods of work depend upon actual conditions. You should acquaint yourselves with local conditions in a very practical way and decide on even more practical tactics and methods in accordance with the sentiments and requirements of the local populace about struggle before you can achieve still greater practical results.

When the Red masses first enter a White village, reprisals and rash acts will necessarily occur. You should also take note of similar incidents happening in other places. As to discipline in the army forces, you cannot relax in the slightest. If the masses want to fight, you should organize them into small guerrilla units to distribute the property of the evil gentry among the masses. In order to organize small guerrilla units, you should organize elementary mass organizations--peasants associations. In order to organize small guerrilla units, you should even go so far as to organize provisional organs of political power--revolutionary committees. In order to organize small guerrilla units, you should attack the local tyrants whom the masses fear. Why do I say this? It is because in such conditions as prevailing in the seven subdivisions of San-tu (not to speak of places where conditions are even worse than in the seven subdivisions of San-tu, like Yung-feng where the Third Army is working at present, the vicinity of Nan-feng where the 58th Army is working, An-yuan-szu where the Fourth Army is working, and the area bordering upon Shih-ch'eng and Ning-hua where the 12th Army is working), there is no security for the different organizations such as public bodies and organs of political power, and diverse benefits, such as the distribution of fields and abolition of debts. Once the Red Army is withdrawn, the landlords will arm themselves and return, and all organizations will collapse and all benefits will be in vain. At this time, only the organized small guerrilla units, which have been trained by us and fought against the local bullies and distributed their property, and which have reached the point where they live in mortal enmity with the evil gentry and landlords, can retreat with the Red Army to the Red border and wait for an occasion to launch another attack. These are things that can be preserved. This is the method to be used if your work this time is not to be in vain. Let us not talk about incidents farther back. Let us talk only about what happened after the battle for Chang-sha. Did not the first stage of work in the P'ing-chiang--Li-ling--Yu-hsien area, the first stage of work in the Yuan-shui valley, and the first stage of work in the Wu-chiang valley teach us that we had not grasped the heart of our work--organizing small guerrilla units that were diverted from production? Was not the work of the comrades who went through untold hardships to distribute fields and abolish debts, set up soviets, and organize Red Guard units (which were not removed from production) the same as having been done in vain? Since in your four letters you did not mention organizing guerrilla units, I've expressed myself on the subject at length in this letter. However, this is not to say that you should not have a plan to establish

a consolidated regime in the seven subdivisions of San-tu. The conditions in the seven subdivisions of San-tu today are vastly different from those in present-day Ung-feng, Nan-feng, and An-yuan-szu. There can be no doubt that you should make plans for the establishment of a consolidated government. You should plan to arouse the entire masses fully, destroy the armed forces of the landlords thoroughly, organize class organizations of the masses and class organs of political power, and carry out land distribution. But you should reckon with such conditions as the enemy can still advance rapidly, the Red Army must concentrate its forces, and the armed forces of the landlords have not yet been destroyed. If you have reckoned with these conditions, then you would have realized that organization of local small guerrilla units which are removed from production and fight local bullies is really the central task of all your work. To make organizing guerrilla units the central task not only will not ease your other work, on the contrary, will mesh closely with your other work. In the past, the political departments of the various armies and the overwhelming majority of comrades engaged in political work did not understand this central task of organizing guerrilla units in special circumstances. What they did was work that did not fit in with the environmental conditions. Therefore, they always expended much effort and got very little results. For this reason, what is contained in this letter not only are instructions concerning the work of your units in the seven subdivisions of San-tu, but also is something which all armies on the entire front and the various independent divisions and local guerrilla units should likewise take note of and absolutely do the same.

General Political Department
Director: Mao Tse-tung

Huang-po, 6 March
[o]Letter from Mao Tse-tung to Yuan Kuo-p'ing (mimeograph)

7682
CSO: 4005

LETTER TO WEST FUKIEN ON THE WORK AT SHANG-HANG AND WU-P'ING

9 March 1932

/Text/ West Fukien Soviet Government
Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing have been occupied completely within a few days by the 12th Army of our Red Army in coordination with the broad masses of workers and peasants. Regimental bandit Chung Shao-k'uei and his forces were routed completely and fled to Kwangtung Province. Winning this great victory at the start of expansion of the democratic revolutionary war will bear great significance on the development and success of the soviets throughout the country. Especially at a time that the Red Army is besieging Kan-chou, the seizure of the two counties of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing will not only menace the warlords in Kwangtung, but also be of great help to the capture of Kan-chou.

The capture of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing counties not only will expand and strengthen the West Fukien Soviet Area, but also will strengthen even more firmly the link between Fukien and Kiangsi. Particularly the capture of the city of Shang-hang, as it is one of the bigger key cities in West Fukien and holds an important position politically, economically, and militarily. Therefore, the occupation of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing is not of a temporary nature, and they will be consolidated into a secure Red area in West Fukien and the city of Shang-hang will be turned into a Red metropolis. This is your great task. You must make every effort to accomplish it.

The People's Council has the following instructions concerning the work in Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing:

1. Implement correctly the Land Law, Labor Law, and economic policy of the All-Soviet Congress. This is a principal condition and basis for consolidating the Red regime in the two counties of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing. Under this condition, arouse the broad masses of workers and coolies in the cities, tenant farmers, poor peasants, and middle peasants in the rural areas, and

laboring people to take an active part in the agrarian revolutionary struggle and in the soviet regime. They will have to gain some real benefits before they can be made to support the soviet regime enthusiastically. You will have to have the broad masses of workers, peasants, and other laboring people as the base before you can consolidate the Red regime in the two counties.

2. To arouse the masses of workers in the cities, you will have to implement practically the 8-hour work rule in the Labor Law, raise wages, set down a minimum wage standard, improve treatment, and enforce the conclusion of collective agreement and labor contract at the lowest limit. The government must take its stand with protecting the interests of workers and bring these minimum benefits to fruition immediately. At the same time, it should actively render assistance to workers in organizing unions physically and in the course of work. However, there are several points which we must make clear here and which we must guard against, as mistakes have frequently occurred in our work in the past: a) Concerning the implementation of the Labor Law and the protection of workers' interests, we have seen only official announcements that are void of content. The government has not actually put the law into effect and has not taken any concrete steps to implement it. Whether the worker has in fact received any benefits, the government has not made any inquiry or investigation. If the government only issues a notice and an order and then brings the matter to a close, it is passivity so far as upholding workers' interests is concerned; b) In safeguarding workers' interests, the government for the most part did not check over facts and the conditions of mass struggle. It simply used government orders to force the capitalists to comply and did not put emphasis on arousing the masses to rise in struggle. On the contrary, it caused misunderstanding in this way among the masses, who for a time assumed a passive attitude toward struggle; and c) In implementing the Labor Law, we invariably did not investigate the local economic situation and the actual conditions and requirements of the workers' livelihood and did not set forth properly practical measures of implementation. Instead, we overstepped the limitations imposed by actual economic conditions in the locality and enforced the law by coercion. The result was that many capitalists were unable to bear their responsibilities and closed their businesses, thereby undermining the current economic policy of the soviet and affecting to a very great extent the economy in the soviet areas. This caused a big increase in the number of unemployed and raised doubts among many workers, who became passive toward struggle and even went so far as to make secret compromise with and concessions to the capitalists. In the end, it curtailed the enthusiasm of the workers in struggle and weakened their class consciousness. This is very harmful. At the same time, we should oppose even more resolutely restraining the struggle of the workers and begin passive in safeguarding workers' interests under the pretext of propping up the economy in a soviet area and carrying out its economic policy. In a word, the Labor Law must be put into effect under the conditions of resolutely safeguarding the workers' benefits and not violating the economic policy of the government, and in particular, intensifying the enthusiasm of the workers in class struggle and building up their support of the Soviet regime.

3. As to confiscation of land and distribution of land in the rural areas, it is imperative that the Land Law be implemented fully. The most important thing to do is line up with a clear-cut class line and never again allow the rich peasants to steal even for a moment the fruits of the agrarian revolution. There is a mistaken conception of land distribution in the past which must be rectified. It is believed that at the start of an agrarian revolution it is unavoidable that rich peasants will steal land once, so it is necessary to distribute land a second time, or a third time, before the matter is finally settled. For this reason, when people start out to distribute land they do it carelessly. This is utterly wrong. We can only say that in an agrarian revolution rich peasants will inevitably endeavor to steal the benefits of the agrarian revolution and precisely because of this, we should be even more resolute in arousing the masses to deal a heavy blow at the attempts of rich peasants and with a clear-cut class line, not let the benefits of an agrarian revolution be stolen by rich peasants. This mistake has happened again and again in the newly developed areas of Kiangsi Province. The main reason for this is that when land is distributed, emphasis is not given to arousing the masses and distribution is carried out by orders instead of by the masses. In this way, rich peasants naturally make use of the opportunity to steal. Of course, the speedy distribution of land in a newly developed area is for the purpose of quickly mobilizing and winning over the basic sections of the masses in the countryside so as to consolidate this area, but to allow rich peasants to steal the benefits of land distribution, this cannot consolidate a new area solidly. As for rapid distribution, only by mobilizing the basic sections of the masses in the countryside to take an active part in the land distribution struggle can distribution be carried out rapidly and the attempts of rich peasants be dealt a crushing blow so that the benefits of agrarian revolution will not be stolen by them. Before a new area can be consolidated firmly it must have as its base the broad masses of tenant farmers, poor peasants, and middle peasants who are taking an active part in struggle. Therefore, when land is distributed it is necessary to hold a mass meeting and promulgate the Land Law of the Central Government in order to mobilize the masses. The committee on land distribution should draw many tenant farmers, poor peasants, and middle peasants as well, into taking part in its affairs. All members of the committee must be elected by the masses. The composition of members of the land committee must be announced and investigated at a mass meeting. Decisions made at every land distribution must be reported to the masses in a rally and only after the mass meeting concurs in these decisions will actual distribution be carried out. The most important thing is that when the Land Law is promulgated and the land distribution committee members are elected, it must be announced specifically that rich peasants can only share run-down fields and that they cannot join the land committee so as to draw the attention of the masses to them and bring about a struggle to deal a blow to their attempts and eject them or prevent them from sneaking into the land committee and usurping the authority to distribute land. In the past, when land was distributed in new areas, it was done entirely through the Red Army. Most of the time, the Soviet governments did not send anyone to give guidance and in the worst cases, just ignored the whole thing and let the Red Army bear the responsibility alone. In this way, on the one hand, it hindered the Red Army from performing its other duties.

At the same time, because of its other duties, the Red Army could not concentrate on distributing land. Naturally, carelessness in distribution set in. Without question, formalism was very serious in the past within the Red Army in the distribution of land. But the local governments had to bear the main blame for this state of affairs, because they had relinquished their responsibilities and not exercised their leadership in the matter. This time, when land is confiscated and distributed in the two counties of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, the West Fukien Government must exercise positive leadership and perform the task correctly according to the above instructions and your own experiences gained in past land distributions.

4. You should pay serious attention to the question of middle peasants. In the past, instances of exclusion of middle peasants and assault on them under the pretext of carrying out attacks on rich peasants have occurred in many places. This is nothing short of undermining the coalition with middle peasants and inflicting the greatest harm on the future of the consolidation of the Soviet regime and the success of the revolution. In your work in Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing this time you absolutely must not recycle those mistakes of the past. Firstly, on the land question, in carrying out equal distribution, you absolutely must abide by the principle governing middle peasants outlined in Article 5 of the Land Law (...this can be carried out only with concurrence and direct support of the basic sections of the peasant masses. If the majority of middle peasants do not concur, they may not take part in equal distribution) and implement it correctly. Secondly, in the matter of fund raising, you absolutely should not harass middle peasants. In newly developed areas it is the easiest to start trouble over fund raising. Funds that we intend to raise should not come from middle peasants. Thirdly, you must actively draw activists among the middle peasants into taking part in land distribution and particularly in the regime, and strictly prevent the occurrence of such phenomena as excluding middle peasants from participating in elections and in the regime. In a word, strengthening of the coalition with middle peasants is one of the principal bases for success of the agrarian revolution and the Soviet regime. You must absolutely oppose encroaching upon middle peasants and even go so far as to make concessions to them to a certain degree (like letting them take part in equal distribution of land).

5. In your work in the cities of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, apart from the question of workers and performing your duties in the light of the many fundamental rules and measures contained in the letter from the General Political Department on the work at Kan-chou, you must:

Firstly, act correctly in accordance with the economic policy laid down at the National Soviet Congress and the tariff, investment regulations, and loan regulations promulgated by the Provisional Central Government, and apply the experiences gained at T'ing-chou in this work. Also render the above documents into notices for publication;

Secondly, make every effort to prop up commerce and do not disrupt it by fund raising. As to fund raising, the targets should be graded and money should not be collected from small capitalists and a portion of the middle capitalists. All shops operated by reactionary headmen should be confiscated and the crimes of these headmen and the reasons for confiscation of their property should be published in detail. Such proclamations should deal primarily with confiscation of the property of reactionaries and not with confiscation of the stores so as to expose any attempt of the reactionaries to spread rumors;

Thirdly, declare formally as confiscated all premises of reactionary organs and make them the property of the Soviet government for distribution to various government organs and mass organizations for use. There need not occur such anarchical acts of various organs and organizations occupying these premises at will. The houses and property of reactionaries should all be declared confiscated by the government. A number of the houses confiscated may be distributed to workers to be used as dormitories and a number leased at reduced rent to poor people as residential quarters. Aside from cash which goes to the government, part of the confiscated property may be used to aid the Red Army and the masses in disaster areas, and the remainder distributed as much as possible among poverty-stricken people in the cities. You should oppose any move to transfer all things confiscated to the old soviet areas and not to distribute them among the local populace. You should oppose even more firmly such anarchical manifestations as various government organs and mass organizations going their own way to confiscate and dispose of the property of the reactionaries;

Fourthly, preserve absolutely such things as schools and culture. At the worst, send people around to supervise their safekeeping and prohibit vandalism; and

Fifthly, compel shops in Shang-hang to convert immediately the small notes and paper money they have issued into cash and withdraw them for destruction. In case of necessity, the government should send people around to exercise supervision. Henceforth, all shops should be prohibited from issuing paper money. You should pay attention to the cash money in circulation so as to prevent reactionaries and merchants from smuggling it out in quantity, thereby affecting the economy in the soviet area.

6. Fund raising should be centralized and concentrated in one organ to be set up by representatives from the West Fukien Government and the Political Department of the 12th Army. The different organizations and organs should be strictly prohibited from dealing blows to local tyrants. Set up a unified base for finance. Of the money collected, the greater part should be used to help the Red Army in expanding the revolutionary war. Strictly prohibit all waste and extravagance on account of a wider source of income. If waste does occur, harsh punishment should be meted out.

7. The work of suppressing counterrevolutionaries must be carried out correctly in accordance with Directive No 6 of the Central Government governing the establishment of committees for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and all fundamental rules concerning the suppression of counterrevolution. You should be prepared to set up a judicial department and a political security bureau to maintain revolutionary order and carry out judicial work relative to the economy.

8. The setting up of a provisional regime is very important. Immediately upon its establishment, the revolutionary committee will put into effect all the decrees of the National Soviet Congress and the Central Government so as to carry out the agrarian revolution and the political platform, suppress the activities of counterrevolutionaries, mobilize the broad masses of workers and peasants, and set up a formal regime. These are the main tasks of a revolutionary committee. Every revolutionary committee must be elected at a mass rally. The West Fukien Government should make every effort to lead and direct the work of the revolutionary committees in various places. It should be resolved by the West Fukien Government that Shang-hang become a municipal soviet directly under its authority. When the work of land confiscation and distribution and suppression of counterrevolutionaries has been carried out to a certain extent, you should energetically proceed with work for the establishment of a formal regime. First and foremost, the urban and rural soviets should accomplish the aim of setting up a genuine representative system so as to lay a strong foundation for the soviet organization in the two counties of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing. The establishment of all formal regimes must be completely in accordance with the regulations and directives promulgated by the Central Government. Revolutionary committees must become organs to lead mass struggle, guard against the development of formalism, and prevent rich peasants and reactionaries from sneaking in.

9. The creation of regional armed forces must be carried out according to plan. You should discuss with the military district headquarters about the methods in doing it so as to build up the military might of the masses to defend the soviet area of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing.

10. As to areas newly developed by the Red Army, the West Fukien Government has heretofore relied upon the Red Army to carry on the work there, while it itself does not exercise active leadership or make any effort to build up and consolidate the areas. For example: Lien-ch'eng and Ning-hua have been occupied by the 12th Army for a long time. The West Fukien Government has not paid any heed to exercising leadership there, with the result that the newly developed areas cannot be consolidated. In the worst case, as soon as the Red Army leaves a place, reactionaries will reoccupy it and the place is lost to us. This is an extremely serious mistake. In the work at Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, we absolutely cannot permit past mistakes to be perpetuated. You should muster and mobilize a large number of working personnel in the old soviet areas to go and work in the two counties, and responsible comrades of the West Fukien Government should go in person to Shang-hang to direct all kinds of work there. Now you must consolidate Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing with all strength. This is a most practical and most important task at present.

No other work is as important as this one. Therefore, we have decided that in order to consolidate Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, the Fukien Congress of Representatives of Peasants be postponed. We hope that you will immediately notify the different levels of government of this postponement and take advantage of it to step up lower-level elections and remolding work.

In order to strengthen the work at Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, the working comrades previously sent by the West Fukien Government to the Central Government for training can be sent back to you right away for reassignment to Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing to help in the work there.

Comrades! The consolidation of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing is your most central task at the present time. You should accomplish this task with all strength and turn the two counties of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing into the most secure soviet territory and the city of Shang-hang into a Red metropolis.

Lastly, we hope that you will reproduce this letter for distribution to the Political Department of the 12th Army and working comrades at Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing.

Please report to the Central Government at any time on recent conditions in Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing and on the work there from now on.

People's Council
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairman: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

o"Red China," No 13, 9 March 1932

7682
CSO: 4005

DIRECTIVE FROM PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO FIRST WORKER-PEASANT-SOLDIER SOVIET CONGRESS IN FUKIEN PROVINCE

March 1932

/Text/ Comrade representatives to the First Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress

Dear Comrades!

Your All-Fukien Soviet Congress was inaugurated on the first most glorious anniversary of the world proletarian revolution--the anniversary of the Paris Commune. At a time when the situation of the Chinese revolution has developed to a very crucial moment all over the world, and particularly in the midst of expanding the revolutionary war at present, the 12th Army of the Red Army scored a great victory in successively capturing Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing, the holding of your congress is of great significance. At the same time, it demonstrates that the revolutionary task being shouldered by your congress this time is the greatest in history. Apart from sending representatives to attend your congress and help in guiding its work, the Central Executive Committee specially sends you this written directive.

1. Both in the world and in China, the current revolutionary situation has entered a most critical new period. This tense new situation is being symbolized by the consolidation and flourishing of Soviet Socialism, sudden decline of world capitalism, contradictions between the two systems of Socialism and capitalism reaching an extremely acute degree, and stepping up of attempts by imperialism to attack the Soviet Union. The tension symbolized by the inner contradictions of imperialism has deepened the crisis of outbreak of imperialist war. Simultaneously, the crisis of world revolution has gradually ripened with each passing day. Owing to the sharp development of these crises, it suddenly happened in September last year that Japanese imperialism employed force to occupy first China's three Northeast Provinces and then Shanghai. This was not only a crisis symbolized by Japanese imperialism partitioning China and suppressing the Chinese revolution in order to save itself, but also an outbreak of the acute contradictions of imperialism striving to partition China and redivide the world. Hence,

since the outbreak of this incident the conflict between Japan and the United States in particular has become extremely tense. All imperialist countries have mobilized and made other preparations for war. With all this saber rattling, the situation has developed to an explosive point. Nevertheless, the imperialists have not forgotten about attacking the Soviet Union. Therefore, they are attempting to turn this war at any time into a war against the Soviet Union.

In China, since their defeat in the third offensive against the revolution, the reactionary Kuomintang and its government have been symbolized by divergence and disintegration and the daily deepening collapse of their reactionary rule. After the outbreak of the incident of the Northeast Provinces, they have become increasingly more brazen in betraying China, taking the place of the imperialists in trampling on the anti-imperialist movement. The rule of the reactionary Kuomintang throughout the country has become even more bankrupt and the authority of this reactionary rule has been crushed to almost nothing in the revolutionary struggles of the masses. Today, after selling the Northeast Provinces, the Kuomintang and its government continue to sell Shanghai. Recently they have been trying to provoke a war among the imperialists and prompt them to settle without delay the question of the partition of China so as to sell the whole of China and sacrifice countless workers, peasants, and other toiling people under the planes and artillery shells of the imperialists in a war. Nobody knows how many people in the Northeast Provinces and Shanghai have sacrificed their lives under the places and guns of Japanese imperialism, but the Kuomintang and its government have fled toward Loyang preparatory to turning over the coastal area along the Yangtze River to the imperialists to be used as a battleground. The Kuomintang warlords still hang on to the coattails of various imperialist countries, however. When the great war breaks out, there can be no doubt that they will become the tools of the imperialists to contest for China and massacre the masses. At the same time, even if under the circumstances the Kuomintang and its government should become bankrupt, it is certain that they will be sent to their graves by a worker-peasant revolution.

In the national revolutionary movement, since the great victory of the third revolutionary war and the establishment of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the soviets and the Red Army in various places have continued to gain great victories and progress. The high tide of anti-imperialism all over the country came about as a result of the invasion of China and massacre of the Chinese people by Japanese imperialism, but it has surged like roaring waves under the bold-faced attempt of the Kuomintang to betray China. At present, this anti-imperialist movement has developed to the point where the masses in many places armed themselves voluntarily and fought against Japanese imperialism directly, Party headquarters and government organs of the Kuomintang were demolished, and down-with-the-Kuomintang slogans were shouted openly. Especially in Shanghai recently, soldiers of the White army stood up voluntarily and acting contrary to Kuomintang orders, resisted the Japanese army directly at the front. The development of the workers' struggle throughout the country will gradually secure for us the leadership of the anti-imperialist movement. The sudden

revolutionization of soldiers of the White army means that not only in the midst of the anti-imperialist movement they will fight against Japan voluntarily, but also they will mutiny and stage uprisings and enter the Red Army. All this shows that the Chinese revolutionary movement and the anti-imperialist national revolutionary movement in particular are forging ahead. Prospects are that they will inevitably converge under the Soviet banner and in a national revolutionary war, will drive out imperialism, overthrow the Kuomintang rule, and strive for victory of the Soviet all over the country.

2. This is a new period in history, a time for revolution and war. Hence, our task is to develop the revolutionary war actively. We will lead the Chinese national revolutionary struggle with the revolutionary war, oppose the invasion of China and massacre of the Chinese people by Japanese imperialism with a national revolutionary war, destroy the reactionary Kuomintang rule with the revolutionary war, and stamp out an imperialist world war with a national revolutionary war. This is a most critical time in the development of the revolution, a time most favorable to the development of the Soviet revolution. Just as we began to expand the revolutionary war on a large scale, we have scored great new victories and made considerable progress. Our specific task for the time being is to keep up these victories by working even harder to mobilize tens of millions of workers, peasants, and other people to participate in the revolutionary war and proceed with the expansion of this war on a large scale to contest for major cities in neighboring areas and strive for a Soviet victory first in one province and then in several provinces. This is also the most important central task to be shouldered by your congress this time.

3. In order to carry out this task, all the work at your congress will center around the expansion of the revolutionary war. First of all, you should discuss all kinds of specific policies concerning the realistic mobilization of the masses. This work of mobilization is primarily to promote struggle and plunge into the heat of struggle. To heighten the enthusiasm of the masses of workers and peasants in struggle, it is necessary to enforce effectively the Labor Law and Land Law. The congress must set up a formula in a very specific form for implementation of the Labor Law and Land Law. Only through actual contacts in struggle can we arouse the hundreds of thousands of workers, peasants, and other people of Fukien Province to join enthusiastically in the revolutionary war.

4. To develop the revolutionary war, it is necessary to expand and strengthen the Red Army. This is the main strength to develop the revolutionary war. The congress must discuss in a very concrete way practical measures for carrying out the expansion of the Red Army and implementation of the preferential treatment of the Red Army. It must repudiate the previous local concept in West Fukien of expanding only the regional armed forces and not caring about expanding the Red Army, because this is very harmful to strengthening the force to carry out the revolutionary war and developing the actual tasks of revolutionary war.

5. To develop the revolutionary war and strive for a Soviet victory first in Kiangsi Province, it is necessary to adopt an offensive strategy aimed at expanding outward actively. This offensive strategy is by no means adventurism in that it entails no venturesome advance and no abandonment of the consolidation of bases. On the contrary, it is to consolidate our successes and forge ahead. The congress must also set the direction of expansion. Essentially it will be northward. This will coordinate with the over-all expansion plan of the Central Government to strive actually for Kiangsi and several of its neighboring provinces as an initial victory. But in other respects, it is likewise necessary to expand the Soviet area outward. And to accomplish the task of expanding northward, the most central task at present is to consolidate Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing. The congress must discuss concrete measures to mobilize a great number of cadres and carry out the work that should be done as pointed out in the letter from the Central Government to the West Fukien Government. The consolidation of Shang-hang and Wu-p'ing will not only cement the link between Kwangtung and Kiangsi Provinces, but also strengthen the force and consolidate the foundation for expanding outward and carrying on the revolutionary war. We must be firmly against a venturesome advance that does not seek consolidation of the bases. Similarly, conservatism that seeks only consolidation and not outward expansion is extremely detrimental to the current task of carrying on the revolutionary war to expand outward on a large scale. The congress should struggle resolutely against any such tendency.

6. To strengthen the force for expanding the revolutionary war, it is necessary to consolidate the economic strength for expanding the revolutionary war. The congress must discuss in detail a formula for developing the economy in the Soviet area and increasing the rate of production and concrete measures for implementing the economic policy. As to the fiscal question, the congress should draw up very specific measures to unify finance in accordance with the financial regulations promulgated by the Central Government. The question as to how to practice frugality in expenditures in order to help expand the revolutionary war should be discussed even more realistically. The congress should resolutely oppose serious manifestations of willful extravagance at the different levels of government in the past and set forth measures of punishment for such acts in the future.

7. To strengthen the force of expansion in the revolutionary war, it is necessary to strengthen the organization and training of the regional armed forces and enhance their practical role in the revolutionary war. In the past, although the regional armed forces of West Fukien were unsound, they absolutely were not like what people generally say, that "the West Fukien regional armed forces are useless" or "the people of West Fukien cannot fight." Such mistaken concepts must be firmly opposed by the congress. The regional armed forces and the masses of workers and peasants of West Fukien not only have engaged in prolonged struggle against the enemy, but also have created an extensive Soviet area. They possess great strength for waging revolutionary struggle. The main reason why earlier regional armed forces were not strong was that the line was mistaken. During the period of adventurism West Fukien suffered a great defeat. Later, in the first, second, and third revolutionary

wars, it committed errors of conservatism militarily and did not know how to apply guerrilla warfare tactics. Sometimes it did not correctly estimate the balance of enemy strength and adopted the method of stubborn attack (as in the several offensives against K'an-shih and Hu-lei), with the result that partial military losses were sustained, the morale of the troops was lowered, and fighting power was depleted. At the same time, inattention to leadership and to the military and political training of the regional armed forces was also an important reason. The congress must meticulously discuss measures to reorganize the regional armed forces and strengthen political and military work and put guerrilla warfare tactics to use, so as to enhance the role of the regional armed forces in the revolutionary war.

8. To strengthen the leadership for expanding the revolutionary war, it is necessary to set up a strong and capable Soviet government at different levels. The congress should realistically discuss measures to establish soviets in accordance with the regulations and resolutions promulgated by the Central Government. Here, we wish especially to draw your attention to the establishment of a Soviet representative system in the cities and countryside. This system is the basis of the Soviet organization and the most powerful basic organization in a Soviet to lead the masses and mobilize the masses. The congress must oppose earlier manifestations of Soviet formalism and disengagement from the masses. These are all tasks for setting up a strong and capable Soviet. In case there are serious obstructions, the congress must draw up concrete measures to carry out inspection of work at the different levels of the Soviet.

9. In the past several years the West Fukien Soviet has achieved great success and victories in engaging the enemy in a great struggle, carrying out resolutely the tasks of agrarian revolution, creating an extensive soviet area, and implementing the land program of the government. At the same time, it has also committed many mistakes and displayed many shortcomings. The congress must make a review of its past work. Only in this way can valuable experiences in earlier struggles be summed up and all mistakes and shortcomings be rectified.

10. In the past, through errors of the adventurist line, West Fukien suffered plenty of defeats. Later, it turned around from the adventurist line. This was immediately followed by the first, second, and third offensive of the enemy, and because West Fukien committed mistakes in military tactics, many regions were sacked and a part of the soviet area was occupied by the enemy and still has not been recovered. In addition, due to errors in leadership of the regional armed forces, some border regions were ravaged by brigands. Nevertheless, due to an incorrect understanding of the causes of these phenomena and as a result of past mistakes in lines for work, a great number of working personnel of the Soviet have even overlooked the current favorable situation in the development of the revolution and have taken a pessimistic view and developed a feeling of despair. This is a very serious mistake. We must understand that the current revolutionary situation is extremely favorable to the development of the revolution. At the same time when we are leading the masses in expanding the revolutionary war outward,

these sentiments are extremely harmful and we should not allow them to exist and grow. The congress must struggle mercilessly against such sentiments. Here, the need is even greater for the congress to carry out a transformation of work strictly in accordance with the lines for work prescribed by the National Soviet Congress and the Central Government. It is certain that the work in the entire province of Funkien will have rapid development and bring even greater progress and success to the Fukien Soviet Area.

The above instructions are provided for your discussion of all problems in the congress. The Central Executive Committee holds a firm belief that this congress will certainly meet with complete success in the end and accomplish the critical tasks of the revolution at the present time. Lastly, we hail:
Long live the success of the First Worker-Peasant-Soldier Soviet Congress in Fukien Province!
Long live the victory of the Soviet!
Long live the Chinese Soviet Republic!

Central Executive Committee
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

o"Red China," No 15, 23 March 1932

7682
CSO: 4005

ORDER OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON MOBILIZATION AND DECLARATION OF WAR AGAINST JAPAN

15 April 1932

/Text/ Since the invasion of China's three northeast provinces and the attack against Shanghai by Japanese imperialism, the Soviet Central Government in its communiques has repeatedly pointed out that Japanese imperialism aims at the complete colonization of the three northeast provinces, that the Shanghai incident will become a concrete manifestation of the partition of China by the imperialist gangsters, and that the Kuomintang government and its warlords of different factions will even more brazenly capitulate to the imperialists, betray China, and suppress the anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist movement of the Chinese people nation-wide, and will absolutely not make any anti-Japanese move that really seeks national independence and liberation. Present developments of the situation prove completely that the appraisal of the Soviet Central Government is correct. A Manchurian puppet government has been set up in the northeast provinces. This is the most faithful and obidient running dog of Japanese imperialism. The peace negotiations being held in Shanghai and the League of Nations investigation mission are nothing but a spoils conference and a spoils setup for the imperialist gangsters to carry out the partition of Shanghai and China. Certain Kuomintang warlords, who had been compelled to assume an appearance of being anti-Japanese due to the bravery of those soldiers who fought against the Japanese voluntarily, have now shown their true colors. Ma Chan-shan has become war minister in the Manchurian government, and warlords Chiang and Ts'ai have participated in the peace negotiations of the imperialists to partition Shanghai. The Kuomintang government stands ready at any time to accept the order of the League of Nations to carve up the Chinese nation. Its propaganda about so-called "protracted resistance" is meant to deceive the anti-Japanese people throughout the country on the one hand, and on the other hand, to seek aid from another bloc of imperialist countries (American imperialism in particular) and provoke a world war so that the imperialist gangsters may resolve the question of the partition of China in that war. In the past several months, the Kuomintang government and its warlords of different factions, adhering to the will of the imperialists, have made the greatest efforts to dissolve anti-Japanese organizations all over the country, suppress anti-Japanese strikes, massacre anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist masses, shoot down with machineguns the brave soldiers who had resisted the Japanese

voluntarily, and prohibit the activities of the people's volunteers. In particular, they have employed the greatest military force to deal with their offensive against the soviet area and the Red Army. All this shows that the Kuomintang government and its warlords of different factions are entirely tools of imperialism to suppress directly the Chinese national revolutionary movement. They not only will never wage a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism, but also will become the ultimate obstacle to the prosecution of a national revolutionary war!

Only the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, all over the country represent a genuine anti-imperialist force. Only the Soviet and the Red Army can really conduct a national revolutionary war against Japanese imperialism. Today, being trampled under the iron heels of Japanese imperialism, the oppressed Chinese people are unwilling to accept the insults of the Kuomintang, and in high indignation, have risen to engage in revolutionary struggle against Japan and the Kuomintang. With the aim of leading the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, all over the country in carrying through the revolutionary task of driving Japanese imperialism out of China, the Soviet Provisional Central Government hereby formally declares war against Japan. The Soviet Provisional Central Government wishes to point out to the oppressed people throughout the country that the soviet area has long since extricated itself from the fetters of imperialism, but the Kuomintang warlords, under the leadership and direction of imperialism, will on no account ease up their offensive against the soviet area and the Red Army. Had not for the offensive of the Kuomintang warlords, the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, and the Red Army would have long stood on the side of the courageous soldiers and volunteers fighting against the Japanese directly. Therefore, the Soviet Provisional Central Government is at present leading the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army and the broad masses of workers, peasants, and other toiling people of the soviet area in actively carrying out a revolutionary war to seize major cities beyond the border of the soviet area and destroy the Kuomintang rule. Precisely, the realistic prosecution of a national revolutionary war is an indispensable prerequisite to a direct war against Japan. The Soviet Central Government calls on workers, peasants, soldiers, and all other toiling people throughout the country to arise and take an active part in carrying out the revolutionary war under the Soviet red banner. Those people in areas under White rule should voluntarily arm themselves, organize people's anti-Japanese volunteers, seize the arms of the Kuomintang, landlords, and bourgeoisie, and fight against Japan directly, setting up revolutionary military committees to direct this latter move. Soldiers of the White Army should rise in revolt, overthrow their reactionary officers, do battle against Japan voluntarily, organize workers and peasants' red armies to overthrow the Kuomintang rule all over the country, and establish a Soviet regime of the people throughout China. In this way, they will drive Japanese imperialism out of China with a national revolutionary war, opposing the partition of China by the imperialists, and striving for the independence and liberation of the Chinese nation.

Hence, apart from making public through a circular telegram this advocacy of declaration of war against Japan and an action program, the Soviet Provisional Central Government issues the following instructions to the Workers and Peasants' Red Army all over the country and the Soviet Government at various levels throughout the Soviet areas:

1. The Central Revolutionary Military Council, military committees in various Soviet areas, military district headquarters in various places, and Red Guard units (i.e., military affairs departments) in various counties should carry out mobilization of all Red warriors for the declaration of war against Japan so as to make every Red warrior understand that active expansion of the revolutionary war, annihilation of the forces of Kuomintang warlords attacking the Soviet areas, seizure of major cities beyond the border of the Soviet areas, and overthrow of the Kuomintang rule are precisely the indispensable prerequisite to the waging of a national revolutionary war against Japan. The more the civil revolutionary war is expanded, the more disintegrated the Kuomintang warlords will become, and the closer the occasion approaches of direct war against Japan. So the Red warriors throughout the Soviet Area should be ready for the arrival of national revolutionary war on an even larger scale. Mobilization for the declaration of war against Japan should absolutely not wait for direct war with Japanese imperialism to begin before being carried out. Moreover, the courageous soldiers and people's volunteers in coastal areas under White rule have long refused to place themselves under the command of Kuomintang warlords and have fought against the Japanese voluntarily. They are in urgent need of guidance and assistance from the Soviet Area and the Red Army. Therefore, mobilization for the declaration of war against Japan and active outward expansion of the revolutionary war absolutely cannot be split apart. Mobilization for the expansion of the revolutionary war should be considered as a blow to Japanese imperialism and as stout support of the anti-Japanese masses and brave soldiers in the White areas. Military mobilization should be carried out to the extent that every Red warrior cannot leave his unit unless she is wounded or sick, those who desert will be subjected to punishment and public ridicule, regional armed forces will observe the same discipline as the Red Army, Red Guard units that are not diverted from production will step up military training, military affairs committees will proclaim and enforce Red martial law throughout the Soviet areas, production in arsenals will be increased, grain stations and transportation stations will be set up along all major communication lines, a portion of the spiked millet crop will be stored up in preparation for a rice shortage, expenditures will be kept down in preparation for a protracted war, precautionary fortifications facing outward will be built along the borders of newly developed regions, and armed units for fund raising will stand ready to move (a major portion of the taxes to be collected by the government will naturally be furnished to the Red Army so as to enable this main military force to continue performing its fighting task). Moreover, guerrilla units will be organized in great numbers to expand outward along the border of the Soviet Area, because they may be able to lead the people in places close to major cities or within the imperialist sphere of influence in organizing anti-Japanese volunteers to conduct guerrilla action.

2. The General Political Department of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army and political departments at different levels of the Red Army should carry out political mobilization within the Red Army and regional armed forces. They should conduct extensive propaganda on the declaration of war against Japan among the Red warriors and bring to light on a regular basis in HUNG-HSING PAO /Red Star Journal/ and other Red Army publications such facts as the invasion and partition of China by Japan and other imperialist countries, and their massacre and oppression of the Chinese people, and the betrayal of China and insulting of the Chinese nation by the Kuomintang, so as to stimulate the enthusiasm and courage of the entire Red warriors in the declaration of war against Japan and heighten their determination to expand the revolutionary war outward and liquidate the Kuomintang warlords and their rule. Furthermore, they should compile and print all sorts of pamphlets and pictorials, raise slogans of propaganda and provocation having a bearing on practical actions at the present time. Above all others, they should pay attention to the political work of the Red Army in newly developed regions, and particularly those places close to major cities.

3. When the Workers and Peasants' Red Army progresses toward the sphere of influence of Japanese imperialism, the combat task of the Red Army will be to annihilate the Kuomintang forces which are in league with the imperialists. If we let go those Kuomintang forces which are attacking the Red Army without wiping them out, we will be giving them a very good opportunity to exterminate the Red Army in coordination with imperialist forces. This is a step that will bring confusion to the anti-Japanese national revolutionary war and not really drive Japanese imperialism out of China. When Red guerrilla armies in their outward expansion approach the Japanese imperialist sphere of influence, they should lead the people in organizing anti-Japanese volunteers, arming themselves voluntarily, conducting guerrilla action, and fighting against Japan directly. They also should draw soldiers of the White army into fighting against Japan voluntarily and together with them, and organize revolutionary military councils to direct this action so as to divide and overthrow the control of the Kuomintang warlords.

4. The different levels of the Soviet government in the various soviet areas should immediately conduct a mass mobilization for the declaration of war against Japan. In the first place, they should step up mobilizing the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, to join the Red Army voluntarily, expand the revolutionary war outward, and be ready to fight against Japanese imperialism directly. They should mobilize the entire toiling masses to undertake voluntarily rear echelon services in the revolutionary war, first by joining the Red Guard and Young Pioneers, which are not diverted from production. They should cause the toiling masses throughout the Soviet areas, whether male or female, to clamor enthusistically for military training in order to prepare themselves for war against Japan. They should strive to mobilize the people to perform the work of consolidating the bases of the Soviet areas, step up enforcing Red martial law and regional self-defense, save on expenses and food to help the Red Army, and store up public grain to supply to the Red Army. They should mobilize the masses to redouble their

efforts in farming so as to have a bumper harvest this year, consolidate the Red postal service, and make a sustained effort to repair bridges and roads so as to strengthen communication in the Soviet areas. They should immediately levy a progressive tax on commerce and be prepared to collect a land tax so as to increase the revenues of the government. They should mobilize the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, to raise the production of supplies for the Red Army (such as clothing, bedding, shoes, headgear, and ordinance), organize stretcher bearer teams, transport teams, laundry teams, and comforting teams to assist the Red Army in battle, follow the regulations governing the preferential treatment of the Red Army, help family dependents of the Red Army in tilling the fields, and cultivate the public fields of the Red Army.

5. This order is issued all the way down to the subordinate-level units of the Workers and Peasants' Red Army and regional armed forces and to all Soviets in the cities and countryside. They should draw up their respective mobilization plans in accordance with this order. The Central Revolutionary Military Council all the more should make public its own plan of mobilization.

Central Executive Committee
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

o"Red China," No 18, 12 April 1932
*"Hung Ch'i Chou-pao," No 50, September 1932
*"Soviet China," Soviet Research Institute, China Bookstore (Shanghai) November 1932
*"Soviet China," Soviet Russia Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow) 1933

7682
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CIRCULAR TELEGRAM AGAINST THE KUOMINTANG SIGNING AN AGREEMENT TO SELL WOOSUNG-SHANGHAI

9 May 1932

/Text/ The capitulation of the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang government before imperialism and its betrayal of the national interests are being carried on even more unabashedly and openly. On 5 May, the Kuomintang government signed a so-called cease-fire agreement with Japan and all other imperialist countries. This agreement is the outright selling of Shanghai, center of the proletariat of China. In the agreement, Japan is allowed to amass great numbers of its naval, army, and air forces in Shanghai on a long-term basis, while Chinese troops can never be stationed in the surrounding areas of Shanghai. In actual fact, this is an unlimited expansion of the area of Shanghai's International Settlement and a concrete step to bring about the conversion of Shanghai into a free city under international control.

This kind of shameless capitulation and overt act of betrayal show up even more clearly the Kuomintang government as traitors in the partition of China by imperialist countries and as "trail blazers" in the invasion of China by the imperialists. And yet, at the same time, the Kuomintang government, under the direction of the imperialists, has concentrated all its strength to attack the Soviet Area, which has long gained liberation and extricated itself from the fetters of the imperialists, and try preventing the Workers and Peasants' Red Army from carrying on its anti-imperialist national revolutionary war. In the course of the Shanghai negotiations and signing of the agreement, it has been exposed even more thoroughly that the League of Nations is the organizer of the partition of China and that all imperialist countries alike are cooperators of Japanese imperialism and proponents of the partition of China.

The Soviet Provisional Central Government hereby proclaims before the toiling masses of China that as representative of the toiling masses all over the country: it renounces the negotiations and secret agreements entered into by the counterrevolutionary Kuomintang government with Japan and all other imperialist countries and the May 5th cease-fire agreement signed by the traitorous Kuomintang government; it calls upon the toiling masses

throughout the country to rise resolutely to wage a revolutionary national war against Japanese imperialism and all other imperialist countries, and oppose the running dogs and "trail blazers" of the imperialists--the Kuomintang government--in order to maintain China's territorial integrity and seek the complete independence and liberation of China.

The Soviet Provisional Central Government calls upon the toiling masses all over the country to rise in struggle, arm themselves, and support the victorious assaults of the Chinese Workers and Peasants' Red Army to overthrow the counterrevolutionary government of the Kuomintang, and under the Soviet banner, carry out resolutely and thoroughly a national revolutionary war. Struggle for the liberation and independence of the Chinese nation! Struggle for a free and independent Soviet China!

Provisional Central Government of
the Chinese Soviet Republic
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

Jui-chin, Kiangsi
9 May 1932

o"Soviet China," Soviet Research Institute, China Bookstore (Shanghai), November 1932
*"Soviet China," Soviet Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow), 1933

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TELEGRAM FROM THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO THE HUNAN-KIANGSI PROVINCIAL WORKER-PEASANT-SOLDIER CONGRESS

9 June 1932

/Text/ Hunan-Kiangsi Provincial Soviet for transmittal to the Provincial Worker-Peasant-Soldier Congress

Comrade Representatives!

Due to transportation problems, the Soviet Provisional Central Government could not send representatives to attend your congress. It can only send you a brief directive telegram.

1. Today, at a time when imperialist countries are frantically carrying on a war against the Soviet Union and the partition of China, and the revolution in China is making progress, as evidenced in particular by the several unprecedented victories of the Soviet Red Army, the imperialist countries have turned from secret intervention to direct armed suppression of the Chinese revolution.

2. The rule of the Kuomintang is disintegrating. But to continue betraying China and act as "trail blazers" for the imperialists, and save itself from demise, it is conducting new frenzied attacks on Soviet areas and the Red Army all over the country. Now the time has arrived for revolution and counterrevolution to engage in a struggle to the death, now the stage has been reached for the civil war in China to turn into an all-out war against imperialism.

3. The balance of class strength has been altered and is now even more favorable to the development of Soviet revolution. At present, the Soviets are adopting a positive course of liquidating the offensive of the imperialists and Kuomintang with a series of revolutionary attacks. It is to mobilize and arm the masses to the maximum and implement completely the Central Government's mobilization order on the occasion of the declaration of war against Japan to win an initial victory by capturing Kiangsi and its neighboring provinces.

4. Your congress should carry on all its work under this task, set an even more concrete course of action to mobilize and prepare the masses to join Red fighters in the struggle against imperialism and to overthrow the Kuomintang rule, draw up an even more specific plan to Sovietize the western bank of the Kan River and capture Kan-chou, Chi-an, and Nan-ch'ang in coordination with the Red Army and the Kiangsi Provincial Soviet.

5. The congress should arrive at a very concrete decision regarding making a bid to expand the Red Army and implement regulations for the preferential treatment of the Red Army, and should sufficiently discuss the building up of regional armed forces and the development of guerrilla warfare, extending the Soviet areas, and reinforcing the leadership in all work and struggles in the White areas.

6. To enhance the enthusiasm in struggle of the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, it is imperative to implement thoroughly the Soviet government program. The congress should enforce the Labor Law in its entirety and carry out land inspection to see whether or not the Land Law is being implemented in full. It should carry out agrarian construction and raise production in a planned way.

7. Consolidate urban and rural congresses, bring about a genuine democratic system, and draw the masses of workers and peasants into taking part in the government and its work.

8. On the question of suppression of counterrevolutionaries, apart from implementing correctly Order No 6, the congress should prevent the mistake of another abandonment of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. But the handling of workers and peasants who unconsciously joined all sorts of covert and fraudulent organizations (such as opium-smoking clubs and lovers' societies) should not be put on a par with the handling of elements who consciously or knowlingly joined the AB Group. There should be a difference. We should not judge the former category of people guilty of having formally joined a counterrevolutionary organization. Only in this way can we win over the masses who have been deceived into unconsciously joining covert organizations and prevent counterrevolutionaries from intimidating them into falling into their schemes.

9. It is necessary to take stringent measures to rectify past mistakes of inciting the masses to go and grab rice from the White areas. These things have impaired faith in the soviets and increased the antipathy of the masses in the White areas, and have been made capital of by the counterrevolutionaries. The grain and rice of landlords in the White areas for the most part should be distributed among the masses of workers and peasants locally. Only a part of it should be used to aid the Red Army and a part to aid people in Soviet areas who have been trampled underfoot and suffer from a shortage of rice. But this should still be publicized among the masses in the White areas.

10. The Provincial Soviet in the past classified opposition against rich peasants into pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary. This is extremely erroneous. The congress must repudiate this kind of theory. That the masses did not take an active part in production in the past was essentially the evil consequence of exacting fines and levying contributions impermissibly without regard to classes, and not of opposing exploitation by rich peasants.

11. Implement the economic policy correctly so as to enlarge the financial resources and establish an economic base for expanding the revolutionary war. Develop the economy, improve tax collection, and organize guerrilla units to raise funds in the White areas on the one hand, and on the other hand, present ways and means to "cut down expenses to provide for war expenditures," punish severely corruption and wasteful acts, and put into effect a truly unified financial system so as to relieve the Red Army gradually of its official fund-raising task and enable it to concentrate solely on carrying on the revolutionary war.

12. To carry out thoroughly all this work, it is necessary to enforce a work inspection system so as to eradicate bureaucratism, corruption and degeneration, passivity and sabotage. It was wrong that the Provincial Soviet did not set up a worker-peasant inspection department in the past. The different levels of government must now establish such a department in accordance with the regulations to be promulgated at this congress, elect veteran Communist Party members who have had a long history of struggle and are activists to serve in it, and call upon the broad masses of workers and peasants and mass organizations to take part in this work.

13. The congress must thoroughly review the past work of the Provincial Soviet and of the government at different levels. It must mercilessly bring to light all mistakes made in the work before it can implement correctly all resolutions and orders of the National Soviet Congress and the Central Government and accomplish what should be its tasks. Finally, we wish success to your congress.

Chinese Soviet Provisional Central Government
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

o"Red China," No 22, 9 June 1932

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PROVISIONAL ORGANIZATIONAL OUTLINE OF THE DEPARTMENT OF INTERNAL AFFAIRS
--Adopted at the 16th Regular Session of the People's Council

20 June 1932

/Text/ 1. In the Central Government the Department of Internal Affairs is attached to the People's Council and is known as the Department of People's Commissioners of Internal Affairs. It is known as the Department of Internal Affairs in counties and provinces under the direction of the Presidium of the Executive Committee. No department of internal affairs is set up in districts.

2. Administratively, the different levels of the department of internal affairs are placed under the direct authority of the department of internal affairs of a higher level, thus establishing a direct systematic relationship, and absolutely act under the order of that department. However, at the same time, they are subjected to the guidance of the presidium of the government of the same level, thus creating a lateral relationship. A department of internal affairs may organize a committee on internal affairs to be composed of three to nine members.

3. After the election of the director of a lower-level department of internal affairs by the Soviet congress of the same level, his name must be submitted to the department of internal affairs of a higher level for approval.

4. For the time being, the department of internal affairs has charge of municipal administration, people's police, criminal cases, criminal investigation, public health, communication, post and telecommunications, food, social security, census, registration of births and deaths, and of marriages, etc. Under the Department of People's Commissioners of Internal Affairs are established tentatively the following:

(a) Directorate of Municipal Administration;
(b) Administrative Bureau;
(c) Directorate of Public Health:

(d) Directorate of Communication;
(e) Directorate of Social Security; and
(f) Directorate of Posts and Telecommunications.

(Note 1) The directorates of public health, communication, post and telecommunications, social security, and food are provisional organs to be set up prior to the establishment of the departments of public health, communication, posts and telecommunications, etc., whose work is being administered by the department of internal affairs on a temporary basis.

(Note 2) For the time being, the department (division) of public health will not be established in the municipal Soviets, districts, counties, and provinces. Under the department of internal affairs, a division of public health will be set up temporarily, and in a district it will be the responsibility of the presidium of that district. A department (division) of food must be set up in all municipal Soviets, districts, counties, and provinces, subjected to the guidance of the Department of People's Commissioners of Internal Affairs in the Central Government.

5. The department of internal affairs in a county or province will set up only these divisions: administrative, municipal administration, communication, public health, and social security. A municipal Soviet will establish an administrative division to administer the people's police and concurrently handle criminal investigation. Bigger cities will set up a division of municipal administration and an administrative division to have charge of city administration, people's police, and criminal investigation.

6. In the Department of Internal Affairs in the Central Government, apart from the director and deputy director, there is a head for each of the six directorates, and in the provinces a head for each of the five divisions, namely: administrative, municipal administration, communication, public health, and social security. In the county there is a head for each of the two divisions, and in the municipalities there is only the head of the administrative division.

(Note) In a small county the director of the department can act concurrently as the head of one of the two divisions, leaving only one divisional head to be added.

7. Aside from the responsible working personnel listed in Item 6, consideration may be given to the employment of technicians to undertake technical work. Such personnel will be appointed by order of the director.

8. The business to be handled by each of the directorates (divisions) are as follows:

(a) The directorate of municipal administration is to administer the city's construction affairs, such as highways, streets, streetcar lines, electric lights, and water supply, and to construct and manage other city enterprises.

(b) The administrative bureau of administrative division is: (a) to administer the people's police, train and educate the people's police, conduct census, keep registers of births and deaths and of marriages, set up street lights, oversee and direct the people's police in maintaining order in the city and cleanliness in the streets and upholding the prohibition of opium-smoking and gambling; and (b) to direct criminal investigation, train criminal investigation personnel, and investigate and arrest all kinds of criminal offenders (such as thieves, robbers, murderers, etc.).

(c) The directorate (division) of public health is to administer hospitals, take precautions against epidemics and infectious diseases and keep them in check, pay attention to public health, inspect land and water conveyances, community mess halls, and people's homes for cleanliness, test and supervise doctors and pharmacists, and inspect the drug and medicinal herb business.

(d) The directorate (division) of communication is to plan, construct, and inspect roads and bridges, and supervise their repair and improvement, administer shipping, dredge navigable channels, and set up beacons, and administer overland transportation (such as railroads, highways, and air navigation) and its improvement, and all other matters concerning communication.

(e) The directorate (division) of social security is to administer relief to the poverty-stricken in society and relief in case of flood, drought, and other kinds of calamities.

(f) The directorate of posts and telecommunications is to develop and administer the postal, telegraph, radiogram, and long-distance telephone services.

(Note) Posts and telecommunications are under centralized management, therefore the directorate of post and telecommunications is set up only under the Department of People's Commissioners of Internal Affairs in the Central Government and not below the provincial level.

9. In case of necessity, the various directorates or divisions may set up committees and appoint experts as members. The head of the directorate or division will serve as chairman and committee members will range from three to five in number.

10. The organizational outlines of the department of food and the department of public health in the local government and detailed regulations governing their work will be formulated and promulgated separately.

11. A number of advisors may be appointed to supervise the conduct of departmental business and guide the work of subordinates.

12. Detailed regulations governing the office work of the department of internal affairs will be formulated separately.

13. The provisional organizational outline may be revised or abolished at any time by the People's Council.

14. This provisional organizational outline takes effect from the day of promulgation in the two provinces of Fukien and Kiangsi and in Jui-chin county directly under the central authority. However, in soviet areas which are not contiguous to the Central Soviet Area, it takes effect from the day of its arrival.

People's Council
Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuao-tao

10 June 1932

"Provisional Organizational Outline of the Department of Internal Affairs, Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic" (mimeograph)

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ON CONTINUING THE REFORM OF LOCAL SOVIET GOVERNMENTS
Directive No 15 of the Central Executive Committee

20 September 1932

/Text/ At a time when the current revolutionary war is developing sharply, the central task of the soviets is to lead and expand the revolutionary war and every kind of work should center around the war. All sacrifices made will be for winning total victory in the war and to improve and consolidate the leadership of the soviets is a basic condition for winning total victory in the war. The local soviets have gone through a complete reform and they have made partial progress in their work. However, it has come to light that in the central task of leading and expanding the revolutionary war, the leadership of the local soviets is weak and that many mistakes have been committed. First of all, they have not centered their work around the war. For this reason, in many places they have not actively proceeded with expanding the Red Army and mobilizing the masses to go to the front and join in the fighting. Some have not resolutely carried out attacks against the enemy in their leadership of the regional armed forces. Take, for example, the Lung-yai Revolutionary Military Committee and the Ch'ang-t'ing County Soviet. Both not only did not tenaciously lead the masses in engaging the enemy in resolute struggle, but they shrank back and fled, with the result that the soviet areas suffered considerable losses. They did not pay heed to the political leadership of guerrilla units, creating serious manifestations of Red-White antagonism. They did not even take a firm step to expand the soviet areas and consolidate newly won soviet areas. Such facts as these fully show that the soviet governments in some places are not sound and that they do not perform their tasks determinedly. This is exceedingly detrimental to the development and victory of the revolutionary war.

Looking at the soviet governments themselves, we have noticed that there still are alien class elements hidden in some of them and that other governments are still displaying a non-class line to the fullest. This non-class line has frequently been manifested in questions concerning land and protection for workers. Manifestations of bureaucratic degeneration are developing in a number of local soviet government. Manifestations of corruption are still very serious. Their methods of work often are divorced

from the masses. Mostly, they adopt the method of issuing an order and compeling the masses to carry it out. They have not fully implemented the regulations governing the preferential treatment of the Red Army, thereby impeding the work of expanding the Red Army. They have disregarded women's rights and unrealistically implemented the marriage regulations, thereby obstructing women from participating in revolutionary work. Lower-level governments do not pay attention to orders from a higher-level government and merely perform their work perfunctorily. Regular congresses of urban and rural soviets have not been set up. In the worst cases, some rural soviets close their doors and do no work. In all the work, the majority of them only have the name, but not the work. All these manifestations and mistakes show that the local soviets are not sound and cannot have the strength to undertake the task of leading the revolutionary war.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the soviet governments in the revolutionary war and eliminate all mistakes and shortcomings in the work of the soviets, it has been resolved to continue to re-elect and reform the local soviet governments. Through re-elections we will clear the soviets of non-class alien elements and all other elements who are passive saboteurs of revolutionary war work, drive corrupt and degenerate bureaucratic elements out of the soviets, admit activists as new cadres, and set up strong and capable soviet governments to carry out realistically the task and work of leading the revolutionary war.

The election procedure this time is not to conduct elections at the different levels of government in the Fukin and Kiangsi provincial soviets simultaneously, but to hold separate elections with the counties as a unit. This is because now is the time to expand the revolutionary war and if elections are carried out simultaneously in all places, the governments will devote all their energy to the work of conducting re-elections and this will necessarily cause the work of expanding the revolutionary war to come to a standstill and thus will be of no advantage to the revolutionary war. As to the main criterion of re-election, how a government performs its work in leading the revolutionary war will decide whether the re-election of the government will be a complete one or partial. Below are two lists of names of counties, one calling for a complete re-election and the other for a partial re-election:

1. Complete re-election: In Kiangsi--Nan-kuang, Shih-ch'eng, Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Yu-tu, and Yung-feng. In Fukien--Ch'ang-t'ing, Ning-hua, Hsin-ch'uan, and Wu-p'ing. In Lung-yai a county soviet government will be set up formally.

2. Partial re-election: In Kiangsi--Hsing-kuo, Sheng-li, Ning-tu, Kung-lueh, Kan-hsien, Lo-an, and Wan-t'ai. In Fukien--Yung-ting, Shang-hang, and Jui-chin counties directly under the central authority.

In this re-election, we should mobilize the masses to participate in the re-election campaign and review and criticize the work of the soviets through developing the revolutionary war. We should make the re-election

campaign serve as an actual mobilization to arouse the masses to expand the Red Army and take part in frontline work so as to set right past peaceful re-elections and election campaigns that were removed from the war.

In this re-election, the different levels of the government should pay special attention to drawing activists among the workers into joining county congresses and district and county executive committees so as to reinforce the worker composition of the different levels of the soviets.

Upon receipt of this directive, the different levels of the soviet government should immediately make preparations for re-election. The period of re-election shall be determined by the Soviets of the two provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien and the Presidium of the Soviet of Jui-chin county directly under the central authority. The re-election formalities will still be in accordance with the provisions of the election by-laws.

Such is the order.

The different levels of the soviet governments.

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

20 September 1932

o"Red China," No 35, 27 September 1932

7682
CSO: 4005

ON COMMEMORATION OF THE FIRST ANNIVERSARY OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT
Order No 9 of the Central Executive Committee

24 September 1932

/Text/ November 7 this year is the first anniversary of the establishment of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and at the same time, the 15th anniversary of the victory of the October Revolution of the Soviet Union. In the past year, internationally the revolutionary situation in China has made the greatest progress and socialist construction in the Soviet Union has gained great success, intensifying all the more the collapse of the capitalist world and the development of world revolution. In this past year, the imperialist war against the Soviet Union and the partition of China have reached an unprecedented critical state. Since the establishment of a nation-wide unified organ of leadership--the Provisional Central Government--the Chinese soviet movement has achieved unprecedented success and growth. Under the leadership of the Central Government, the Workers and Peasants' Red Army throughout the country has continued to score unprecedented victories in the revolutionary war by annihilating between 10 and 20 divisions of the Kuomintang army, expanding the most extensive soviet areas, and unfolding a new phase in the national revolutionary war all over the country. The Soviet has become a banner of liberation to the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, nation-wide.

On the occasion of this great anniversary, the imperialist Kuomintang, in the course of its fourth "encirclement campaign" against the soviets and the Workers and Peasants' Red Army, for which it had concentrated all strength in a bid to save its moribund rule, has suffered the most serious defeat at the hands of the courageous Red Army, which is fighting on all fronts to hasten its collapse and annihilation. The Soviet Central Government calls upon the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, and the Red Army to smash thoroughly the fourth encirclement campaign of the imperialist Kuomintang and strive for an initial victory in Kiangsi Province through courageous action so as to carry out direct war with Japan to commemorate this great anniversary. At the same time, the masses are called upon to take part in strengthening and leading the revolutionary war and on this anniversary, carry out a review of the work of the different levels of government. The Central Executive Committee has decided to stage the following events on the anniversary of the establishment of the Central Government:

1. A three-day holiday, 6-8 January [sic], has been declared for all organs, army forces, factories, and shops.

2. A military review is to be held on 7 November. In all units at the front, except for those which cannot do so on account of fighting, the highest-ranking commander of each unit will hold a review of troops. Red Guard units and model battalions of every county will concentrate on the seat of the county Soviet to stage their review. In Jui-chin County directly under the central authority, the central authorities will hold a formal inspection of all model battalions in the county.

3. On 6 November, all counties will each summon a mass meeting of the electorate, at which the district or township government will represent the Central Government in making a report on the work in the past year (The report will be printed and issued by the Central Government in due course.). On 8 November, the district or township government will report to the electorate on its own work, so that on this day the electorate may review the work of the Soviet and the Soviet may accept the suggestions of the electorate regarding the Soviet.

4. Toward the end of October, all provinces and counties will make a work report to the Central Government, in which they conduct a review of the work of the different levels of the Soviet in the past year, especially regarding the work of leading and organizing the war.

All levels of the government and all military districts positively must act in accordance with this order and make actual preparations for the above items of work in the midst of actively expanding the revolutionary war. Such is the order.

Military Council
All levels of the Government
All Military Districts

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

24 September 1932

On "Red China," No 35, 27 September 1932

7682
CSO: 4005

TELEGRAM AGAINST THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION DELEGATION

6 October 1932

[Text] All Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers and all oppressed masses!

The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic has long since proclaimed to the masses of all China that the League of Nations is a bandits' alliance of the imperialist countries to dismember China, and that the main purpose for which it has sent Lytton's investigation delegation to China is to plan for the dismemberment of China and the suppression of all revolutionary activity under the banner of the Chinese Soviets.

Now the report of the imperialist bandit alliance's investigation delegation--the Lytton Commission--concerning the dismemberment of China has been published. It is a tragic whitewash of the dismemberment of China presented to the Chinese masses by imperialism--and those traitors who disgrace their country, the Kuomintang and their government, entirely agree with and accept it!

The Lytton Commission report has publicly and quite shamelessly proclaimed a new plan for the dismemberment of China: it openly declares that Japan and all the imperialists should not only occupy Manchuria but should dismember the whole of China, and it clearly declares that Japanese imperialism's occupation of Manchuria and its bloodbath in Shanghai were justified. It calls for all imperialists to unite to dismember China and destroy the Chinese revolutionary movement, starting with an even crueller attack upon the country-wide national revolutionary war and local revolutionary movements led by the Chinese Soviet Government, upon the anti-Japanese war of the Manchurian volunteers, and upon anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist and goods boycott movements. It shamelessly advocates the status of "autonomous nation" for Manchuria, the setting up of an international gendarmerie to make it a base for international imperialism's attack upon the Soviet Union, for active attack on the Soviet Union. At the same time, it uses phrases such as "suzerainty rests with China" in the hopes of relieving the Chinese masses of their anti-imperialist armor and benumbing them. Finally, it repeatedly orders the Kuomintang to more actively attack the Red Army, to surrender more faithfully to imperialism and sell out national interests, to strive even harder to suppress the anti-imperialist movement and the goods boycott movement, and to cruelly butcher the Chinese masses!

The Lytton Commission's report is a certification of imperialist enslavement of the Chinese people. The Soviet Government calls upon the masses of the entire country to arm themselves and, under the leadership of the Soviet Government, tear the Lytton report to shreds with a revolutionary national war, and to oppose all of the imperialists' new schemes to dismember China, to attack the Soviet areas, to suppress the Chinese revolution and to attack the Soviet Union! Drive the Japanese and all imperialists out of China and gain complete liberation and independence for the Chinese people! Protect the Soviet Union by force of arms and establish a social alliance between China's laboring masses and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government declares to workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country and to all oppressed masses that to truly carry on a national revolutionary war and to oppose imperialists dismemberment of China, we must begin by overthrowing the scavengers of imperialist dismemberment of China and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, which represses the nationalist war. The Kuomintang and its government have, with complete loyalty, accepted the imperialists' report on the dismemberment of China, have accepted it as a basis for discussion, and all discussions and studies of it by Kuomintang factions and the government, as well as verbal expressions of dissatisfaction with certain points in the report are without exception a smokescreen to cover up their betrayal of China and a trick to deceive the masses. The Kuomintang is willing to give the Three Eastern Provinces, Shanghair, and the rest of China to the imperialists and mobilize a huge army, with the direction and help of the imperialists, to attack the worker and peasant army which is truly leading the revolutionary masses of the entire country in a revolutionary nationalist war, hoping in this way to destroy the Soviet Government of the true anti-imperialist masses and prevent the Red Army and the heroic anti-imperialist fighters and volunteers from standing together to make war directly upon the imperialists. At the same time, it assists the imperialists by slaughtering and betraying the Manchurian volunteers, repressing the nationwide anti-imperialist movement, restraining the goods boycott movement and the workers' strikes, and slaughtering the workers and peasants and the laboring masses in order to prove its loyalty to imperialism. Only by overthrowing the Kuomintang rule which has sold out our national interests can we prosecute the national revolutionary war in a workable manner. The Soviet Government is now leading the Worker and Peasant Red Army of the entire nation and the broad range of laboring masses in the Soviet zones in a bitter war against the imperialist Kuomintang to victoriously smash the Kuomintang's fourth campaign and is destroying the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang with revolutionary war! Masses of the entire nation, arm yourselves! Oppose the Kuomintang's fourth campaign on the Soviet zones, overthrow the rule of the Kuomintang, the lackeys of imperialism, and support the Red Army and Soviet power! Only the Soviet Government can truly lead a nationwide revolutionary war, fight directly against Japan and oppose the imperialists' dismemberment of China! Only the Worker and Peasant Red Army is truly arming the masses for a nationalist war! Fighters of the Worker and Peasant Red Army throughout the country, and laboring worker-peasant masses in the Soviet zones! Actively carry on revolutionary war against the imperialist Kuomintang and resolutely attack and smash the fourth "encirclement and suppression campaigns!"

Workers, peasants and soldiers everywhere in the White areas, and all suffering masses! Take the initiative in arming yourselves, organizing militias, staging strikes and carrying on goods boycotts, and struggle actively against the imperialist Kuomintang; all revoutionary masses rise together under the Soviet banner to wage a national revolutionary war, to oppose imperialist dismemberment of China, to overthrow Kuomintang rule, to drive the Japanese imperialists and all other imperialists out of China, to set up a Soviet Government of the masses of all China, and to complete the independence and liberation of the Chinese people!

Chairman of the Provisional Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic,
Mao Tse-tung
Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
6 October 1932 in Jui-chin 3843 6855 Kiangsi

o"Soviet China," Soviet Research Society Chung-hua Shu-Chu (Shanghai), November 1932

*"Pei-Fang Hung-Ch'1" RED FLAG OF THE NORTH No 15, Oct 1932

*"Soviet China," Soviet Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow), 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON EMERGENCY MOBILIZATION FOR WAR

Order No 12 of Central Executive Committee

13 October 1932

[Text] The revolution is becoming daily more intense throughout the country, and the Soviets and the Red Army in particular have won unprecedentedly great victories and more unprecedented progress throughout the country, so that the imperialist Kuomintang's fourth encirclement campaign in O-Hsiang-Yuan, Hsiang-o-hsi, Hsiang-tung-pei and Hsiang-o-chiang has met with crushing defeat after defeat. Most notably, the Red Army in the Central District rolled victoriously northward, and as a result the Kuomintang warlords, under the strict supervision of the imperialists, are now devoting their full strength to deployments for a large-scale attack against the Central District, and intensifying their attacks on Kau-tung-pei, Hsiang-ok-kan and Ho-hsi; this is because in view of the revolution's victories and the reactionary ruling class is planning to put all its strength into a final effort which represents a critical point of decisive struggle between revolution and counterrevolution.

This class war will be more intense and graver than any previous war and accordingly we must mobilize all our workers and peasants and laboring masses to arm themselves and quickly become a powerful Red Army force, and to prepare with all their strength, all their economic resources and all their sacrifice for a war to smash the enemy's large-scale campaign in the course of the victory in this war, we shall take the urban centers of Chi, Hsiang, Fu, and Nan, and realize our initial victory in Kiangsi and the several neighboring provinces. In order to lead the worker-peasant masses and armed organizations of the entire country in smashing the imperialist Kuomintang's all-out attack on the central region the fourth encirclement campaign throughout the country, the Central Government is carrying out an emergency general wartime mobilization, in particular with reference to the Worker and Peasant Red Army units and all worker-peasant laboring masses in Soviet areas throughout the country, to carry out a resolute attack, with the most positive and rapid action and the broadest and most thorough military mobilization, in order to guarantee the complete success of this war. Accordingly, governments at all levels, all Red Army units, and all military districts must resolutely and rapidly carry out the following mobilization work:

1. Urgently mobilize all worker-peasant laboring masses to struggle energetically for victory with the most positive revolutionary enthusiasm and practical activity; to this end, the governments at all levels shall carry out a thorough political mobilization of the worker-peasant masses in all Soviet areas so that every worker-peasant element understands the significance of this campaign for his own future and that it is a decisive movement for the country-wide victory of the Soviets, and recognizes that the fundamental conditions for the victory of our class war are the swelling of the struggle against counterrevolution by all revolutionary forces in the country, so as to stimulate the worker-peasant masses' fighting enthusiasm and class determination and make them actively prepare for and participate in all practical work of the campaign, in the front lines and the rear areas, and struggle to smash the enemy's large-scale attack. Accordingly:

(a) All personnel of the provincial and Soviet area governments are to go immediately to the lower levels and convene assemblies there, in particular the urban and rural representative assemblies and electoral assemblies to undertake political mobilization, so that all working personnel and all worker and peasant comrades will understand the significance of this war, and will all be mobilized to take part in all mobilization activities of the war.

(b) In all Red Army units, their highest leadership organs shall convene soldiers' meetings in accordance with their particular situation, to carry out a general mobilization of all fighters.

(c) In all local armed associations, the military district military departments, and those at all other levels, shall hold meetings of their Red Guards, guerrillas, and Young Pioneers groups.

(d) All mass groups shall, under this general mobilization order, respectively hold plenary meetings and make agitation reports.

2. All Red Army units shall, in accordance with established policy and mounting the most positive and adroit attacks, first defeat the enemy's attacks and smash the enemy's all-out attack with victorious attacks of their own, so as to seize control of urban centers and realize the initial victory in Kiangsi; in particular, the Red Army units throughout the country must act in coordination.

3. An intensive expansion of the Red Army strengthens the main force of the revolutionary war, and this is a main condition for smashing the enemy's all-out assault. In October, governments at all levels must, with the greatest energy and rapidity, mobilize the broadest range of worker and peasant activist elements to swell the Red Army's numbers and improve its quality. They must resolutely carry out the Central Committee's Directive No 15 and must also more than double the prescribed numbers, and thereafter must continually carry on activities to expand the Red Army, constantly replenishing the front lines on a large-scale and setting up regular Red Army reserve units. In addition, governments at all levels are charged with mobilizing and urging soldiers who have been demobilized and have returned home to all return to their units during October, and with initiating an extremely broad return-to-the-units movement among the masses.

4. Persevere in carrying out Directive No 15 and quickly mobilize all able-bodied men between 18 and 40 years of age in all Soviet areas to volunteer to join the Red Guards, each man must provide himself with a weapon, prepare sights for local weapons and artillery and ready a sufficient supply of ammunition (in addition, the Young Pioneers must be set up extensively); they must be organized and set up as units in accordance with regulations; this work must be completed before the revolutionary holiday in October.

Political education and combat training must be especially intensified. Governments at all levels, and all military districts and all military departments, must painstakingly undertake the implementation of this Directive so that the Red Guards will truly be able to shoulder the task of protecting their localities and coordinating with the Red Army in destroying and striking back at the attacking enemy; model camps and model Young Pioneers groups must be ready at all times to move out and to assemble for combat.

5. Set up powerful guerrilla units. All existing guerrilla units must be subjected to strict investigation and bad elements among their personnel must immediately be purged and guerrilla units' leadership must be strengthened or replaced. During October each guerrilla unit must take a week's training in rotation and strengthen its political and military education, so that every member of the unit knows the work and missions he is charged with. Each country must have at least one or two crack guerrilla units to go into neighboring White areas and the enemy's rear and carry on the broadest kind of guerrilla war, whipping up mass struggle and extending the Soviet areas; they will be the Soviet areas' armed organizers and propagandizers. They will become an extremely critical force in the revolutionary war, able to coordinate with the Red Army in applying pressure and attacking the enemy; they will resolutely erase all serious phenomena of guerrilla units. Each county must have them thoroughly organized and put in order during October so that they can all go into action according to the directives and missions which have been planned by the Military Service Committee.

6. In order to facilitate the destruction of the enemy and to win the initial victory in Kiangsi, we must actively develop the surrounding Soviet areas, in particular those in the north and east, as well as those in the northeast. This is a critical prerequisite for winning a victory and for realizing the initial victory in Kiangsi. Governments at all levels and armed units in all localities must immediately mobilize personnel to go to these fronts and develop the Soviet areas to win over the broad worker-peasant masses, to create an even more extensive Soviet area, to surround every urban center and the environs of any urban center that serve the enemy as a strong point; to establish close relationships with Northeast Kiangsi and Ho-hsi, and with more thorough planning, to go and carry on work among the soldiers of the White armies surrounding the Soviet areas, so as to shatter the enemy's armies, win over the revolutionary masses of the soldiers, and set up activities in the neighboring urban centers. All provincial and county governments must, in October, transfer large numbers of cadres to these new areas in order to establish political power and carry out the land revolution, so as to carry on work in the White areas and with the White army soldiers, and at the same time, must deepen the class struggle in all the border areas, consolidate and expand them.

7. We must immediately collect the land tax, the business tax and the house rents so as to develop our financial resources, and must thoroughly ready our economic and food resources for warfare, along with all military necessities, and prepare for a protracted struggle with the enemy, so that Red Army and all worker-peasant masses will not be troubled by being bottled up by the enemy and short on provisions; even more, we must continue to save on expenses and food, in order to make ample war preparations. This is of critical importance to our victory or defeat in the decisive war.

8. Mobilize all worker-peasant masses to store food and salt and to cut waste of food, to make an effort in the growing of miscellaneous grains and vegetables and to prepare to supply the Red Army during wartime. The enthusiasm for revolutionary war and support for the Red Army of the worker-peasant masses in all the soviet areas should be encouraged politically, and preparation and storage of economic resources and food should be thoroughly carried out, in order to gain victory in war and to be prepared at any time to lend or contribute to the Red Army.

9. We must persist in destroying the advancing enemy so that our soviet areas will not be overrun. If the enemy is able to enter and harass soviet areas, we must persevere in leading the worker-peasant masses and arming them in hitting the enemy and destroying him. We must cut off his food supplies and communications, harass him day and night, strengthen our bulwarks and leave nothing outside them, so that the enemy cannot continue for a moment in the Soviet areas. All local governments must lead the local armed organizations and worker-peasant masses in active execution of all kinds of preparations, making use of our experience of the past three campaigns, so that we will attain a more thorough and effective achievement and will be victorious.

10. All Soviet areas must institute the strictest sort of Red martial law, and all sentries shall be the responsibility of the Red Guards. They must be set up within 10 days so as to stringently guard against penetration by enemy reconnaissance, and must scrupulously check all travelers and all materials brought with them. Any suspicious cases must be brought to the government organs for thorough investigation. The governments at all levels shall issue travel permits only after detailed investigation and certification. They must not issue them carelessly. The previous practice of stamping a mark on the hand is to be abandoned. All mass organizations must obtain travel passes from the government, and only the government and military organs of the government can issue them. Travel permits for travel through the white areas must be issued by the county or district governments. A house-to-house check of all Soviet areas must immediately be carried out, and in particular all suspicious elements in the urban areas must be subjected to intensive investigation and surveillance. For this work, government at all levels shall have the particupation and assistance of the labor unions, Young Pioneers and all mass organizations.

11. Intensify the purge of counterrevolutionaries. The National Security Office is charged with instructing its branch units at all levels to make painstaking plans to carry out this work, and at the same time government at all levels must deal severely with all counterrevolutionary activities, in particular the counties of Shih Ch'eng [4258 1004], Ning-tu [1337 6757], Kuang-ch'ang [1639 2490], I-huang [1355 7806], Ning-hua [1337 0553], Hui-ch'ang

[2585 2490], Hsün-wu [1416 6762], Yü-tu [7184 6757], An-yuan [1344 6678], Hsin-feng [0207 0023], and Lung-yen [7893 1484]. We must quickly and thoroughly wipe out the power of the evil gentry and landlords and lead the worker-peasant masses to carry out surveillance activities against all landlords, rich peasants and all suspected counterrevolutionaries. In the combat zones these elements must be arrested. In order to set up a more consolidated rear area we must thoroughly purge all counterrevolutionary factions and suppress all counterrevolutionary activities.

12. We must actively revamp our main communication lines to make them more conducive to military transport and troop movements. We must institute strong logistics depot activities and logistics depot transportation, and all governmental units within 30 li of the depots in either direction will be charged with transport and protection reponsibility. The Red Guards along the line shall become armed units for protection and escort. As to means of transportation, we shall change the past designation of the various organizations and unite them under the Red Guards. We have resolved that every member of Red Guard unit shall have a weapon and a carrying pole; one stretcher for every five men so that if combat occurs they may all attack the enemy with weapons and if the front lines or logistics depots need stretcher bearers or transportation teams, all Red Guards can become transportation teams or stretcher bearers; only with such a rapid mobilization can we adapt to the intense needs of combat.

13. The relevant government units shall mobilize the broad masses during October to completely pull down all works built by the enemy in the soviet areas during the three campaigns and not yet destroyed, and the city walls of all cities.

14. During wartime, government at all levels must persevere in leading the masses and the armed units in resolutely doing battle with the enemy, and if there are those who are faint-hearted and flee and do not persistenly lead the masses in combat, they must be dealt with according to military discipline. In addition, in order to intensify the combat leadership strength of the various governments, all the working personnel of the various governments shall receive military training, and the district and township government personnel shall participate in the Red Guards with leadership responsibility; at the province and county levels they must, in coordination with the working personnel of the various organs and organizations at the same level, set up a Red Guards organization to regularly carry out military training, so that all life and activity shall be militarized. This will more practically strengthen the leadership of the governments at various levels over the combat activities of the local armed units.

The situation of the war is becoming daily more urgent, and we must use our full strength in mobilizing the worker-peasant masses of all soviet areas, and must, with the greatest rapidity, thoroughly prepare for all combat activities and prepare to make every sacrifice to gain a military victory, subordinating all activities to the war. This time, victory will assuredly belong to us. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
13 October 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 29 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

13 October 1932

[Text] In order to adjust to the development of the revolutionary war, and XX XX the work of the military department of local governments at all levels, to lead the armed units of all localities in active participation in combat, the chairman of the Military Department must be well-provided with military skill and leadership ability to take on this important work. The People's Committee has determined that the method of choosing the chairman of the military departments of local governments at all levels shall be changed; he shall be appointed directly by the command over all the military districts, the general headquarters of the Jui-chin [3843 6855] garrison. The appointment and replacement of the chairmen of the military departments of the country and districts shall now be overseen by the individual military district garrison commands. We make known this order and expect compliance. It is so ordered.

Soviet Governments at all levels
Commands of all military districts
Commander-in-Chief Jui-chin Garrison
Chairman, Mao Tse-tung
Vice-chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
13 October 1932

oRed China, No 36, 16 October 1932
oRed China, No 47, 14 January 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 30 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

13 October 1932

[Text] The former Commander-in-Chief of the Jui-chin Garrison, Piu Po-ch'eng, has now been transferred to XX XX work, and the principal-designate of the Red Army School, Yeh Chien-ying, shall now also serve as Assignments Committee member. It is so ordered.

Chairman, Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
13 October 1932

oRed China, No 36, 16 October 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

ON THE SECOND ISSUE OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR BONDS

Directive No 17 of Central Executive Committee

21 October 1932

[Text] Because the revolution is developing particularly because of the victorious development of the Soviets and the Red Army, the enemy is now devoting his entire energy to an intensified deployment for a large-scale assault against the Central District. In addition to issuing an order for emergency wartime mobilization in order to lead the worker-peasant masses of all Soviet areas in thoroughly smashing the enemy's large-scale attack and realizing the initial victory in Kiangsi, the Central Government, in order to facilitate the thorough guaranteeing of a complete victory in this war and thorough preparation of economic resources for war, and in particular to mobilize all worker-peasant masses to complete this preparation more quickly, is taking the step of issuing a second series of revolutionary war bonds in the amount of 1,200,000 yuan, for the specific purpose of meeting the costs of the war. On receipt of this directive, governments at all levels must, on the basis of previous experience, immediately discuss the method of selling them and put it into practice within a short time. For this purpose they must use a concrete method as below:

1. Distribution of loans

(a) Merchants, 150,000

T'ing-chou [3060 1558] City, 70,000. Ning-hua [1337 0553], 5,000.
Jui-chin [3843 6855], 20,000. Hui-ch'ang [2585 2490], 8,000.
Yün-men-ling [4596 7024 1545], 18,000. Kuang-ch'ang [1639 2490], 6,000.
Ning-tu [1337 6757], 5,000. Hsing-kuo [5281 0948], 8,000.
Yü-tu [7184 6757], 3,000. Shih-ch'eng [4258 1004], 3,000.
An-yuan [1344 6678], 2,000. Hsü-wu [1416 6762], 2,000.

(b) The various counties, 986,000

Fukien: Ch'aung-ting [7022 3060], 60,000. Shang-hang [0006 2635], 60,000.
Lung-yen [7893 1484], 20,000. Yung-ting [3057 1353], 15,000.
Hsin-chüan [2450 2164], 15,000. Ning-hua, 10,000.
Ting-chou City, 4,000. Wu-p'ing [2976 1627], 1,000.

Kiangsi: Jui-chin, 120,000. Hsing-kuo, 120,000.
Ning-tu, 80,000. Hui-ch'ang, 64,000.
Kan-hsien [6371 4905], 60,000. Sheng-li [0524 0448], 60,000.
Kung-lüe [0361 3970], 50,000. Yü-tu, 50,000.
Kuang-ch'eng, 40,000. Shih-ch'eng, 40,000.
Yung-feng [3057 0023], 30,000. An-yuan, 15,000.
Hsun-wu, 15,000. Lo-an [2867 1344], 10,000.
I-huang [1355 7806], 5,000. Hsin-feng [0207 0023], 2,000.
Wan-t'ai [8001 3141], 4,000.

(c) Red Army, 60,000

Front Lines, 40,000. Rear Area offices, 10,000. Red Army School, 2,000.
Kau [6371] Military District, 5,000. Fukien Military District, 3,000.

(d) Party and Government Groups, 4,000

All General Administrative Offices, 2,700.
General Office of Young Pioneers, 500.
Organs Directly under Central Government, 400.
Lenin Normal, 300.
Central Office, 100.

2. Date of Issuance and Collection:

First Period, 306,000.
October 26, sent out by Central Government.
November 1, issued in all localities.
November 15, collections completed.
Lung-yen 20,000; Yung-ting 15,000; Wu-p'ing 1000; Lo-an 10,000; I-huang 5,000;
Kuang-ch'ang 46,000; Ning-tu 65,000; An-yuan 17,000; Hsün-wu 17,000;
Hui-ch'ang, Yün-men-ling 90,000 each.

Second Period, 360,000.
October 30, sent out.
November 1, issued.
November 15, collections complete.
Jui-chin 140,000; Yü-tu 53,000; T'ing-chou City 74,000; Ning-hua 15,000;
Shang-hang 60,000; Hsin-ch'üan 15,000; Fukien Military District 3,000.

Third Period, 310,000.
November 5, sent out.
November 12, issued.
Last of November, collections complete.
Hsing-kuo 128,000; Kan-hsien 60,000; Kung-lüe 50,000; Wan-ti'ai 40,000;
Yung-feng 30,000; Hsin-feng 2,000.

Fourth Period, 184,000.
November 8, sent out.
November 12, issued.
End of November, collections complete.
Ch'ang-ting 60,000; Shih-ch'eng 41,000; Sheng-li 60,000; Rear Area Offices 10,000; Ka'engsi Military District 5,000; Red Army School 5,000; Party and government groups 4,000.

Fifth Period, 40,000.
November 12, sent out.
November 20, issued.
December 1, collections complete.
Front Line Red Army 40,000;

3. Collection centers.

(a) Fukien: all cities, county and military districts collected at National Bank, Fukien Branch.

(b) Jui-chin, Shih-ch'eng, Hui-ch'ang, Hsün-wu, An-yuan, Yü-tu, Sheng-li, Ning-tu, Kuang-ch'ang, in Kiangsi, Kiangsi Military District.
Party and government groups, direct payment at Central Office of National Bank.

(c) Hsing-kuo, Kan-hsien, Kung-lue, Yung-feng, I-huang, Wan-t'ai, Lo-an, Hsin-feng, in Kiangsi, at Kiangsi Provincial Soviet.

(d) Front Line Red Army units, collected at General Management Office.

4. Means of mobilizing the masses.

(a) Use propaganda and agitation, agitate the worker-peasant masses to take the initiative in buying them. Orders or coercion must absolutely not be used. But rich peasants and large and middle merchants can be designated in advance, and ordered to buy them.

(b) The areas, cities and hsiang should convene the township representatives assemblies to make a report and discussion. As to the methods of sale and of encouraging the masses, the urban and rural governments and representatives should convene mass meeting, of the electorate and report on the significance of the government's bond issue and the duties of citizens. It is important that they should agitate them politically about participating in the revolutionary war so that the masses will take the initiative in buying them.

(c) Use of revolutionary emulation. County will compete with county district with district, township with township, village with village, and group with group, and the one that sells the most the quickest wins. The government at the next higher level should award a pennant and a prize.

(d) It shall be the responsibility of the village or city representative and the urban and rural governments to turn over the collected funds to the higher level.

(e) Governments at all levels shall, in accordance with the above, determine the concrete methods of implementation, i.e., methods of distribution, agitation, and collection. To sum up, the bond issue can be completely carried out according to the above regulations, but it depends most importantly upon how we decide upon our work of mobilizing and agitating the masses; whoever can actively mobilize the masses will be able to accomplish his mission. We must stringently correct the past erroneous procedures of not mobilizing the masses and relying exclusively on orders. The second bond issue is entirely for the needs of the war to thoroughly smash the enemy's large-scale attack. After the autumn harvest, the worker-peasant laboring masses and the inhabitants are economically more active, and following the first bond issue in particular the credit of the bond certificates had an easier time gaining the support of the masses. So, governments at all levels should, on the basis of past experience, make a great effort to agitate the masses, and resolutely correct the past erroneous method of giving orders and designating people without going through any propaganda and agitation. Each locality must at all costs sell the bonds on time and deliver the receipts by the deadline, in order to fulfil their revolutionary task. If half-hearted workers and sabotours are discovered again as they were last time, they shall be punished according to revolutionary discipline.

This is most expressly ordered!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
21 October 1932

oRed China, No 38, 1 November 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

ORGANIZE LABOR TEAMS WITH RICH PEASANTS

Order No 35

25 November 1932

[Text] At this period of tension in the revolutionary war, pressing tasks are many in order to lessen the burden of the combat tasks of the worker-peasant masses, we have decided to organize the rich peasants into work teams under the surveillance of the Red Guard to take on various types of labor service in the Soviet areas, such as tearing down city walls and works, repairing roads and internal transportation; these labor teams are to be made up out by compulsory levy of rich peasants. Overall treatment of them shall also differ from ordinary teams, as follows:

1. The various local governments must form all rich peasants able to work into labor teams, and at work time dispatch the Red Guards to oversee them (one Red Guard overseer per 5 workers). They must be sent immediately to tear down the city walls and earthworks and destroy the works which were previously put up in the Soviet areas by the enemy, and to repair the roads and bridges. Within the Soviet areas, the transportation along logistics depot routes and part of the moving of heavy objects shall be assigned to them.

2. As to the support of the labor teams, they must provide their own utensils and food, but if they are engaged in transportation work on trips lasting more than 2 days, the government may provide them with rice, but they themselves must carry money for vegetables. It is imperative that each government unit shall immediately implement the above resolutions. It is so ordered.

Soviet Governments at all levels
Chairman, Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
25 November 1932

oRed China, No 42, 28 Nov 1932

CULTIVATE MORE GRAIN AND PROHIBIT OPIUM CULTIVATION--NOTICE NO 13 OF PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

25 November 1932

[Text] At present, in order to continue the victorious pursuit of the revolutionary war and the protracted struggle, so as to thoroughly smash the enemy's large-scale offensive, and to win even greater victories, we need to make thorough preparations in which food is particularly critical, not only affecting the provisioning of the Red Army but also directly influencing the daily life of the worker-peasant masses. Accordingly, the Provisional Central Government, in order to bolster the food supply and to keep the broad worker-peasant masses and Red Army in the Soviets from suffering any hardship with respect to food, has made the following decisions:

1. Plant more miscellaneous grain and vegetables; now is the time for planting miscellaneous grains, and the worker-peasant masses in all localities should do their utmost to plant miscellaneous grains and vegetables to make up cereal shortages.

2. Forbid the cultivation of opium. Opium is a most pernicious poison, and a tool used by the evil gentry and landlords to benumb the workers and peasants. In our Soviet areas we must absolutely forbid it. Furthermore, since the cultivation hinders the cultivation of miscellaneous grains and the next year's spring planting and so decreases the source of grain and harms the revolutionary war, in all our Soviet areas this year we absolutely forbid further cultivation of opium. It must be replaced by miscellaneous grains.

The above decision is entirely in the interest of the revolutionary war and of the worker-peasant masses. It must be strictly followed by everyone. Recently we have heard that rich peasants are subverting from within, intentionally inciting the masses to plant opium, to decrease the food production in the Soviet areas and bring about grevious harm to the worker-peasant masses. This is indeed intentional subversion of the revolution, and accordingly is absolutely prohibited by the Soviet areas. All local

governments and all revolutionary bodies and all the worker-peasant masses must painstakingly investigate peasants who encourage the masses to grow opium; rich peasants who intentionally subvert the revolution must be strictly investigated and given harsh punishment. This is most earnestly communicated, and it is expected that governments at all levels, all mass organizations and all the worker-peasant masses will be informed of it and will obey it implicitly. It is so required.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
25 November 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

ON MOBILIZATION FOR WAR AND THE STYLE OF WORK--URGENT RESOLUTION OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

29 November 1932

[Text] The results of a recent investigation of the implementation of the emergency mobilization in the various localities have been quite unsatisfactory. Beyond the brief comments made by the War Service Committee in a letter addressed to the localities, the People's Committee points out more gravely that the primary factor in this state of affairs is errors in political understanding:

1. The gravity of the enemy's large-scale assault has in general been taken too lightly, this reflects the extremely backward peace-at-any-price attitude among the masses which holds that while the enemy is not here it is business as usual, and which naturally makes them unable to carry out urgent tasks.

2. In the border areas which have been subject to enemy invasion and harassment, there has been panic and disorganization. This results from failing to understand the current situation, which is favorable to revolution, a lack of confidence in the revolution, and defeatist mood, and it hinders the carrying out of mobilization work.

3. There is incorrect understanding of the attack policy; people consider it to be solely the task of the Red Army, while they themselves sit by and hope for a Red Army victory. In the border regions there is even more an attitude of depending on the Red Army and taking no active measures oneself to attack the enemy outside. With this idea of waiting, it is impossible to carry out a policy of attack from all sides, and it results in the complete neglect of all emergency mobilization work.

The People's Committee calls upon governments at all levels and the local military leadership organs to carry on a resolute and ruthless struggle against these political errors, to oppose all under-rating of the enemy's large-scale offensive and particularly the backward consciousness of peace-at-any-price that considers that the enemy is still far off, to resolutely oppose panic and disorganization in the face of enemy assaults and the conservative idea of waiting, for these things are the most dangerous to the implementation of the emergency mobilization to smash the enemy's large-scale attacks.

The People's Committee gravely calls upon governments at all levels and the local military leadership organs to arrive at a profound understanding of the enemy's current active building of motor roads, organization of military outposts and transport, organization and expansion of armed landlords, development of anti-communist groups and communist eradication militia all around the Soviet areas, enforced collection of large sums for the army, and transfers of large numbers of troops. Of particular importance, he has stepped up his attacks on Kan-Tung-Pei, Hsiang-o-Kan, and the Hsiang-Kan Soviet area; this is an indication of the enemy's ever more thorough deployment of his large-scale attack on the central Soviet and his preparations for a protracted effort. We must reach a profound understanding that this attack to smash the enemy's large-scale assault will be a prolonged, hard and bitter struggle, a critical juncture in the class struggle. We must devote all our strength to the struggle for victory in this war.

We must also point out that although this enemy attack has the direct assistance of imperialism and has increased its armed strength, politically and internally they are much weaker than in the third campaign, and the troops with which the enemy is attacking the Soviet areas are ripe with disaffection and indecisiveness. The development of the nationwide revolution and the concurrent expansion and growth in strength of the Soviet Red Army are conditions especially beneficial to us; if we can mobilize all our forces to make sacrifices for the war we can win a complete victory and realize our initial victory in Kiangsi.

In investigating mobilization work we discovered another grave state of affairs, namely a failure to mobilize the masses politically or move them organizationally, adopting instead a work style which is divorced from the masses and involves coercing them and ordering them around. Furthermore the development of this work style is closely connected with the above-mentioned political errors:

1. Having failed to understand the gravity of the enemy's large-scale assault, they naturally cannot understand the importance of mobilizing the whole range of the worker-peasant masses, and they do not proceed to the broad mobilization work on a foundation of mass mobilization.

2. Leadership organs at all levels, in dealing with subordinate officials, adopt a leadership style of simply issuing an order or sending down a resolution or a plan, with no indication or investigation of any of the concrete methods of carrying it out, or of the methods of mobilizing the masses. On occasion, they even simply order that it be done, perhaps making use of threats or punishments. This in turn causes the subordinates to coerce the masses even more, and cases of ordering the masses around are appearing everywhere.

3. If people have a haphazard and disorganized work style and do not make use of mass meetings of the electorate, representative assemblies, and all the various mass groups to mobilize the masses and strengthen mobilization of the masses, they will inevitably end up coercing the masses and ordering them around.

4. Because people have a bureaucratic work style, they are inevitably unable to take pains with the mobilization of the masses, but in an effort to find the easy way they resort to coercion and issuing orders instead.

These phenomena have appeared quite frequently in the emergency mobilization. It is quite clear that in responding to the Central Government's emergency mobilization order, they have not convened congresses of the electorate, representative assemblies, and mass meetings of the Red Guards and the Young Pioneers and the various mass groups to make detailed reports and explanations and carry out thorough political agitation efforts; even now a majority of the masses do not understand about the enemy's large-scale assault, which naturally means that all the mobilization work is unable to stand on a foundation of mass activism and achieve full realization. In expanding the Red Army, for example, we will not be able to fulfill the prescribed plans, will not be able to induce able-bodied man and women of the worker-peasant masses eagerly and spontaneously to join the Red Guards and the Young Pioneers, but rather will resort to threat of punishment to compel them to go to the drill field. Of particular importance, in collecting the land tax and in issuing bonds, we did not do thorough political propagandizing in advance, to assure that all worker-peasant elements understood why they should pay the land tax and buy bonds. When we were collecting the tax and issuing the bonds we also failed to convene the various kinds of meetings and make use of the urban and rural representative assemblies to agitate the masses, so that they would pay the tax and buy large numbers of bonds of their own accord; and when doubts arose among the masses we did not give them detailed explanations, but rather resorted to compelling the rich peasants and capitalists, and then extended it to the worker-peasant masses. This brought about a grave situation of being divorced from the masses, and it actually increased the difficulties of collecting the land tax and issuing the bonds. This in turn affected all other aspects of the mobilization work. This is a grave problem indeed.

In this practice of coercing people and ordering them around has not only appeared in the emergency mobilization but is also common in all types of work in the Soviets. This kind of work style has been fostered by the fact that the various leadership organs have, in their leadership, fallen into a grave kind of bureaucratism, and in their acceptance and implementation of orders from their superiors, they either pass them along routinely or even unopened, and do not call a meeting to discuss concrete methods of implementing them in accordance with the local situation, so as to direct their subordinates' work. As to the results of their implementation, they never investigate them or ask how they have turned out, but simply try to let things drift. All of their execution of orders depends simply upon

giving orders, and all work at all times is simply done routinely with the holding of routine meetings. This is out-and-out bureaucratism. Bureaucratism alienates the masses and destroys the connection between the Soviets and the masses. It does the greatest harm to the cause of the Soviet's victory and progress. Doing work in a perfunctory way, using coercion and commands, is an important expression of bureaucratism, and it absolutely must not be allowed to exist in the Soviet government. Such bureaucratism has crept into the Soviet governments:

1. By infection of China's semi-feudal society and Kuomintang bureaucratism.

2. Because the peasants are trapped in disorganization and lack the organization and discipline of the proletariat.

3. Because there is a lack of the spirit of hard struggle and people simply try to devise short-term solutions so that bureaucratism creeps into the Soviet organs and expands daily.

The People's Committee calls upon Soviet organs at all levels and the broad masses of workers and peasants to wage a determined struggle in common against bureaucratism and to expunge it from the Soviet organs, driving out all incorrigible decadent bureaucratic elements so as to consolidate the power of the worker-peasant Soviets and also create a new work style in the Soviets. To this end, they must:

1. Build in all their work upon mobilization of the masses, for anyone who neglects mass mobilization work becomes divorced from the masses.

2. In carrying out decrees and resolutions, do not simply resort to commands, but rely heavily upon a raising of the masses' class consciousness and enthusiasm to support the carrying out of decrees.

3. In mobilizing the masses, make use of thorough political propaganda and agitation work.

4. In mobilizing the masses, utilize all organizations in the Soviets and all mass groups to mobilize the masses; the urban and rural representative assemblies and mass meetings of the electorate are tools for direct mobilization of the masses, and the labor unions are the cornerstone of mass mobilization.

5. In carrying out every decision, adhere to practical possibilities, opposing every impractical and non-concrete resolution as well as all unprepared and fruitless routine meetings.

6. In carrying out orders, give full attention to the methods of mobilizing the masses and also to the opinions of the masses as reference material in determining methods of carrying them out.

7. When receiving an order or a resolution from superiors, immediately hold a meeting and conduct a detailed discussion to determine the concrete methods for carrying it out.

8. In carrying out orders, constantly investigate the work to see whether it is successful or not and see whether there are any errors or unsound parts.

9. In all work, divide up labor in a way consonant with the conditions of the work, not only among the departments and the working comrades, but also in directing subordinates.

10. In directing subordinates, be practical and concrete and issue workable instructions liberally.

11. Refrain from constantly issuing documents, but make inspection tours and give guidance. These tours should not be junkets, and they should not stand on the sidelines and criticize, but should responsibly investigate the work and help subordinates in resolving work difficulties.

12. Organize working groups to give direct assistance to the subordinates. The responsibility of the working groups is to get the work done well where they are, not to engage in idle criticism of others and do no work themselves. The work style of the working groups should be to concentrate forces and do the work well at one place before proceeding to another. They should divide up the labor so that each person does one part, and they should do their work well in every place they go to.

13. Refrain from holding disorganized meetings. Meetings should be prepared for, should have results, and should be conducted in a practical way.

14. In holding mass meetings, make thorough preparations in advance. All political agitation should conform to the demands of the masses and be connected with the masses' own interests. Speeches should be simple and clear and effective as agitation.

The work style of the Soviets should have a mass nature, be practical, organized, disciplined and characterized by a firm determination for bitter struggle; all approaches divorced from the masses are bureaucratic work style.

The People's Committee calls upon Soviet organs at all levels to mobilize urgently and oppose all erroneous understanding and slack behavior relative to the enemy's large-scale assault, to eradicate bureaucratism in the Soviet organs, and to struggle to create a Soviet working style and quickly complete all work under the emergency mobilization order.

All Soviet organs, from the provincial to the township level, on receipt of this resolution, shall immediately hold a meeting to examine their own work and in a spirit of self-criticism to expose all errors of work and shall determine concrete methods for carrying it out and shall report the results of the discussions to the Central Committee.

Chairman, Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
29 November 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8430
CSO: 4005

ON INVESTIGATION OF ELECTION MOVEMENTS AT VARIOUS LEVELS--RESOLUTION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1 December 1932

[Text] It is almost 2 months since the Central Government proclaimed on 20 September that the governments at the various levels should individually carry out replacement elections for the governments, in accordance with election regulations. On investigating the results of these elections, it appears:

1. That not a single county has completed the elections in accordance with Directive No 16.

2. That the election movements at all levels have been peaceful and the masses have not been mobilized through struggle to participate in the elections.

3. The election movement has been entirely separated from the urgent tasks of the current war, and either all war mobilization work has been neglected because of the election or the elections have been put off on account of the press of mobilization work. (Wan-t'ai [8001 3141], for instance, had to hold the elections after the issue of bonds.)

4. Election regulations were not adhered to, the electing was not done by the electorate, the designation of representatives was done perfunctorily, and alien or newly reformed elements were even selected as representatives. (For example the Hui-ch'ang [2585 2490] county congress.)

5. At the provincial and county levels, the election movement showed signs of perfunctoriness and passivity.

On the basis of the above circumstances, this election has achieved nothing, which clearly indicates that the governments at the various levels have not understood politically that the replacement elections and the reinforcing of the local Soviet governments are a basic foundation for leading the worker-peasant masses in smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. It also reveals starkly the bureaucratism in the implementation of the directive by Soviets at all levels.

The Central Executive Committee believes that reinforcing the local Soviet governments will create a powerful lever in the current effort to lead the worker-peasant masses in thoroughly smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. Furthermore, if we examine the past three campaigns, there were alien elements concealed in the Soviet organs which led to countercurrents and other grave occurrences, and accordingly we have decided to carry out a strict investigation of this election movement. In all cases which fail according to the following conditions, they will be declared invalid and new elections will have to be held.

1. Elections where the broad mass of the electorate has not been mobilized to hold mass electoral meetings.

2. When those elected have not been elected with the agreement and support of the majority of the electorate. (As recently in several locations where a list of names has been presented or even promulgated by the higher levels and presented to the electoral meetings. This is a form of monopolizing the proceedings which is at variance with the electoral spirit.)

3. When those elected are not resolute revolutionaries and active workers from among the worker-peasant masses. (Those who go AWOL, who join all kinds of activities in peacetime but are not active [in wartime].)

As for the new elections and the regulations in Directive No 16, those places which were to have held replacement elections and have not held them must immediately hold them, and this replacement election movement should in particular be made into an extensive movement of the leadership organs to mobilize the masses in order to implement the emergency war mobilization and to resolutely smash the enemy's large-scale attack. Accordingly, in the election the following work should be done:

1. In rural and urban elections extensive political mobilization work should be done among the masses, including:

(a) Calling upon the masses all to actively come and participate in the election movement and set up a powerful government which can truly carry out all decrees in order to secure the thorough realization of the labor law and the land law.

(b) Make the worker-peasant masses understand that the Soviet government is their government and if bad men are elected to do the work they will not be able to consider everybody's interests.

(c) The right to vote is a right of the workers and peasants and those who have it can obtain a great deal of power; the right to vote has been seized from the rich peasants, landlords and capitalists, so that the landlords have received no land, the rich peasants have received bad land, the capitalists hold no positions, and accordingly everyone should not give up their power.

2. The political mobilization should be begun by an announcement to the masses in every village and on every street that the labor unions and poor peasants' associations and all groups should come to a meeting to discuss election questions, so that all the masses will know that a replacement election is being held in that town or township, will all understand the importance of the election; and so that when the time comes everybody will go vote of their own accord.

3. Investigation of voting rights should be used to mobilize the masses to struggle against hidden rich peasants and all alien elements and participate actively in the election.

4. At election time, the election should not only be carried out according to the procedures defined in the detailed election regulations, by means of investigation work, particularly regarding all decrees and regarding the protection of the interests of the worker-peasant masses, the masses should be mobilized to criticize the work of their past representatives and government, to oppose bureaucratism, and to seriously support those they want elected.

5. The election movement and the mass election meetings should be used to report on and discuss the Center's emergency mobilization order, to stimulate mass activism, and to carry on the war mobilization.

6. As regards [23 characters deleted], the masses should be led to an understanding that the enemy's large-scale attack is to oppose the Soviets and to recover the landlords' and capitalists' power to oppress the workers and peasants; the political consciousness of the masses and their determination to struggle against the enemy should be raised, so that they will resolutely struggle to the end to preserve the interests of the land revolution and support Soviet power.

7. The holding of congresses at the district and county levels should be based on a successful carrying out of urban and rural electoral movements, and in the district and county congresses all formalism should be stamped out, and investigation of past work and discussing the carrying out of the emergency war mobilization and of all decrees should be made part of the meeting. The items for resolution should not be long, but should be practical and concrete.

8. The election of committees should not be carried out in a haphazard way. Many workers, farm laborers and toilers, and women and poor and middle peasant cadres should be elected. Furthermore, a purely formal treatment of class membership should be corrected, and no attention should be given to the further consideration of work capacity or mass beliefs in the matter of class membership.

9. After the district and county elections, strict investigation should be made of class memberships and occupation of all other working personnel. Alien and shiftless elements should immediately be replaced.

The Center enjoins the province and county governments to carry out the above resolutions strictly. All inspection personnel and work groups have the responsibility for investigating all local election movements; they should treat the election movement and the reinforcement of local Soviets as an inseparable aspect of the emergency mobilization order.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
1 December 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CANTON AND NING-TU RIOTS--
ORDER NO 36 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

2 December 1932

[Text] The 11th of December will be the fifth anniversary of the Canton riots, which opened a new stage in the Soviet revolutionary movement -- that of the first Chinese Soviet. The 14th is the anniversary of the Ning-tu [1337 675] riots, China's first solders' riots. They shook the reactionary rule of the imperialist Kuomintang, and even more importantly, hastened the collaspe of the Kuomintang warlords, and launched new Soviet victories. Because that day is close to the anniversary of the Canton riots, the People's Committee has decided that 11 December will be a holiday and the anniversary of the Ning-tu riots will be commemorated along with the Canton riots. Huge commemoration demonstrations and mass meetings will be held, and the implementation of the war mobilization movement will be intensified. Of special importance, during the commemoration maximum strength should be devoted to instituting work in the White areas and White armies, so as to win over the revolutionary soldiers in the White armies surrounding the Soviets and disintegrate the armies of the enemy's large-scale assault, in order to thoroughly destroy the imperialist Kuomintang's large-scale assault and realize the Soviets' initial victory in Kiangsi and neighboring provinces and regions. It is so ordered.

All Soviet governments

All Red Army units.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
2 December 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8480
CSO: 4005

DIRECTIVE NO 8 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

27 December 1932

[Text] Now, in order to unify finances, and to maintain a constant understanding of the financial state of all Soviets, and to facilitate overall financial planning and control, the Financial People's Committee has determined that next January 1st a national treasury shall be established to carry out X plan X. All revenues will be paid to treasury branches and will be controlled by the Center. This is an important basis for setting up unified finances. Government organs at all levels and all Red Army units and all local armed associations must understand thoroughly that starting 1 January the major political and military work of the united finances shall be managed according to the treasury regulations and accounting rules promulgated by the Financial People's Committee:

1. All expenditures by all organs and all units must be budgeted in advance according to the various systems and reported to superiors. Without obtaining a draft from the Financial People's Committee, absolutely no withdrawals from the branch treasuries or temporary loans may be made. Violators shall be considered as sabotaging the financial unification.

2. All independent local guerrilla units' and all local armed associations' expenses must be on a self-supporting basis; but funds raised by local armed organizations also shall be paid over to the military organs for planned allocation.

3. If some local armed associations by reason of temporary difficulties cannot support themselves, they must make a budget and report it to the military district to receive a disbursement, They cannot under any circumstances take it upon themselves to draw from the branch treasuries.

4. Financial departments at all levels must direct and supervise their subordinate organizations in an even more planned way, intensify the collection of all revenues, and develop financial sources. They may not, because of the availability of disbursements from above, relax in the matter of collecting revenues. Violations will be considered sabotage.

5. Budgets at all levels must be reported by a set date, and all expenditures must be made item by item in accordance with the specific amounts authorized by the higher authorities.

All organizations and units must faithfully comply with and carry out the above. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
27 December 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON STRICT CONTROL OF DEPARTING PERSONS--ORDER NO 37 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

27 December 1932

[Text] We are now in the tense period in which the imperialist Kuomintang is mounting large-scale attaks on the Central Soviet, and we must naturally take extra care concerning people departing from the Soviet. They must be subjected to close examination and not allowed to leave the area at will. This is to prevent oppressive gentry, landlords and all counterrevolutionary elements from departing freely from the area and engaging in counterrevolutionary activities. In order to consolidate the Soviets and protect the interests of the worker-peasant masses, the Provisional Central Government has laid down regulations for people departing from the Soviet areas as follows:

1. All persons departing from the Soviet areas must have an exit visa from the State Political Security Office and a travel pass from the government before they are allowed to go. If they have only the visa and not the travel pass, or especially if they have only the travel pass and not the visa, they shall not be allowed to go.

2. The State Political Security Office and its provincial and county branches (the district special sepresentatives have no power to issue visas) must subject all persons requesting to depart to close examination, and only those who are determined to have a need to go outside the area may be issued exit visas. The route by which they are to depart must be specified on the visa.

3. Provincial, county and district governments (the township governments have no power to issue travel passes) should issue travel passes to leave the area to people with only State Political Security Office visas who request them only in accordance with the route specified on the visa, and not otherwise. The district governments in particular, when drawing up exit passes, must investigate thoroughly to assure that the persons are really transients or departing persons from that district whose route must pass through that district, and are not people who have purposely fled to that district from other districts to obtain travel passes, before they issue them. All local governments, security offices at all levels, all military organs and all investigative organs are charged

with complying fully with the above points in order to intensify the Red martial law. This is most essential. It is so ordered.

Soviet governments at all levels

State Political Security Offices at all levels

All military organs

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
27 Dec 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON STARTING SPRING PLANTING EARLY IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE FORCES TO SMASH ENEMY LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS--DIRECTIVE NO 18 OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28 December 1932

[Text] The revolutionary war has reached an extremely tense crisis, and the imperialist Kuomintang is mounting a large-scale attack on the Central Soviet with all its strength. Because it is trying to save its moribund rule, this bitter class struggle is now undergoing a sharp development. This campaign is a do-or-die struggle for the enemy, much more violent than the first, second or third campaign, and in order to thoroughly smash the enemy's attack and win an even greater victory we must mobilize the broad masses of workers and peasants and use all our strength to wage a resolute, bitter, protracted struggle against the enemy. However, spring planting is not far off, and the spring planting period is likely to the most intense period of the war. Accordingly, in order to allow the broad masses of workers and peasants to do their planting safely and to quickly finish their spring planting work and concentrate all their forces without any distracting concerns to destroy the enemy attacks, the Central Government has determined that within all the Soviet areas all spring planting shall be begun early. Measures should be taken to increase production and speed up the work as much as possible, since we expect in a short time to greatly increase the food harvest in the Soviet areas, in order to secure the provisioning of the Red Army, improve the daily life of the worker-peasant masses, and guarantee the complete victory of the revolutionary war. Accordingly this decision is of especially great importance, and governments at all levels must work with all mass organizations, such as the Rural Laborers' Unions, the Poor Peasants' Associations to make the greatest efforts at mobilizing all the masses to fully implement the following measures:

1. In January all land must be plowed and all dikes repaired.

2. Sowing and setting of rice seedlings must be done one month earlier than last year.

3. Each family must ready enough fertilizer and select its best seeds, so that it will not only be able to greatly increase production but can facilitate rapid sowing and setting of rice seedlings

4. The masses everywhere must institute mutual aid in planting, and assist each other with labor, seeds, draft animals and tools, so as to quickly carry out the spring planting work.

5. The masses must be mobilized to plant the Red Army's public fields and the land belonging to Red Army families at the earliest possible moment. Not an inch must be left unattended.

Governments at all levels must devise more concrete methods of convening the Rural Laborers' Unions, Poor Peasants' Associations and electoral mass meetings for extensive propaganda and agitation, setting up revolutionary emulation and offering prized according to their specific situations. The hsiangs and persons whose land is plowed first, and whose dikes are repaired first, whose fertilizer and seeds are readied first, who complete their sowing and setting of seedlings first, shall be awarded prizes by the county district governments. It is especially important that the localities where land determination has not been fully completed should immediately complete the distribution, to avoid hindering spring planting. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
28 December 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

RENAME NING-TU HSIEN PO-SHENG COUNTY AND CONVENE A MEMORIAL MEETING TO COMMEMORATE COMRADE CHAO PO-SHENG--ORDER NO 15 OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

13 January 1933

[Text] Comrade Chao Po-sheng [6392 0590 3932], Deputy General Commander of the 5th Corps and leader of the 13th Army, was a leader in the Ning-tu [1337 6757] soldiers' riots and the creator of the 5th Corps of the Chinese Workers-Peasant Red Army. At this time, our Red Army has won successive great victories at Nan-fu [0589 2329] and Chin-hsi [6855 3005], destroying and routing main force units of the enemy's large-scale attack on the Central Soviet--the reorganized warlord 90th division and warlord Chiang's 14th and 27th divisions had moved close to Fu-nan [2329 0589] city--and so began this year's great victories by smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. Unfortunately, Comrade Chao Po-sheng sacrificed his life in the Nan-ch'eng [0589 1004] campaign, in which he led all of his fighters in a heroic and determined hand-to-hand battle with the enemy, and with numerically inferior forces put to flight a full division of warlord Chiang Kai-shek's main units--the 14th Division--thereby completing the complete victory of our main-force army in the environs of Fu-chou [2329 1558]. In order to commemorate Chao Po-sheng's glorious feats of leading the Ning-chou riots and heroically sacrificing his life for the revolution, the Provisional Central Government has decided to change the name of Ning-tu Hsien to Po-sheng Hsien. In addition, in the course of this year's Li Lu [2621 4151] commemoration (the 21st) all Soviets will hold a memorial service and proclaim the establishment of Po-sheng County. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairman Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
13 January 1933

oRed China, No 47, 14 Jan 1933

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CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE WORKER-PEASANT RED ARMY OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

17 January 1933

[Text] Masses of all China! With the open assistance of the English and French imperialists and the League of Nations, the Japanese imperialists have begun the invasion of North China. This is a further extension of the imperialist bandits' aggression aimed at complete dismemberment and enslavement of all China. It has resulted in the massacre of large numbers of peaceful inhabitants, the destruction of cities and villages, and an increase in suffering and famine. The tragedy of Shanghai and Manchuria is being repeated with extreme cruelty on a large part of China's soil.

Because of failure to resist and surrender on the part of the Kuomintang warlords Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang, because of their repression, dispersion and massacre of soldiers resisting the Japanese, large numbers of Chinese soldiers have died under the guns of the imperialists. The Kuomintang warlords have assisted the Japanese and the other imperialists in their further aggression and their massacres, while using all their strength to suppress the anti-imperialist struggle, the goods boycott and the organized armed militia.

The Kuomintang government and its politicians offer as one explanation of their evil deeds and treasonous collaboration the idea that the existence of the Chinese soviets makes them unable to mobilize all their forces for national defense, so that Chiang Kai-shek is unwilling to fight the Japanese warlords while he uses an army of almost a million men to attack the Chinese workers and peasants who have already set up their soviet government.

But the Chinese masses want to defend themselves, and many units and many hundreds of thousands of Kuomintang troops have opposed the massacre of their own brothers and sisters and supported armed resistance to Japanese imperialism.

They are beginning to understand that only a national revolutionary struggle of the armed masses can victoriously resist the aggression of the Japanese imperialists. The Chinese soviet government and the revolutionary military committee denounce the Kuomintang's explanation as a stupid lie by which they hope to conceal their treasonous activities from China's masses.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the revolutionary military committee once more remind the Chinese masses that last April we called upon China's masses to wage an armed struggle in common with us against Japanese imperialism, and that Chiang Kai-shek's response to this call was to mobilize all his troops to attack the Chinese worker-peasant government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army rather than to attack Japanese imperialism.

The Chinese soviet government and the Worker and Peasant Red Army military commission declare before the Chinese masses that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is prepared to conclude a wartime agreement with any armed unit to oppose the invasion of the Japanese imperialists under the following conditions.

1. That it immediately stop attacking the Chinese soviet areas.

2. That it immediately guarantee the democratic rights of the masses (those of assembly, association, speech, strike and publication).

3. That it immediately arm the masses and form armed militia to protect China and win Chinese independence, unification and territorial integrity.

We request that the Chinese masses and soldiers support this call and wage a united national revolutionary struggle to gain China's independence, unity and territorial integrity, coordinate the struggle against Japan and all imperialists with the struggle against the treason and surrender of the imperialists' running dogs the KMT warlords, and extend the armed national revolutionary struggle against Japan and all imperialists.

Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government
Chairmen Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
Chairman of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army Military Affairs Commission
Chu Te
17 Jan 1933

°Red China, No 48, 28 Jan 1933
*Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution, Third Series, Great Chinese People's University 1957

"Soviet China," Soviet Union Foreign Workers Publishing House, Moscow 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON THE LENDING OF GRAIN TO THE RED ARMY BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

Directive No 20 of the Central Executive Committee

1 March 1933

[Text] From government reports from many localities in the two provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien and numerous requests from revolutionary groups everywhere, the Central Government has concluded that the imperialist KMT is now conducting large-scale attacks and engaging in large-scale burning, slaughter, and pillage against the masses in the soviet areas. Lung-yen county in Fukien has been totally devastated, with incalculable losses to the masses. Hsi-nan District in Yung-ting has lost more than 20,000 tan of grain taken away by the White armies. In Kiangsi, during the last 3 campaigns, the White troops killed several thousand people, burned tens of thousands of houses and pillaged tens of thousands of tan of grain and several tens of thousands of head of livestock. At present, several hundred thousand White troops under Chiang Kai-shek and Ch'en Chi-t'ang have begun to storm into the soviet areas, burning, massacring and plundering. Our heroic Red Army is now engaged in bitter combat with the White troops everywhere, but it is short on grain and only if the revolutionary masses everywhere are willing to undertake to limit their grain consumption and lend grain to the Red Army so as to completely destroy the vicious White armies and thoroughly smash the imperialist KMT's large-scale attack, can we prevent the masses in the soviet areas from being crushed.

On the basis of the above-mentioned opinion of the masses, the Central Government has decided to accept this request of the masses, and it has determined that the revolutionary masses shall of their own accord lend grain in the following manner:

1. Grain is something that every peasant household has, so lending grain is much easier than lending money, especially when the masses are resisting the brutality of the White armies and revolutionary fervor is at a high pitch. The governments of all localities should work together with all the mass organizations to carry out this movement, and within 3 months each county must complete the lending of grain by the masses, because during this time the warfare will become much more intense.

2. The carrying out of this grain lending movement must be based on excellent agitation and propaganda work. The phrasing of the propaganda must be highly colloquial and every method must be used, such as performing new plays, making speeches in costume, putting up slogans, and issuing illustrated flyers, etc., to make all those masses who have not yet requested to lend grain understand, and so that it will become a large-scale spontaneous movement of all the masses to lend grain. As to those masses who have not yet spontaneously made their request, it is absolutely forbidden to subject them to such command-ist methods as forced-loan confrontations instead of propagandizing them. If forced-loan confrontation methods are used not only will the Soviet government become divorced from the masses, but less grain will surely be obtained than if propaganda were used.

3. Allocation of quotas for grain lending must be determined in accordance with each locality's actual situation and the capacity of the masses to lend grain. It cannot be a uniform quota throughout. In the old soviet areas, quotas should be allocated on the basis of rice production, with rich producing areas lending more, and comparatively smaller producing areas lending less. In the new soviet areas, account should be taken of the masses' understanding of the revolution and whether or not struggle has penetrated deeply. The areas where the struggle has gone deep should lend more than those where it has not. As to border areas, determination should be made on the basis of whether or not they have been subject to counterrevolutionary devastation and plunder. Those areas that have been severely devastated need not lend; those who have suffered less should lend a suitable amount according to their circumstances. Only in this way can we make the masses understand that lending grain to the government truly serves to protect their own interests, make them eagerly give it, and avoid the occurrence of difficulties and bad influences in doing the work.

4. On receipt of this directive, governments at all levels must immediately and in accordance with the methods outlined summon the chairmen of all townships to a joint meeting to plan allocation of quotas and must send persons to all districts and townships to hold congresses and meetings of poor peasants associations, agricultural laborers associations and the electorate, and to propagandize and explain to the people of those localities the eagerness of the masses elsewhere to lend grain and their methods of doing it, as well as organizing emulation so that everyone will lend grain eagerly.

5. The grain that is lent shall be handled as follows in the various areas:

a. In Kiangsi

1. Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Yu-tu, hui-ch'ang, Jui-chin, Sheng-li and Hsing-kuo counties and southern Yun-feng shall all collect it at the district government headquarters, and apart from a portion that shall be given to the local hospital, government, [army] units and other state organs for their expenses, the rest should be saved and handled according to future orders of the central government.

2. Kung-lueh, Wan-t'ai, and northern Yung-feng, Kan-hsien, I-huang, Lo-an Nan-kuang, An-yuan, Hsun-wu: apart from a portion which shall be taken out for the operating expenses of the local Red Army (paid for by the government) government hospitals and various organs by the county governments after discussion of their needs and for assistance to the mass organizations, the remainder may be sold at current market price.

b. In Fukien

1. In Ch'ang-t'ing and Ning-hua it shall be collected at the district government headquarters and kept to be disposed of in accordance with future orders of the central government; but in Shang-hang Hsin-ch'uan and Wu-p'ing some shall be used to provision the local Red Army and government organs and subsidize the mass organizations (given out according to price) and the rest sold at the going price.

2. Proceeds from all grain sold at an estimated price must be handed over to the treasury branch and a 5-copy receipt obtained from the treasury branch as proof. No government at any level may appropriate the slightest amount, and if there is any unauthorized use of these funds or if the price of the sale is reported as lower than it actually was, those guilty of corruption and misconduct will be dealt with severely.

6. All local governments, hospitals and units and revolutionary mass organizations which eat rice shall sell off these grains as quickly as possible, but they must do it for cash and not on credit.

7. After the financial units at all levels have received grain borrowing receipts from the central government financial department, they must set up special grain borrowing accounts showing item by item the amount of grain received from the masses, number of grain receipts issued to the masses, amounts of grain issued to various organs, and amount of grain sold and the price, in order to aid in keeping correct accounts. Money from the grain sales handed over to the branch departments shall be put by the treasury branches into a separate account named the "Masses' Grain Lending Account" and must not be mixed in with special income or the Red Army's public grain account.

8. All masses who lend grain shall receive a grain lending receipt issued by the central government's Financial People's Committee as proof.

9. Anyone who receives a grain lending receipt shall be allowed in the second half of 1933 to submit it as part of his land tax. Those which are obtained after the tax or are left over after paying the tax shall be redeemed for cash by the district government leadership at the proper time.

10. The grain loan receipts must bear the seal of the township soviet chairman and may only be used to pay taxes in that district. Those that do not bear this seal or are not from the district in question shall be considered as void extra receipts.

11. The receipts shall be distributed by the county government departments in accordance with the situation of the masses and the grain in each district. The districts in turn shall allocate them after discussion of the situations of the various townships. The government leadership at every level shall keep a record of all receipts issued, and if they hold receipts for which grain has not been handed in these must be handed over; there cannot be any discrepancies.

12. When the masses lend their grain they shall be given receipts in return, and anyone who lends grain and does not receive one may complain to the higher level governments and request strict enforcement. The grain from the "three sheng of rice" movement collected in the various localities since January of this year may be included in the amount of grain lent, and receipts must be issued for it.

13. If rich peasants have had to make forced contributions they shall not be made to lend grain.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
1 Mar 1933

°"Red China," No 58, 6 March 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

OPPOSE JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS' OCCUPATION OF JEHOL AND ATTACK ON PEKING AND TIENTSIN

Proclamation of Provisional Central Government

3 March 1933

[Text] To the masses of all China!

The 75mm artillery and great numbers of fighters and bombers of the Japanese imperialists are now carrying out inhumane bombardment massacres in the Jehol area! Eight Japanese imperialist divisions and two brigades, with the support of several hundred aircraft, are now attacking Ch'eng-te from three directions! The KMT generals continue to follow their shameless policy of non-resistance and retreat step by step, giving up K'ai-lu, Pei-p'iao and Ch'ao-yang, and have abandoned hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants and anti-Japanese soldiers to be trodden under the iron hoofs of Japanese imperialism, crushed and massacred!

Masses of all China! More than half of Jehol has already fallen into the hands of the Japanese imperialists, and all of North China is at a life-or-death crisis, and the tragic fate of colonial slavery directly threatens the toiling masses of all China!

Masses of all China! The imperialists' bandit war to invade and enslave all of China is now being frenziedly waged, and only one road lies before us: to arm ourselves and wage a revolutionary national liberation war. Only the armed strength of the millions of the masses can defeat the bandit war of the Japanese and all imperialists to invade and enslave China and can gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people! The provisional Chinese soviet government has repeatedly called upon the masses of all China to arise and wage a victorious national revolutionary war together with the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is willing to conclude a conditional wartime agreement with all true anti-Japanese units. But the KMT warlords and politicians have most shamelessly knelt before the imperialists and betrayed China, practicing non-resistance

and surrender, have cut off the Three Eastern Provinces and sold out Shanghai and massacred anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist worker-peasant masses and revolutionary fighters, and forbidden the organization of all goods boycotts and anti-Japanese militia. Now, at the very moment when the Japanese imperialists are attacking Jehol with all their strength, they even more openly advocate abandoning Jehol and Peking and Tientsin; they protest that this is a strategic necessity, while at the same time they attack the Chinese worker-peasant masses and the worker-peasant government and Red Army with dozens of divisions! The Soviet Government declares that it is willing to draw up a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese armies. The KMT response to this declaration is to retreat step by step before the iron hoofs of the Japanese imperialists, without dispatching a single soldier to Jehol to resist the Japanese, but to dispatch the greater part of its military force to Kiangsi and under the personal leadership of the counterrevolutionary chieftain Chiang Kai-shek to wildly attack the soviet areas! It is precisely because the soviet areas have called upon and organized the anti-imperialist, anti-Japanese movement throughout the country that the traitorous KMT government has, with increased ferocity, resorted more and more to burning, slaughter and pillage, military adventurism and economic blockade, with the aim of hindering the development of the soviet movement, in order to break the main force of anti-imperialism and resistance to Japan!

The KMT warlords and politicians plan to treat the soviet government's declaration that it is willing to draw up a wartime treaty with all anti-Japanese units as an expression of the Soviet government' and Worker-Peasant Red Army's weakness; but this actually expresses their own obtuseness and stupidity. The warfare of the last 2 days has taught these traitorous warlords a stern lesson: the 52nd and 59th divisions have been entirely disarmed, and their commanders and staff officers have all been captured, so that the 5th Army is a shambles. The soviet movement has gained the support of millions of the masses, while the KMT warlords' military adventurism and economic blockade have only served to further stir up the resistance of the toiling masses of the entire country, and in addition have created favorable conditions for the further advancement of the soviet movement!

The Chinese Soviet Government is preparing to wage war directly against the troops of the Japanese imperialists and to drive them out of China. Accordingly, we must eliminate all reactionary armies and armed groups which hinder us in doing battle with Japan! The Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army once more declare that they are willing to enter into a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese military forces, but they will strike the gravest blows at all armies and armed groups which encroach upon the soviet areas, to the point of completely destroying them! We call upon our brothers among the fighters of the White armies! Rise and oppose your treasonous officers, turn the guns around, join up with the Red Army to oppose the bandit invasion of the Japanese imperialists and drive them out of China!

Masses of all China! Our brother fighters in the White armies! The Provisional Soviet Central Government calls upon you to arise and wage an armed national revolutionary war, to oppose Japanese imperialism and the traitorous KMT rule! Oppose the attacks on the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and soviet areas! Support our call to struggle and oppose your traitorous officers, arise on your own account and link up with the Worker-Peasant Red Army to oppose Japanese imperialism's bandit invasion! Oppose the attacking of the Soviet areas with even a single soldier, a single rifle, a single shell! Demand that all the military force of the entire country be dispatched to North China to oppose the attack of Japanese imperialism! Spread the national revolutionary war and opposition to Japan and all imperialism, and overthrow the imperialists' running dogs, the KMT!

Chairman of the Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government Mao Tse-tung
Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

3 March 1933
°"Red China," No 59, 9 March 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON THE MATTER OF GRAIN REDISTRIBUTION AMONG THE PEOPLE TO KEEP UP THE PROVISIONING OF THE ARMED FORCES

Order No 39 Of the People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

4 March 1933

[Text] According to reports from various localities in various counties in the soviet areas, a good many localities have recently forbidden the transport of cereals and rice, and county A and county B have drawn a boundary line between them; in many localities there has been a grain famine, and prices have soared or grain cannot be bought at any price. This is an extremely grave circumstance. Investigation indicates that in the soviet areas the food situation is uneven, with surpluses in some areas and shortages in others. In the border areas, where the enemy are plundering and pillaging, there are rice famines. In the areas where the Red Army is stationed and near hospitals food is even more in shortage. Readjustment between the districts and the counties affects not only the daily food of the ordinary masses, but is an extremely critical matter affecting the provisioning of the Red Army and its hospitals and rear area. It is therefore an absolutely indispensible condition for the smashing of the enemy's fourth attack and accordingly is extremely critical.

The reasons that grain circulation has been hindered boil down to three:

1. The masses who are short on food are afraid that much will flow out of their area, and in May and June they will have to eat high-priced rice.

2. Those who have excess food wish to keep it for later, so as to get high prices.

3. Rich peasants and traitorous merchants are manipulating and trying to get profits, or even intentionally making trouble in order to subvert the revolutionary war, and the governments of the various areas are not investigating them. So as it turns out, people are afraid that in May

and June they will be eating high-priced rice, while in other places it has come to that much earlier, and they are already eating rice at a high price. In Yung-ting you can get 3 1/2 sheng for a yuan, whereas in Shang-hang you can get 4 sheng for a yuan, in T'ing-chou 7 sheng, and in Jui-chin it is as high as 8, but in other rice-poor areas it gets more expensive day by day. The workers in the cities have no land to farm but make a living by selling their labor, and a whole family with young and old, with that little bit of income from their labor, eats rice that keeps getting more and more expensive. The entire Red Army is now on the front line fighting a life-and-death struggle with the enemy, and relies upon the rear area to keep sending up military provisions. The governments of all areas must explain this fact to the masses in their areas: we certainly want the whole soviet area to have food to eat, but we especially want the Red Army to have food to eat, and only by joining forces with a common purpose to smash the enemy can we move ahead. They must tell those people who have extra grain not to keep thinking of high prices when people in other places are suffering hunger and the front lines are short on military provisions; people can't stand by and watch without heeding. They must know that it is bad for everybody, and if the Red Army doesn't win, you can't achieve your own aims. As to the rich peasants and merchants, they were unhappy when the government collected military provisions and when the cooperatives redistributed the people's food, and they either intentionally stored it away or secretly engaged in manipulation, or even disseminated rumors on a large scale to stir up the masses. This is counter-revolutionary activity and governments at all levels in all localities must lead the revolutionary masses in dealing severely with these people. They must know that the interests the whole and the interests of the war take first place among all interests. The local governments and the masses must understand this profoundly.

The central government has decided on a plan for grain distribution and has set up a grain distribution office. All local governments must lead the masses to quickly organize food cooperatives, and with the leadership and assistance of the food redistribution offices they must strive to carry out the redistribution. In addition to rice, they must ration salt in order to prevent the rich peasants and traitorous merchants from storing it away and manipulating the market, in order to guard against the KMT's grave economic blockade, to regulate the people's food in all areas, and to continue the provisioning of the front line. All local governments must know that the central soviet's harvests were not rich last year, and this year's spring famine problems will inevitably be more serious. Leading the masses to resolve this grave problem is a major task for the soviet governments; from the provincial-level soviets down to the urban and rural representative assemblies, all must conduct detailed discussions, plan meticulously, propagandize broadly and carry it out with great effort if we are to complete this task. This is an extremely pressing question for the masses. It is the main key to smashing the enemy's fourth encirclement campaign. In order to make the Soviet Government into a government which truly represents the masses' interests

and which powerfully leads the war, we must avoid the slightest neglect of this problem.

The Central Government's Ministry of Interior shall not only issue this report, but shall notify all local governments at all levels to earnestly implement it. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

4 March 1933
°"Red China," No 58, 6 March 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ANOTHER CALL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY TO TAKE UP ARMS AND COMBAT IMPERIALISM

4 March Proclamation of Provisional Central Government

4 March 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

The 75 mm cannon and great number of fighters and bombers of the Japanese imperialists are now inflicting inhumane bombardment massacres in the Jehol area! Eight Japanese imperialist divisions with the support of several hundred aircraft, are now attacking Ch'eng-te from three directions! The KMT generals continue to follow their shameless policy of non-resistance and retreat step by step, giving up K'ai-lu, Pei-p'iao and Ch'ao-yang, and have abandoned hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants and fighters actively resisting Japanese imperialism to be trodden by the iron hoofs of Japanese imperialism, crushed and massacred! Masses of all China! All of Jehol has now fallen into the hands of the Japanese imperialists, and all of North China is at a life-or-death crisis. The tragic fate of colonial slavery directly threatens the toiling masses of all China!

Masses of all China! The imperialists' bandit war to invade and enslave all of China is now being frenziedly waged, and only one road lies before us: to arm ourselves and wage a revolutionary national liberation war. Only the armed strength of the millions of the masses can defeat the bandit war Japanese and all imperialists to invade and enslave China and can gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people!

The provisional Chinese Soviet government has repeatedly called upon the masses of all China to arise and wage a victorious national revolutionary war together with the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly

declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is willing to conclude a wartime agreement, under the simplest and most essential conditions, with all true anti-Japanese armies. But the KMT warlords and politicians have most shamelessly knelt before the imperialists and betrayed China, practicing non-resistance and surrender. (Hiatus) It is precisely because the soviet areas have called upon and organized the anti-imperialist anti-Japanese movement throughout the country that the traitorous KMT government has, with increased ferocity, resorted more and more to burning, slaughter and pillage, military adventurism and economic blockade, with the aim of hindering the development of the soviet movement, in order to break the main force of anti-imperialism and resistance to Japan! The KMT warlords and politicans plan to treat the Soviet Government's declaration that it is willing to draw up a wartime treaty with all anti-Japanese units as an expression of the Soviet Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army's weakness; but this actually expresses their own obtuseness and stupidity. The warfare of the last 2 months has taught these traitorous warlords a stern lesson: The 52nd and 59th Divisions have been entirely disarmed and their commanders and staff officers have all been captured, so that the 5th Army is a shambles. The soviet movement has gained the support of millions of the masses, while the KMT warlords' military adventurism and economic blockade have only served to further stir up the resistance of the toiling masses of the entire country.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are preparing to wage war directly against the troops of the Japanese imperialists and to drive them out of China. Accordingly we must disarm all reactionary armies which hinder us in doing battle with Japan. The Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army once more declare that they are willing to enter into a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese armies.

As to all armies and armed groups invading the soviet areas, we call upon our brothers among the fighters of the White armies to rise and oppose your treasonous officers, turn the guns around, join up with the Red Army to oppose the bandit invasion of the Japanese imperialists and drive them out of China! Masses of all China! Our brother fighters in the White armies! The provisional soviet central government calls upon you to arise and wage an armed national revolutionary war, to oppose Japanese imperialism and the traitorous KMT rule, to oppose the attacks on the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and soviet areas! Support our call to struggle and oppose your traitorous officers, arise on your own account and link up with the Worker-Peasant Red Army to oppose Japanese imperialism's bandit invasion! Oppose the attacking of the soviet areas with even a single soldier, a single rifle, a single shell and demand that all the military force of the entire country be dispatched to North China to oppose the attack of Japanese imperialism! Spread the national revolutionary war and opposition to Japan and all imperialism, and overthrow the imperialists' running dogs the KMT!

Chairman of the Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

9 March at Jui-chin, Kiangsi
°"Soviet China" Soviet Union Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow)

8480
CSO: 4005

ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPRESSING INTERNAL COUNTERREVOLUTION

Directive No 21 of the Central Executive Committee of the Provisional Central Government

15 March 1933

[Text] At a time when the imperialist KMT warlords have carried out four encirclement campaigns against the soviet areas throughout the country and are now carrying out a large-scale attack against the Central Soviet area, and when the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution has arrived at the point of life-and-death struggle, the enemy is not only applying military force but is also organizing counterrevolutionary activities in the soviet areas in a planned way, using the landlords, rich peasants and merchants in the soviet areas to organize all sorts of counterrevolutionary groups (the AB Group, the Social Democratic Party, the Trotskyite Party and feudal superstitious groups like the I-hsin Hui [0001 1800 2585] and Lan-tzu Hui [2036 1311 2585]), deceiving a minority of backward masses, seizing opportunities to stir up trouble, and at the same time sending scouts to penetrate the Soviet areas to ferret out military intelligence. On the basis of recently discovered facts, such as the people who shouted counterrevolutionary slogans at the mass meeting in T'ing-chou and the smashing and capture of a KMT county party branch organ in T'ing-chou, the discovery of similar reactionary posters in the three localities of Jui-chin, T'ing-chou and Ho't'ien, the secreting away of four rifles in the household of the Shih-ch'eng propaganda department chief, the organization by the enemy of anti-revolutionary activities in Nan-kuang [0589 1639] county which hindered all mass work and wartime mobilization work, the plans of traitorous merchants in the Hui-ch'ang area to carry on activities to subvert the soviet currency, the planned money conversion by traitorous merchants in Jui-chin and T'ing-chou, the manipulation of commodity prices everywhere by traitorous merchants, along with large-scale transfer of cash, and even the discovery of counterrevolutionary subversive actions in certain of the local armed organizations, all of these recently discovered facts prove clearly that the enemy is organizing counterrevolution in the soviet areas, and politically and economically and in all ways he is carrying out pernicious plans to destroy the Soviet and the revolution.

But our soviet governments in all areas are completely lacking in vigilance and still are paying insufficient attention to this grave counterrevolutionary activity, and are even permitting it. The central government is now gravely calling it to the attention of governments and their organs for suppressing counterrevolutionaries at all levels that this past attitude of paying no attention to and permitting counterrevolutionary activities is totally impermissible, all governments and their organs for purging counterrevolutionaries must immediately rectify these errors and must immediately take steps to deal with counterrevolution in accordance with the actual situation in their localities. In the districts and townships and in particular in all the cities, whenever lurking counterrevolutionary elements or their activities are encountered, resolute and rapid measures must be taken to repress them severely, and when the situation is pressing they must proclaim a temporary state of martial law and the soviet governments and all revolutionary organs must institute an armed and mass-style defense. In order to sternly put down counterrevolution, important counterrevolutionary elements must rapidly and unhesitatingly be apprehended and punished and the nature of their crimes must be broadly propagandized among the local masses. Governments in all localities and at all levels and especially the urban and district and township governments, must propagandize the fact of the coordination of counterrevolution activities within the soviet areas with the White armies outside, and mobilize all the revolutionary masses to carry out the most stringent oversight and surveillance over merchants, rich peasants and landlord elements and to seek in all quarters for clues of counterrevolutionary organization and activity. The soviet government organs for suppressing counterrevolution must set up close relationships with the labor unions, agricultural laborers' associations, poor peasant associations and other revolutionary groups, because only if the broad masses under the leadership of the government set to work enthusiastically can counterrevolutionary organizations and activities be thoroughly extirpated. The judicial departments in all counties in the border areas must quickly deal with all criminals already apprehended; and all elements whose crimes have been clearly proven, starting with the alien class elements among them, must immediately be put to death. The death sentences need not be carried out according to Article 26 of the Judicial Department's Temporary Regulations on Organization and Judicial Activities, which requires permission from the higher levels; the death sentences may be carried out first and the cases reported to superiors afterward. As to the central districts, accumulated cases must also be quickly dispatched and must not be allowed to pile up again, nor must there be any delay of the speedy suppression of counterrevolutionaries. In the central areas, in times of particular distress death sentences may also be carried out and the superior authorities informed afterwards. This is a measure which it is necessary for us to take while the enemy are carrying out large-scale attacks, and it cannot be regularly adopted in ordinary times.

Landlords and rich peasants in areas under attack by the enemy and border areas must be dealt with separately. When they have actually engaged in

counterrevolutionary activities, they must immediately be apprehended and severely punished, and not given leeway for the slightest bit of activity. As to the other landlord and rich peasant elements about which nothing counterrevolutionary has been discovered, the government in the locale must stir up the masses to keep strict surveillance on their activities. They should not all be apprehended, except if they exercise an unwholesome influence or if it makes dealing with them later more difficult. The central government confidently believes that in this attack of internal and external counterrevolution on the revolution, we possess the conditions to entirely smash them and win an all-round victory. We have the broad masses of the people and the powerful Red Army, we have strong and consolidated government organs and we must use these powerful government organs (central and local) to lead the millions of worker-peasant masses and the Red Army to strike mortal blows against our internal and external enemies. We have the precious experience of the past purges of counterrevolutionaries and we must use these experiences to subject counterrevolutionary elements within the soviet areas to stern repression and thorough extirpation. Governments at all levels upon receiving this directive must immediately and in the light of the concrete situation in their locality decide upon the methods of implementing it, and must report on methods of implementation through channels. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Yung, Chang Kuo-tao

15 March 1933
"Red China," No 62, 18 March 1933

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ON MOBILIZING THE MASSES TO HELP GOVERNMENT PERSONNEL IN THEIR FARMING WORK SO TO RELIEVE THE FAMILY DISTRESS OF GOVERNMENT WORK PERSONNEL AND INCREASE GOVERNMENT WORK EFFICIENCY

Order No 18 of the Central Executive Committee, Provisional Central Government

14 April 1933

[Text] In the current period of bitter struggle in the civil war, the workers of the Soviet Government have been unable to pay out wages according to individual labor, so that people's families have no economic assistance. This spirit of bitter sacrifice on the part of workers in the Soviet Government deserves praise. The situation everywhere tells us that there are many poverty-stricken worker-peasant elements who are active and have work ability, but since they are the main workers in their families' production and have been bound by family labor and cannot come to work in the government, so that the governments in some areas lack such good work personnel and have chosen some not very active people, who are lacking in work ability, for government work. The reason is that only these people are not the main laborers in family production and are not bound by the family labor, and accordingly they have been selected for government work. In this way, the standard for selecting personnel has departed from revolutionary activism and work ability and only depends on the family being at leisure, a circumstance which is impermissible. There is another, even more impermissible circumstance; in some localities at election time the good elements, because of the press of their family livelihood, are unwilling to be elected, and so bad elements come out, rich peasants and vagabonds, and thus bore into the soviet organs. This is going on in some localities. As to people from good class origins, active in the revolution and capable in their work, they have taken on government work, but because of family labor problems which are unresolvable they cannot work with an easy mind, a situation which is extremely widespread (particularly at the district and township levels).

The central executive committee, on the basis of the above circumstances, and in order to make the soviet government into an active and able government, able to lead the broad masses of the people, under circumstances of bitter struggle, to win a revolutionary victory, has resolved:

For all workers in the soviet governments at all levels, who want to participate but whose families truly have no labor force or not enough, after it is so determined, the local government must mobilize the masses to do their families' farming for them or help their families do it, (families whose labor force is sufficient are excluded), to the extent that their family livelihood will not fall short of what it would be if they themselves were present and working. For a concrete method, Point 4 of the Red Army "Good Treatment" points may be used ("For those with no labor force, people shall be sent to help with all planting, irrigation, and harvesting work; for those with insufficient labor force, supplemental assistance according to their needs shall be given."). These people's domestic worries should be alleviated so that they can do their government work with their minds at ease. The use of this aid measure is aimed at bringing large numbers of the people with good class background, revolutionary activism and good work ability into the soviet governments at all levels and strengthening the governments' work abilities. This is made known with the expectation that governments at all levels will comply and implement it. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

14 April 1933
°Collected Communist Documents, (1)
Issued by Department No 4, Nan-ch'ang Headquarters, Chairman of Military Affairs Committee, July 1933

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PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY AFFAIRS COMMISSION OF THE WORKER-PEASANT RED ARMY

15 April 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

On 1 May we shall solemnly convey our revolutionary greetings to the toiling masses of all China, to the workers and peasants and urban poor groaning under the blood-stained leadership of the KMT, to the fighters who were oppressed into opposing the Chinese workers and peasants, to the revolutionary students and youth participating in the anti-imperialist struggle, and to the hundreds and thousands of revolutionary prisoners incarcerated and oppressed in KMT prisons!

The continuing attacks of Japanese imperialism, the unprecedented buildup of a crisis threatening the total dismemberment of China, and the profundity of the crisis of the whole people impels us to make a further declaration to all people fighting for the interests of China and to the toiling masses. The characteristic of the present situation is the totally unchecked rush of the Japanese imperialists into Peking and Hankow. At the same time the British imperialists are attacking in Sinkiang and are preparing, through their puppets in Tibet and elsewhere, to occupy western China. In the secret talks now being held by the Japanese and the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek has made yet another deal with the imperialist bandits. The secretariat of the Central Political Committee of the KMT, with powers to represent the Nanking government and Chiang Kai-shek, are holding secret talks with the Japanese representative Yoshizawa in Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek--the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants and the chief criminal who in 1929 asked the Japanese to occupy Shantung and in 1932 secretly massacred the defenders of Shanghai--has now abandoned the northern front and is once again promoting the traitor Yang Yu-tin who opened the road for the Japanese invasion of Jehol. When Chiang Kai-shek went to the north, he waged no war against Japanese imperialism, but recognized the handiwork of his friend, the traitor Chang Hsueh-liang.

The southwest government and the Fukien warlords alike have failed to oppose Japan or any other imperialists; their recent propaganda about "opposing Japan in the North" has been nothing but falsehoods designed to deceive the masses. They are really intent upon expanding their own lands and attacking the soviets and the Red Army.

Why does Chiang Kai-shek want to return to Kiangsi? Why has he abandoned the northern armies, leaving them empty-handed against the Japanese artillery and aircraft? Why have the KMT and their government concentrated large numbers of units, all their aircraft and military equipment to oppose the workers and peasants of Kiangsi? Because they are now bargaining with Japan and all the imperialists to make China into their private possession and betray it utterly. Because they hope that the Japanese and the other imperialists will allow them to become puppet rulers of a few provinces, as they did in the case of "Manchukuo." Because they want to massacre the Chinese masses in order to support imperialism and the rule of the Chinese landlord bourgeoisie.

In order to cover up their surrender and treason, the KMT have fabricated the myth that Japanese imperialism is helping the Red Army with money and ammunition, spreading the slander that the Chinese Soviet Government is holding talks with warlords. This base and shameless rumor has already been shattered by many ironclad facts.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are the only mass political power and armed force opposing all imperialist invasions, and in repeated heroic combats, the Chinese Soviet Red Army has been shown to be constant in its stance to all imperialists; we are inseparably connected with the Japanese workers and peasants because they too are carrying on a heroic struggle in opposition to Japanese imperialism, and they too have been plundered, oppressed and massacred by the ruling class. But the Japanese imperialists and warlords are our common enemy.

We are engaged in a struggle for the interests of the toiling masses of all China and for Chinese independence, unification and territorial integrity. At present we must wage war against Japan and the other imperialists, and we will overthrow anyone who opposes that war.

We have complete faith that the struggle of the Chinese worker-peasant fighters and the heroic defense of the Red Army will be able to prevent imperialism, Chiang Kai-shek and the bankrupt KMT from realizing their plan to dismember China.

In the last 3 months the workers and peasants of Kiangsi and their Red Army have smashed more than nine enemy divisions. In several battles they captured more than 30,000 men and weapons along with large amounts of military supplies and innumerable weapons. About 10,000 troops from the KMT armies have already joined the Kiangsi Red Army of their own free will.

The Red Army in Hunan, Hupeh, Honan and Szechwan have also been growing rapidly. From the proclamations of the commander of the 52nd division and the commander and staff of the 59th Division, recently captured in Kiangsi, it can be clearly seen how profound the disintegration of the KMT army is; they denounce the KMT and Chiang Kai-shek, express penitence for their own past crimes in opposing the Chinese workers and peasants and ask the fighters and officers of the White armies to stop their attacks on the Soviet areas, turn the guns around and attack the KMT traitors who are selling out our motherland. In view of the recent great victories of the Red Army and the waverings of their front-line troops, as well as the hatred of the masses of the entire country, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei now hope, by means of such arbitrary propaganda as "exterminating the communists is resisting the Japanese" and "no discussion of resisting the Japanese until the communists are wiped out" to hinder the revolutionization of the broad masses of fighters and to cover up their own treason and surrender. But such deceit and threats cannot succeed. Quite the opposite: they only serve to further expose their wickedness.

In view of the current situation and our victory it behooves us once again to transmit the proposal we made in January to smash the slander of the KMT regarding hindrance by the Red Army and the workers and peasants in the Soviets of an effective resistance to the Japanese. We believe that if only we can actively oppose the invasion of the Japanese imperialists as we proposed before, it will immediately be possible, and accordingly we once again declare our proposal to the entire nation. Under the following conditions the Chinese Red Army is prepared to conclude a wartime agreement with any armed units to oppose the Japanese imperialist attack:

1. That it immediately stop the attacks on the Chinese Soviet areas;

2. That it immediately guarantee the democratic rights of the masses (assembly, association, speech, publication, and demonstration, and the release of political prisoners);

3. That it immediately arm the masses and form armed militia units to guard China and win China's independence, unification and territorial integrity. Every worker, peasant and fighter can understand that without the above conditions a victorious war against the imperialists is impossible. The KMT policy is bankrupt. It is leading to the dismemberment of China and the further enslavement of China's masses, and it continues to increase the suffering, hunger and massacre of the masses.

We call on all workers and fighters among the broad masses of the people, in the army and the militia, to intensify their work to make them accept our policy of national revolution. We call upon all toiling masses to support us in defending China and the power of the people.

Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic,
Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army

15 April 1933
°"Historical Materials on the Ups and Downs of the Intra-Party Conflict in the Chinese Communist Party" by Hsiao Tso-liang; Washington University, 1967
△ "Struggle," Shanghai, No 40, 21 April 1933

8480
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LETTER TO RESPONSIBLE PERSONS IN SOVIETS AT ALL LEVELS ON THE SUMMER PLANTING

22 April 1933

[Text] To presidiums of the provincial county and district soviets, heads of land departments, chairmen of township soviets and all representatives:

The spring planting is over. Although good results have been obtained in some places, the results have been extremely bad in others. A grave circumstance is that the government presidiums have neglected the spring planting, the land departments have shirked it, and especially in the means of mobilization we have become divorced from the masses. Now it is already time for summer planting, and soon it will be time for the autumn harvest; if you fail again to make an effort and do not immediately change from your errors of the spring planting and assume a spirit of struggle to approach the summer planting, then the plan to increase harvest by 20 percent in the interest of the masses and of the revolutionary war will be most gravely affected. Accordingly, the central land department has printed an outline of the summer planting movement ("How To Lead the Summer Planting Movement," published by Red China) to distribute to you. In this outline, the critical significance of the summer planting, its aims, its central tasks and the means of mobilizing the masses for it are pointed out. In particular the concrete examples of Jui-chin and Wu-yang district are singled out--there they carried out a true "organized mobilization" and stimulated the peasant masses to an unprecedentedly high level of labor enthusiasm, achieving great results in the spring planting. When you receive this outline, you should immediately convene all necessary meetings (the chairman of the county soviet and the head of the land department should convene a meeting of district chairmen and heads of land departments, the district soviet and its land department should hold a meeting of township soviet chairmen and chairmen of poor peasant associations, the township soviets should convene meetings of their respective assemblies, poor peasants and women's congresses, Red Guards and Young Pioneers and the youth groups and village masses) to explain the main points of the outline and discuss the ways of carrying it out in the locality. The summer planting struggle of the revolution should immediately be spread to all red farm villages. The provincial soviet need not convene meetings of the county soviets, but it should provide concrete and active leadership

on the basis of this outline. At least once a month the province should investigate the work of its counties and the county of its districts. The district should oversee its townships twice a month. The central land department should during May send people to all the counties for preliminary investigation of your achievements in summer planting. Performance of the tasks of summer planting depends primarily on your correct and energetic leadership. Comrades, all struggle for an all-around victory in summer planting!

Chairman of the Provisional Central Government, Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao
Representative of the People's Land Committee Hu Hai

22 April 1933
°"Red China," No 74, 29 April 1933
*"Outline for the Summer Planting Movement"

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DIRECTIVE ON THE SETTING UP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY MINISTRY

Directive No 10 of People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

28 April 1933

[Text] To increase production in all trades in the soviet areas, to expand internal and external trade, to develop the national economy in the soviet areas and to smash the enemy's economic blockade, all of these are of the first significance amid the current acute development of the civil war. Accordingly the central Executive Committee has published its 19th order and has added a Ministry of National Economy to the central government and National Economy Departments at the provincial and county levels. Governments at all levels must reform their past errors of neglecting economic construction and must quickly launch the attack on the economic front. Since the imperialist KMT carried out its fourth encirclement campaign against the soviets and the Red Army, and at the same time carried out a cruel economic blockade, owing to the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the soviets and the active attack of the Red Army and the masses, we have already gained an extremely great victory, but governments at all levels must understand that our war with the imperialist KMT is a protracted and bitter struggle, and even if we entirely smash the fourth encirclement campaign and win initial victories in one or several provinces, we shall still need to devote an immense amount of effort to it. Winning a victory in economic construction, so as to improve the livelihood of the worker-peasant masses, to whip up an even greater revolutionary fervor among the masses, and also to protect the needs of the Red Army in coordination with the entire war mobilization, all this has decisive significance for the victorious struggle. Based on the above principles, governments at all levels must grasp several central tasks of current economic construction, such as the development of industrial and agricultural production, grain redistribution, expansion of cooperatives, the setting up of an external trade office and the development of state-owned enterprises, and make them an actuality. To carry on these activities, the people's committee has determined that the National Economy Departments at all levels shall carry out a provisional organizational guideline in which is specified the setting up of the most important organs of the National Economy Department, the planning office and the investigation and

statistical office. In addition, it is specified that before the various special administrative organs--agricultural department, industrial department, communications department, internal and external trade department--have been set up, their functions shall be performed wholly or in part by the Department of National Economy. When the governments at all levels receive this directive and guideline, they must immediately set up the various organs as specified. Some functions that were performed formerly under the control of the finance departments such as the office of grain redistribution, the cooperatives, the external trade office, etc., shall be relegated to the control of the Department of National Economy. The State Printing Plant which formerly was under the control of the Department of Education is also provisionally relegated to the Department of National Economy. The Labor Reform Institutions, which were formerly under the control of the Department of Justice and the provincial and county judicial departments, shall now have their manufacture and instruction sections relegated to the control of the Department of National Economy. But the Communications Administration under the control of the Ministry of Interior shall only have its Transport Department relegated to the Department of National Economy, while its post, telegraphic and highway functions shall remain unchanged under its control. The former provincial and county food departments shall be absorbed into the food section of the office of national economy. Within the Department of National Economy at the various levels, people's economy committees shall be set up as planning and reconstruction organs. The setting up of the organs of the national economy department at the provincial and county levels, and the duties of the personnel must quickly be reported to the central ministry of national economy.

As to the regional authorities' programs for concrete leadership, these must be drawn up by an early date, and it is expected that the Ministry of National Economy will examine and approve them for execution. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

28 April 1933
°"Red China," No 77, 8 May 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

ON LIMITING SPECIAL DELIVERY LETTERS

Order No 8 of the People's Committee

11 May 1933

[Text] In order to limit special delivery letters, the People's Committee of the Interior Department of the Central Government issued an order that: "Public and private letters which do not have a serious time sensitivity may not be sent special delivery." Recent investigations of certain party organs and Red units have continued to turn up many cases of frivolous use of special delivery, as the case in the 5th subdistrict where a comrade had lost a fountain pen and sent a special delivery letter to investigate, also requesting his correspondent to answer by special delivery; and the comrade in the military department of the I-huang county soviet who asked for repayment of a private debt from a comrade in the Fukien military district, also by special delivery letter. A letter from a Ta-hsi-pa district committee member to a Huang-po district committee representative asking him to send him money was also sent special delivery. This sort of frivolous use of special delivery hinders the work of the post office, hinders the true emergency work of special delivery, and especially hinders the delivery of military intelligence, wastes public funds; this sort of situation will not be allowed to continue. The People's Committee once again sternly circulates its order to all organs and all units to quickly forbid these practices among their personnel and it also lays down limitations as follows:

1. Special delivery letters of military organs are limited to reporting emergency information on the enemy and delivering urgent orders and communications. No other messages may be sent special delivery. They must bear the chop of the competent commander on the letter.

2. Among party departments, governments and mass organizations, they are limited as follows:

a. Hsien level organizations may send special delivery letters, but those at the district and township levels may not.

b. The contents of special delivery letters must be strictly time sensitive, that is, the nature of the letter must be such that if it does not arrive in an extremely short time there will be an extremely bad effect upon all types of work.

c. Special delivery letters shall be stamped on the outside by the party secretary for party departments, and the chairman for the governments (department heads may do so in the central government and chairmen or committee chairmen may do so for mass organizations).

3. The Security Office shall have the responsibility for investigation, and if it discovers disobedience to the above regulations, it shall change the letter in question to an ordinary letter and in addition shall report the sender to the cognizant apparatus at the next higher level for fitting punishment.

We hope that organs at all levels and military units will strictly observe the above regulations and not again fail to adhere to them. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

11 May 1933
°"Red China," No 90, 2 July 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

DECLARATION ON THE KMT SELL-OUT OF PEKING AND TIENTSIN

30 May 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

After Manchuria, Jehol and Shanghai were written off by the KMT Nanking Government with Chiang Kai-shek as its chief criminal, now Peking, Tientsin and Chahar have also been sold out by these running dogs of imperialism. Retreat from Peking and Tientsin of all armed units and the abandoning of them to the Japanese imperialists, the preconditions for the "peace talks" have now been thoroughly been carried out by the KMT Nanking government. The content of the so-called "peace talks" is:

1. The Chinese armies are to retreat south of Peking-Tientsin, and south of Ch'ang-ch'eng shall be designated a buffer zone (i.e., a so-called "neutral zone"),

2. The Chinese side recognizes "Manchukuo" and "Mengkukuo,"

3. All militia activity and the development of all anti-Manchukuo forces shall be stopped and the militia and all anti-Japanese forces shall be disarmed at an opportune time,

4. The Chinese side undertakes to stop all anti-Japanese activity.

The "peace talks" have already succeeded. In Peking, the representatives of Japanese imperialism, the top Chinese traitors such as Huang Ju and Ho Ying-k'an and the British imperialist mediator (Lambertson) are now celebrating their victory at a banquet. Outside Peking, in Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar and Peking-Tientsin, the Japanese imperialists are continuing to use their artillery and aircraft to bombard and massacre the anti-Japanese militia, revolutionary fighters, and thousands upon thousands of peaceful inhabitants, in order to bring about "peace and order" of the colonial slaves under the rule of Japanese imperialism.

Masses of all China! Mongolia and Peking-Tientsin have finally been sold out by the landlord bourgeoisis KMT. This is the content of the KMT's "protracted resistance," and the true nature of the KMT's "resisting and negotiating at the same time." This is the KMT central government's "fixed policy." The evil KMT with Chiang Kai-shek as its head criminal has thus shamelessly and brazenly offered up Manchuria and Peking-Tientsin with their tens of millions of square li of territory and their tens of millions of people, to Japanese imperialism. And it is even now preparing to recompense the British imperialists for their mediation with the vast regions of Tibet, Sikang and Sinkiang!

Masses of all China! We are the champion of the Chinese people and we will absolutely not permit the Japanese imperialists and all the other imperialists to invade a single inch of our territory; we will not allow the imperialists' running dogs the KMT to thus shamelessly and brazenly sell out China! We shall assuredly unite, arm ourselves and expand the national revolutionary war. With the force of the masses, 400 million strong, we will bring down imperialism and the imperialists' running dogs the KMT warlords, and first among them the KMT Nanking Government with Chiang Kai-shek as its chief criminal; only by a bloody struggle by the people of all China can we regain the land we have already lost and gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people!

The Central Government and Revolutionary Military Affairs Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic have repeatedly proposed to the armed units who are attacking the soviet areas throughout China to draw up a wartime cooperation agreement under the following three conditions in order to oppose the invasion of Japanese imperialism:

1. Immediately stop the attacks on the Soviet areas;

2. Immediately guarantee the people's democratic rights;

3. Immediately arm the masses and set up armed militia to protect China and to win China's independence, unification and territorial integrity.

But the KMT's answer to this call of the Chinese Soviet Government has been to make new surrenders and betrayals to the Japanese imperialism, to force the anti-Japanese fighters in the Northeast to retreat, to disarm the militia in the Northeast, and so suppress all anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist movements of the masses of all China, to organize new forces to attack our soviet areas, and to send large numbers of aircraft to bomb the toiling masses and the peaceful inhabitants within the soviet areas.

Now every peasant, every worker, every fighter, every student and every revolutionary can see with his own eyes who are the traitors, who are the running dogs of imperialism! If the KMT is not overthrown, China can only

perish, and the Chinese masses will sink into eternal slavery to imperialism! The Central Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic calls upon the masses of all China, the militia in the northeast, the anti-Japanese fighters in the northeast, all Chinese revolutionary students and intellectuals, independent tradesmen and all revolutionaries to join together and arm themselves, to reject all repression and massacre by imperialist police and KMT gendarmes, to struggle against Japanese imperialism's attack on China, to oppose the KMT government's sellout of China and to win liberation for the Chinese people. The Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic is now engaged in a bloody war to completely smash the fourth encirclement campaign of imperialism and the KMT against the Soviet areas, is setting up extensive Chinese revolutionary bases and creating an iron Worker-Peasant Red Army a million strong. It is preparing to collect its forces on the Yangtze to wage warfare directly against all imperialists. The Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and its Worker-Peasant Red Army have already proved to the masses of all China in a protracted anti-imperialist and anti-KMT war, that only it is the anti-imperialist anti-KMT masses' own political power and only it can lead the masses of all China to overthrow Japanese imperialism and all imperialism and to overthrow the KMT government headed by Chiang Kai-shek which sold out China and all traitorous KMT warlords.

Masses of all China! Unite, arm yourselves, and together with the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic expand the national revolutionary war and struggle to win back the lost territory in the Northeast, to defend China and to win complete liberation for the Chinese people.

Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic
Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

30 May 1933
"Red China," No 83, 4 June 1933
"Struggle," Shanghai, No 44, 10 June 1933
"Soviet China," Soviet Union Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow), 1933

8480
CSO: 4005

CARRY OUT AN EXTENSIVE AND PROFOUND LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

Directive No 11 of People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

1 June 1933

[Text] There are now a large number of districts in the various soviet areas and especially in the central soviet area which have not thoroughly resolved the land question. In the central soviet, these areas make up almost 80 percent of the area, with a population of more than 2 million, such as Jui-chin (excluding the Wu-yang district), Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Hsin-feng, Yu-tu (excluding Hsin P'o district), Lo-an, I-huang, Kuang-ch'ang, Shih-sh'eng, Chien-ning, Li-ch'uan, Ning-hua, Ch'ang-t'ing, and Wu-p'ing--in all 15 entire counties. Large parts of Po-sheng, Sheng-li and Yung-feng and parts of Kung-lueh, Wan-t'ai, Shang-hang, Yung-ting and Hsin-ch'uan, as well as the districts of Chun-ts'un and Huang-t'ang in Hsing-kuo, all are places which have not thoroughly resolved the land question. The peasant masses in these areas have not been extensively mobilized, and the remnants of feudal power have not been finally overcome; and in the soviet organs the mass organizations and the local armed units there are still a good many alien class elements engaging in hidden activity, and there are still a good many secret counterrevolutionary organizations in the localities engaging in activities subversive to the revolution. For this reason, wartime mobilization and cultural and economic construction in these areas have fallen behind those in the progressive areas (almost all of Hsing-kuo, part of Sheng-li, Kan-hsien, Wan-t'ai, Kung-lueh, Yung-feng and Shang-hang; Huang-p'o and An-fu districts in Po-sheng; Hu-yang district in Jui-chin, and Hsi-nan district in Yung-ting). The carrying out of a universal and profound land investigation movement in these extensive areas, the development of an extremely high level of class struggle among the more than 2 million masses, and the final assault on and thorough destruction of feudal power are tasks which in the various soviets will not brook a moment's delay. As for the concrete details of the carrying out of the land investigation movement, the People's Committee has determined as follows:

1. The governmental chairmen at the various levels are charged with using the greatest attention in leading the entire land investigation movement.

2. The land departments, the worker-peasant investigation departments, the judicial departments and the state political security offices and their agents at all levels are charged with devoting all their energies to directing the movement and thoroughly resolving land problems, reforming local soviets and wiping out counterrevolution in the countryside. The people's committees of the central land department, the worker-peasant investigation department, the judicial committees, the state political security office, must devote their whole energy to directing the various subordinate organs in the thorough performance of the task.

3. The people's committee of the central financial department is charged with directing financial departments at various levels in attacking feudal and semi-feudal power by fining landlords and exacting contributions from rich peasants, and at the same time increasing state revenues. The central people's military committee is charged with directing the military departments at the various levels in the land investigation movement, overhauling and expanding the local armed organizations, and mobilizing the masses to serve in the Red Army. The central people's economic committee is charged with directing the economic committees at the various levels in carrying out recovery and development of agricultural and handicraft production, the development of cooperatives and the distribution of products and commodities within the development of the land investigation movement. The central education people's committee is charged with directing the education committees at the various levels in supplying all sorts of simple and colloquial textbooks and booklets to all cadres and masses investigating land in order to develop the land investigation movement and expanding mass cultural education as the land investigation movement expands.

4. Governments at the provincial and county levels should summon cadres from the areas being investigated and from all progressive and relatively progressive areas to run brief land-investigation movement training classes. The county soviets should convene a meeting of the district soviet responsible persons every month and the district soviet should convene a meeting of the township soviet chairmen and poor peasant association chairmen every 10 days to investigate the experience of land investigation.

5. Meetings of main responsible persons in the soviets at the district level and above in eight counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Po-sheng, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua and Ch'ang-ning and meetings of poor peasant associations and electoral congresses in eight counties should be held at the central government to stimulate the land investigation movement in them.

6. In the course of the movement the class line should be persistently adhered to, taking the proletariat in the countryside as the leader and relying upon the poor peasants, resolutely uniting with the middle peasants to stage resolute attacks against feudal and semi-feudal power and ferret out all landlords and rich peasants masquerading as middle peasants or poor peasants, to confiscate all land and property of the landlord class and confiscate the land and excess draft animals, farm implements and dwellings of the rich peasants, and distribute them to workers, poor and middle peasants who previously did not receive enough land or received none at all; the rich peasants should be given relatively poor land to work.

7. In the land investigation movement thorough attention should be paid to mobilizing the majority of the masses to arise and struggle with the remnants of feudalism. First, by means of extensive propaganda and agitation, a thorough investigation of people of landlord and rich-peasant origin should be made, and their land and property should be confiscated. This should be done with the agreement and participation of as large a majority as possible, and the confiscated property should all, with the exception of money, be given out to the poorest of the masses. Special attention should be paid to giving it out to poor Red Army dependents and a larger share of it should be given out to the masses in the villages from whence the property came.

8. The poor peasants association is an extremely important mass organization in the land investigation movement, and the district and township soviets should strive to lead the poor peasants association in purging bad elements from within it and attracting large numbers of active elements to join it. The worker team within the poor peasant association should be the active leader of the poor peasant association.

9. In the land investigation movement, energetic attention should be concentrated on all backward districts, townships and villages, and especially in the most backward of them. In developing the land investigation movement in backward districts and townships and particularly in large villages attention should be paid to mobilizing the impoverished masses to arise of themselves and struggle against the landlords and rich peasants of the village. The utmost effort should be directed toward avoiding all incorrect activity involving struggles in areas with a single lineage.

10. In the land investigation movement all secret counterrevolutionary organs and activities should be purged and rumor-mongering and subversion by landlords and rich peasants should be prevented and exposed.

11. In the course of the movement the local soviets should be reformed and all alien class elements and other bad elements should be cleaned out of them and large numbers of revolutionary activist elements should be attracted into the soviets.

12. All people in the soviets at all levels who directly or indirectly hinder the land investigation movement should receive severe or the severest punishment.

Only by persistently implementing the above decisions can we broadly and profoundly develop class struggle in the countryside and whip up the activism of the broadest range of the masses, thoroughly destroy all feudal and semi-feudal power in the countryside and complete the task of the land investigation movement. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

1 June 1933
°"Red China," No 87, 20 June 1933
*(Guide to the Land Investigation Movement), ("Directive of the Central Government on Land Investigation Movement"), issued by the Central Government, 1933
*Collected Red Counterrevolutionary Documents, Vol. 3, "Directive of the Central Government on Land Investigation Movement," 1935

8480
CSO: 4005

MEETING OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF SOVIETS OF THE DISTRICT AND ABOVE AND CONGRESS OF POOR-PEASANTS' LEAGUES OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

Announcement of the Central Government

1 June 1933 1 June 1933

[Text] Presidiums of the county and district soviets and chairmen of the township soviets of the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing:

As the land issue remains an extremely serious one in many areas where the struggle is lagging behind, for the purpose of launching an extensive and intensive land investigation movement, thereby thoroughly solving the land issue, eliminating the counterrevolution, and reforming the soviets and mass organizations, the Central Government has decided to call a "Meeting of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above of the Eight Counties" and a "Congress of Poor Peasants' Leagues of the Eight Counties."

1. Meeting of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above

(1) Location of the meeting: Yeh-p'ing, Yun-chi district, Jui-chin.

(2) Time: Arrival of all participants 16 June; meeting opens 17 June; closes 20 June.

(3) Participants:

District level: Chairman, chief of land department, chief of worker-peasant procurators' department, and special representative of security bureau.

County level: Chairman, chief of land department, chief of worker-peasant procurators' department, and special representative of security bureau.

(4) The duties of the participants will be temporarily performed by others acting on their behalf.

(5) The participants designated above may not be absent under any excuse.

(6) The participants must prepare and bring to the meeting the following reports (details omitted).

To obtain the material for the reports, the district soviet, upon receipt of this announcement, must immediately call a meeting of the township chairmen and poor peasants' league chairmen of the entire district and collect the material. The county soviet has no need to call a meeting of the district soviets; it only needs to collect the material from the various departments and mass organizations of the county level. The provincial soviet must collect material from the various departments and mass organizations of the provincial level. All participants must bring the above-listed reports to the meeting. Failure to do so will be taken as a work slowdown. The reports must be truthful, without fabrication. Those making false reports because of the desire to save "face" will be punished upon discovery.

(7) The travel expenses of the participants will be issued by the finance department of the various levels. Meals during the period of meeting will be provided by the Central Government.

(8) The participants will bring their bowls, chopsticks, and bedclothes.

2. Congress of Poor Peasants' Leagues of the Eight Counties

(1) Location of the congress: Yeh-p'ing, Yun-chi District, Jui-chin.

(2) Time: Arrival of all participants 24 June; meeting opens 25 June; closes 1 July.

(3) Participants: One delegate elected from the poor peasants' league of every township; two delegates where the league membership exceeds 300.

(4) Election of delegates and travel:

(i) Upon receipt of this announcement, the district soviet must immediately call a meeting of the chairmen of the township soviets and poor peasants' leagues of the entire district and explain to them the great revolutionary significance of the congress called by the Central Government this time and the methods of electing delegates and propagandizing to the masses.

(ii) The township and poor peasants' league chairmen must promptly return to their townships, call a poor peasants' league membership meeting, explain the significance of the congress convened by the Central Government this time, and proceed with the election of delegates.

(iii) In regard to the qualifications of the delegates, they must be poor peasants or farm laborers who have been consistently waging a firm struggle against the landowners and rich peasants and who are positive in

their activities. If the chairman or manager of the poor peasants' league has such qualifications, he may be elected; if not, then the delegate must be elected from among the members. The delegate must be elected at the membership meeting; he must not be appointed. No negative element or deviationist may be elected.

(iv) The delegates of the various townships, after being elected, will gather at the district soviet. The district soviet acting chairman will hold a meeting, organize the delegation, appoint the best among the delegates as the delegation chairman, explain the significance of the congress, and issue them travel expenses. The delegation chairman will lead the delegation to go forth and arrive at Jui-chin on 24 June.

(5) The delegates must bring with them a simple report, giving the following information: (i) population of their particular township; (ii) number and components of the poor peasants' league; (iii) when it was organized; (iv) whether there are village poor peasants' leagues; (v) how many subdivisions.

(6) Travel expenses of the delegates will be issued by the district soviet; meals during the period of meeting will be provided by the Central Government.

(7) The delegates will bring their own bowls, chopsticks, and bedclothes.

(8) In regard to propaganda after the departure of the delegates for the congress, the township soviet must select five active elements among the township congress or poor peasants' league to form a "land investigation movement propaganda team." After the poor-peasants' league delegates have left for the congress, the propaganda team will proceed separately to the villages and hamlets, call mass meetings, and explain to the masses that the Central Government, for the purpose of launching a mass movement to investigate land and the classes, is holding the Congress of the Poor Peasants' Leagues of the Eight Counties, that the township has elected so and so to attend the congress, that all districts and townships of the county are sending delegates, that the masses must be prepared and pay attention to the landowners and rich peasants who misrepresented themselves as middle or poor peasants and received land allocations, that a vigorous investigation will begin when the delegate returns from the congress, and that the feudal power must be completely eliminated before the impoverished masses can gain their maximum interest. They must also explain that land investigation is not land redivision, that the masses must perform the investigation themselves and uncover the landowner and rich peasant elements misrepresenting themselves as middle or poor peasants, that only when they are uncovered and knocked down will the impoverished masses gain liberation, and that our farm laborers and poor peasants must ally with all true middle peasants and the soviet will fully protect the interests of the middle peasants. Such propaganda is to inform the masses that the congress of the poor peasants'

leagues attended by the delegates of all districts and townships, including their own township, is for the purpose of launching a mass movement to investigate the classes in the 900 or more hsiangs of the eight counties, and to create a strong atmosphere of class investigation before the delegates' return. Village and hamlet mass meetings may be held after sundown, and the township chairman must be responsible for their guidance.

Responsible comrades of the county, district, and township soviets of the eight counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing: Attention must be given the following points for the complete success of the two meetings: (i) The participants must all bring with them truthful reports. (ii) All the poor peasants' league delegates must be positive revolutionary elements, not negative compromising elements. (iii) All those required to attend must attend and arrive promptly on the specified day. (iv) General propaganda on the land investigation movement must be performed in all the hsiangs. You must devote a great effort to these four points. If they are not followed, the meetings will not be completely successful, and you must share the blame. It is so announced.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

1 June 1933

° "RED CHINA," No 85, 14 June 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

APPEAL TO THE MASSES OF JUI-CHIN, HUI-CH'ANG, PO-SHENG, AND SHIH-CH'ENG COUNTIES FOR 50,000 TAN OF GRAIN TO SELL TO THE RED ARMY

June 1933

[Text] (1) During the fourth revolutionary war, after Chiang Kai-shek's White army in the North suffered several tragic defeats and the Red Army won several great victories, the Kuomintang warlords are mustering their remnant troops and preparing a new attack. Meanwhile, Kwangtung's warlord Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Fukien's warlord Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and Hunan's warlord Ho Chien are starting out together and moving their troops against the soviet areas. The Red Army is fighting bloody battles against the enemies and aiming at smashing the enemy encirclement campaign. In another aspect, the Kuomintang conspired with Japanese imperialism to occupy Peking and Tientsin, and the Red Army is preparing to confront imperialism directly and knock down the imperialist Kuomintang at the same time. However, in the Red Army at this time, a serious grain problem has arisen. Some of the Red Army troops live on rice congee, and some of the Central Government organs must also have half of their meals in congee. The price of rice is high, and it cannot be bought. It is truly a difficult problem. In addition, a part of the extremely impoverished masses, especially the families of Red Army soldiers, have nothing to eat. The situation is very serious.

(2) Is there no grain in the soviet areas? No, the soviet areas have considerable amounts of grain. Leaving aside Kung-lueh and Wan-t'ai, where grain is abundant, and taking, for instance, the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Po-sheng, and Shih-ch'eng, we find that there is a surplus every year. Though the harvest last year was inferior, there was still a large surplus. Why is it that the Red Army cannot buy grain in these areas? Primarily, it is due to the manipulation of the rich peasants and unscrupulous merchants. They hide the grain, or raise the price much above the market, and deliberately make it difficult for the Red Army. Next, the people with more grain still fail to understand the difficulties of the Red Army and want to wait for higher prices in the future. Even those who have an average amount of grain do not understand the difficulties of the Red Army; therefore, they have not saved a part of their grain to sell to the Red Army. With these two reasons, grain has become unavailable on

the market. Comrades, you do not understand the difficulties of the Red Army because the soviets of the various areas have never explained them to you. Now the Central Government wishes to purchase 50,000 tan of grain from the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Po-sheng, and Shih-ch'eng to supply the Red Army at the front. It wishes to place the responsibility on the county, district, and township soviets and the 1 million people of the four counties. The distribution is 16,000 tan from Jui-chin, 15,000 tan from Hui-ch'ang, 12,000 tan from Po-sheng, and 10,000 tan from Shih-ch'eng. However, this time it is not borrowing, but purchasing. According to our grain borrowing experiences of the past, the masses voluntarily loaned much grain to the Red Army, and many of them even returned to us the grain borrowing notes. It indicated the tremendous revolutionary fervor of the masses. It indicated that the masses regarded the life of the Red Army as their own and, the moment they heard of the need, they lent their grain. But comrades, the Red Army has exhausted the grain borrowed in the past and the Central Government now wishes to buy grain. The amount is 50,000 tan, at market price. It is to be delivered in batches during the month of June. In regard to the method, those with surplus grain will surrender the surplus and an additional amount saved by them. Those without surplus will save some grain and surrender it. Only those who do not have enough to eat and must depend on their relatives and friends for help do not have to sell to the government. Comrades, we all hope that the Red Army will win. Now that the Red Army fighting on the front does not have enough to eat, can we set our mind at ease? We must all eat more sundry grain and vegetables and save a part of the grain to sell to the Red Army. As many driblets become a river, we believe that it should not be hard for the million population of the four counties to save 40,000 or 50,000 tan of grain. Comrades, as long as the Red Army on the front has enough to eat and wins battles, even if our masses in the rear eat a little less, it will be glorious and joyful!

(3) Another aspect of the grain problem also requires the attention of our broad masses. It is the problem of the grain shortage of the extremely impoverished masses. The majority of us must not allow them, especially the families of the Red Army soldiers, to go hungry. Their difficulty must be solved by us all. The method of solution is mutual help among the masses, first by selling grain at reduced prices, and next by borrowing in summer and repaying in the fall. For the interest of the class, we must not consider ourselves only and ignore the others. Those townships with more grain must help those with less grain. Those villages with more grain must help those with less grain. In a village, those households with more grain must help those with less grain. Besides selling 50,000 tan of grain to the Red Army, we must help the extremely impoverished masses. Only thus are true class friendship and true class mutual help!

Arise, all 1 million of the masses of the four counties!

Sell 50,000 tan of grain to the Red Army!

Help the impoverished masses by "price reduction" and "grain loans!"

Do not let the Red Army live on congee!

Do not let the impoverished masses go hungry!

Help the Red Army break down the fourth enemy encirclement campaign with grain!

Long live the victory of the Red Army!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government
Hsian Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

° "RED CHINA," No 83, 4 June 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE NEGATING THE TREASONABLE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY KUOMINTANG

10 June 1933 10 June 1933

[Text] Revolutionary People of the Whole Nation!

On 31 May the Kuomintang government signed a North China cease-fire agreement with Japanese imperialism. By this agreement, the vast area of North China and tens of millions of people are sold to imperialism, but it is only a part of the treasonable secret treaty published by the Kuomintang. Though Wang Ching-wei and other traitorous ringleaders shamelessly claim that the agreement is only limited to military affairs and involves no politics, actually, what is even more serious is the unpublished large-scale treasonable secret treaty of the Kuomintang government. According to information obtained by this government, the contents of the secret treaty are roughly as follows: (1) The Chinese army will retreat to the south of Peking and Tientsin and the area south of the Great Wall is designated as a buffer zone. (2) China recognizes "Manchukuo" and "the Nation of Mongolia." (3) All activities of the Volunteer Army will be stopped and the Volunteer Army and all troops resisting Japan will be disarmed according to the circumstances. (4) China guarantees the cessation of all anti-Japan movements. The Soviet Provisional Central Government, representing the people of the whole of China, absolutely refuses to recognize the secret treaty and the North China cease-fire agreement, because they completely sell out the vast land of Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China and the national interest to Japanese imperialism and, doubtlessly, the Kuomintang will likewise concede to the demands of British and American imperialism, sell out the territory and rights of Tibet, Hsi-k'ang, and the Yangtze and Pearl river valleys, and follow its traitorous line of "equal opportunity" and "sharing of interests." The Soviet Provisional Central Government of China appeals to the people of the entire China to rise together and resist the treasonable secret treaty and treasonable agreement of the Kuomintang and, by means of revolutionary struggles, including work strikes, school strikes, market strikes, mass demonstrations, and the people's own armed forces, oppose and block the implementation of any article of the secret treaty and agreement. The people of the entire nation must realize that, if the secret treaty and agreement are not resisted, the 400 million people will become forever the slaves of imperialism. They must realize that only by arming themselves,

knocking down the traitorous Kuomintang government, fighting imperialism directly, and ousting Japan and all imperialists before they can liberate themselves and avert the fate of slavery. The Soviet Provisional Central Government declares that it is prepared to devote all its strengths, its spiritual, material, and armed strengths, to help the people of the entire nation resist Japanese imperialism and the traitorous Kuomintang, and it reiterates to all the armed units of the Kuomintang government that, under the condition of (1) immediate cessation of attacks on the soviet areas; (2) guarantee of the people's freedoms of assembly, association, speech, and publication; and (3) immediate arming of the people and creation of a volunteer army, the Soviet Central Government is willing to form a combat agreement with any armed unit of the Kuomintang and fight Japanese imperialism. Meanwhile, the Soviet Central Government wishes to point out that, while loudly clamoring against Japan and the cease-fire agreement, the traitorous Kuomintang warlords such as Feng Yu-hsiang, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang are only trying to hoodwink the people. Actually, some of them have already joined Chiang Kai-shek for a desperate attack on the Red Army and the soviet, while others have become running dogs of Japanese imperialism. Their vociferous clamor against Japan and the cease-fire agreement is only a means for them to deceive the people and proceed with their treachery. Besides associating with imperialism to suppress the revolutionary people and revolutionary soldiers and vigorously attacking the soviet areas and the Red Army, they have no other goal. Revolutionary people and revolutionary soldiers of the entire nation: Only the union of the people's own armed strength and the anti-Japanese soldiers with the people will we implement a true national revolutionary war and knock down Japan and all imperialists, and overthrowing the traitorous Kuomintang is the prerequisite to the victory of this war. The Soviet Central Government of China appeals to the people of the whole nation and the revolutionary soldiers to rally under the banner of the soviet, unite with the Red Army, jointly overthrow the regime of the Kuomintang, the traitorous ringleader, defend the independence and territorial integrity of China, and strive for the thorough liberation of the nation!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Soviet Provisional
Central Government of China
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

10 June 1933

° "RED CHINA," No 84, 11 June 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

ON SOLVING THE GRAIN PROBLEM OF THE MASSES

Order No 42 of Central People's Committee

16 June 1933 [illegible] June 1933

[Text] Recently, grain supply has been short, and the price of rice rises every day. In some individual areas, rice is not available even with money. Therefore, some of the people have no rice to eat, but live on vegetables and sundry grains, or even tree leaves and grass roots. This has truly become a serious situation. The reason is the hoarding by the rich peasants and the manipulation by the merchants; they deliberately make it difficult for the toiling worker-peasant masses. The people with a grain surplus still follow the old concept of each one for himself, wait for higher prices before selling, and are completely indifferent to the hunger of the toiling worker-peasant masses. This is entirely because they do not understand the momentous significance of class mutual help. The people who have no surplus have not saved a part of their grain to sell to the toiling masses who are short of grain, especially the families of the Red Army soldiers, or to lend the grain to them according to the method of borrowing in the summer and repaying in the fall. It is still more than a month before the new grain comes to the market. During this long period, large volumes of grain are needed to relieve the people and the Red Army families. To solve this problem, we want the governments of all levels to devote their full effort to the following work:

1. The government of the provincial level must promptly call all types of meetings, conduct enthusiastic and detailed discussions and, according to the actual situations of the counties, formulate its particular, systematic, and concrete plans for discussion and implementation by the lower level.

2. The county government must, according to the resolutions of the provincial soviet and the experiences of fending grain and saving grain to sell to the Red Army, call district and township delegates' meetings. (Such meetings may be held in two locations if the distances are too great and the delegates too numerous). Such meetings must include the chairman and the delegates of the poor peasants' league, labor union, and women's organization

on the township level, and class mutual help must be explained to the delegates and active elements, so that they will make extensive and enthusiastic propaganda and stimulation when they return to their own districts and townships. By so doing, we will activate the masses and raise their spirit of class friendship and mutual help to solve the current grain difficulty. In areas suffering the greatest grain difficulty, we may use huang-chin, huang-ch'iu vegetable, t'ung-hao, hemp leaves, creeper bean, and bracken as food supplements.

3. The district and township governments must thoroughly implement the resolutions of the province and county on this issue, and guide the townships with more grain to help those with less grain. The villages with more grain must help those with less grain, and the households with more grain must help those with less grain, so that the soviet masses, under the significance of class mutual help, will break down the manipulation of the rich peasants and rice merchants and solve the difficulty of shortage between the green crops and the yellow harvest.

It is hoped that the governments of all levels, upon receipt of this order, will strive to perform the task without neglect. It is so ordered.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman
Lin Po-ch'u, Chief of National Economy Department

16 June 1933

° Order No 42, Central People's Committee, Soviet Republic of China--on Solving the Grain Problem of the Masses (mimeographed)

6080
CSO: 4005

REPORT AT THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT RALLY OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF SOVIETS OF THE CH'U LEVEL AND ABOVE OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

18-19 June 1933

[Text] I. The Land Investigation Movement Is the Momentous Central Task of a Vast Area

As shown by all past experiences, only when the land issue is correctly solved and the flame of the rural class struggle raised to the maximum height under the firm class slogans will the broad peasant masses become activated and, under the leadership of the proletariat, join the revolutionary war and the soviet constructions of all aspects, build a firm revolutionary base, add a greater strength to the soviet movement, and strive for larger developments and victories.

According to the experiences of the progress of the land revolution, the development of the rural class struggle has its corresponding stages. The land struggle includes (1) the stage of confiscating and distributing land, (2) the stage of land investigation, and (3) the stage of land construction. According to the three stages of the land struggle, three types of areas exist in any soviet region: (1) area of intensive struggle, (2) area where the struggle lags behind, and (3) newly developed area.

In the newly developed areas, the land struggle is still in the stage of confiscation and distribution. The central issue here is to overthrow the political power of the landlord class by force, build a revolutionary provisional political regime (the revolutionary committee), local worker-peasant militia, and revolutionary mass organizations, confiscate the land and assets of the landlord class and the land of the rich peasants, distribute the land to the farm laborers and poor and middle peasants, allocate the inferior land to the rich peasants, cancel the debts and burn the land deeds and loan agreements. The struggle in this stage includes the entire period from the time when the revolution and the counterrevolution begin to join in battle to the time of the disposal of the land and assets of the counterrevolutionaries after the revolution has overcome the counterrevolution.

In areas where the struggle is intensive, a consolidated soviet political regime has been established, the local militia and the revolutionary mass organizations have been extensively developed, the feudal and semi-feudal forces of the landlords and rich peasants have been completely subjugated, the land has been thoroughly distributed, and the struggle of the peasant masses on the land issue has progressed to the stage of land improvement and production development. Therefore, the central issue here is land construction.

In areas where the struggle has dropped behind, the development stage is situated between the two stages discussed above. The period of provisional political power has progressed to the period of formal political power, but not yet completely consolidated. The counterrevolutionary struggles of the landlords and rich peasants have been defeated by the revolutionary masses in the first period. From that time on, many among them, with one shake of the body, took down their counterrevolutionary masks and donned the revolutionary masks, also supporting the revolution and land division and calling themselves impoverished peasants entitled to land allocation. They were very active and relied on their historical superiorities, "articulate and literate." Therefore, they stole the fruits of the land revolution during the first period. The innumerable facts prove that they usurped the provisional political power, infiltrated the local militia, manipulated the revolutionary organizations, and acquired more and better land than the impoverished peasants. By the time of the second period, as a result of supervision of the higher level government and the development of the mass struggle, the revolutionary committee was reorganized into the soviet, and the mass organizations and local militia were also initially reformed and developed. A part of the spurious revolutionary elements were purged. In many areas, the land was divided a second time, or even a third or fourth time. A part of the land stolen by the landlords and rich peasants was repossessed. Nevertheless, many class deviationists still remain hidden in the soviet mass organizations and local militia where they "hang out the red belt and address each other as comrades," where they create rumors and hold secret meetings, and where they revile the masses as "leftwing opportunism," "hitting the local tyrants indiscriminately," and "using the public to repay a private grudge." Or, they "are most enthusiastic in expressing their opinions at meetings but do nothing afterward." When the struggle is violent, they organize counterrevolutionary secret organizations, such as the Kuomintang, the Social Democratic Party, the AB League, the New Communist Party, and all types of things, for the purpose of sabotaging the revolution and injuring the positive revolutionary elements. In general, the landlord and rich peasant class uses all kinds of means to suppress the mass struggle, protect their privileges in political power and in land and property, and defend their remnant feudal force. In such areas, the revolutionary masses and the landowners and rich peasants are waging a severe struggle, except that, unlike the open struggle between the Red and White banners in the first period, it is a struggle between the revolutionary peasant masses and the landlord and rich peasant elements covered

by false masks. Such struggle has its special difficulties. The hidden counterrevolutionaries are unlike the open counterrevolutionaries whom the peasant masses can see at one glance. With the many types of deep-rooted rural feudal relations, such as the national relations, it is not an easy matter to raise the class awareness of the peasant masses and make them realize the necessity of the final destruction of the feudal remnants. Therefore, it is necessary for the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to explain patiently to the peasants, perform much arduous work, and follow the correct class line and mass work method. Here, the central issue is land investigation and class investigation. If this issue is not solved, the revolutionary positivity of the peasant masses cannot be developed to its maximum, the remnant feudal forces cannot be completely destroyed, the soviet cannot obtain its maximum consolidation, and such important tasks as expanding the Red Army, raising funds for it, enlarging the local militia, undertaking land and economic constructions, and developing culture and education, cannot attain the maximum success. Therefore, the land investigation movement is the most central and most important task of these areas.

Take the central soviet areas as an example: The struggle is relatively behind in a large part of such areas. The land issue has not been solved in the entire 13 counties of Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Hsin-feng, Lo-an, I-huang, Kuang-ch'ang, Shih-ch'eng, Chien-ning, Li-ch'uan, Ning-hua, Ch'ang-t'ing, and Wu-p'ing, the greater portion of the counties of Jui-chin, Yu-tu, Po-sheng, Sheng-li, and Yung-feng, a portion of the counties of Kung-lueh, Wan-t'ai, Kan-hsien, Shang-hang, Yung-ting, and Hsin-ch'uan, and even the districts of Chun-ts'un and Huang-t'ang in Hsing-kuo.

The peasant masses of such areas have not been most extensively activated, and the feudal forces have not been finally overcome. Many class deviationists are hidden and active in the soviet political regime, mass organizations, and local militia, and many counterrevolutionary secret organizations pursue surreptitious activities in all areas to sabotage the revolution. For this reason, the war mobilization and economic and cultural construction of such areas lag far behind the advanced areas (almost the entire county of Hsing-kuo; a part of Sheng-li, Kan-hsien, Wan-t'ai, Kung-lueh, Yung-feng, and Shang-hang; Huang-p'o District of Po'sheng, Wu-yang District of Jui-chin, Hsin-p'o District of Yu'tu, and Ch'i-nan District of Yung-ting). These backward areas constitute almost 80 percent of the central region and their masses number 2 million or more. To launch a general and intensive land investigation movement in such vast areas, ignite the flame of the class struggle among the 2 million masses for a final battle with the faudal forces, and knock them down completely constitute the urgent task of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

II. The First Step of the Land Investigation Movement--Large-scale Organizational Mobilization

How do we proceed with the land investigation movement? First of all, it requires organizational mobilization. As indicated by the experiences in

leading mass struggles in soviet areas, only when the Communist Party, the soviet, and the mass organizations take concerted action under party guidance will we attain success in all our struggle tasks. The land investigation movement is a cruel and violent class struggle, a great revolutionary mass movement, the fundamental improvement of the mass organization work of the party and the soviet, and the most important link in the current work. Only when the entire party and the entire soviet labor union mobilize all their forces to join this movement will we activate, launch, and complete it. In regard to the mobilization of the party, the Central Bureau has already issued a correct directive. In regard to the mobilization of the soviet, the past error of considering the land investigation the exclusive function of the land department must first be rectified. Not only the finance, military affairs, national economy, and education departments considered themselves unrelated to the movement, but the worker-peasant procurators' department, the judicial department, and the political security bureau also thought that they did not have much to do with it, and even the presidiums paid no attention to it. This is completely wrong. We must understand that no part of the soviet may divorce itself from the movement. First, the government presidiums of all levels must devote their maximum attention to leading the movement. Next, the land, worker-peasant procurators', and judicial departments and the national security bureaus of all levels and their special representatives must serve as the main leading and work units in the movement. To thoroughly solve the land issue in the movement, reform the soviet of the township, district, and county, and purge the rural counterrevolution, the above-named government units must exert their maximum effort. The finance department must attack the remnant feudal forces by fining the landlords and assessing donations from the rich peasants while increasing the state revenue. The military affairs department must give attention to the rectification and expansion of the local militia in the land investigation movement and mobilize the positive elements among the masses to join the Red Army. The national economy department must give attention to the recovery and development of agricultural and handicraft production, the growth of the cooperative, and the balancing of production and consumption in the development of the land investigation movement. The education department is not without its duties. It must, for the purpose of deploying the land investigation movement, supply some simple and popular texts and pamphlets to the land investigation cadres and the masses. With the development of the movement, it must promote the culture and education of the masses. As the largest majority of labor union members in the soviet areas are in the rural village and closely linked with the land, and as the land investigation movement is a great and violent class struggle, the proletariat must serve as the staunchest leader. Therefore, be they agricultural, handicraft, or other labor unions, they must, under the leadership of the National General Labor Union Executive Bureau, mobilize their best cadres and all rural members to participate in the land investigation movement. The most important thing is to produce a motivating and encouraging effect in the poor peasants' leagues and make firm proposals on land investigation, class investigation, and government reform. In general, the land investigation movement is not a commonplace trivial task, and it cannot be thoroughly completed in a month, or even 6 months. Therefore, the party, the league, the government, and the labor union must coordinate for a large-scale mobilization.

Here we will discuss the issue of educating the cadres. First, a meeting of lower level responsible persons must be called and full explanations of the several major issues in the land investigation movement given them. So far, most of the soviet personnel of the various levels do not realize that the land investigation movement is an urgent task; they do not know how to distinguish the class classifications; they fail to understand the lines and methods of winning the masses and launching the struggles. Therefore, they have not been able to launch the movement. Next, such education must also be conducted on the cadres transferred from the local lower level and from all advanced areas. Short-term land investigation movement training classes must be held. The provincial and county governments must hold such training classes many times for the land investigation movement, lasting 1 to 2 weeks, and teaching specially the several major issues in the movement. The land department, worker-peasant procurators' department, and political security bureau of the provincial, county, and district governments must each organize a group of work personnel (most of those of the district will remain on their jobs) and give them full education on land investigation work. Thirdly, one type of education is conducted in action. In other words, the provincial and county governments must send men out to inspect the work, and the district level must call a meeting of its own land investigation work personnel and township soviet and poor peasants' league chairmen every 5 to 7 days and inspect their work, because just the first two methods of education alone will not produce the maximum result.

III. Launch the Land Investigation Movement according to the Development Situation of the Rural Class Struggle

We mentioned in the first chapter that there are three types of areas in the soviet regions:

(1) Areas of intensive struggle;

(2) Areas where the struggle lags behind;

(3) Newly developed areas.

Not just in the provinces, but some outlying counties have the same situation. Yung-feng, for instance, has all three types of areas existing at the same time. In the majority of the outlying counties, there exist the relatively backward and the newly developed areas. As for the interior, generally the counties are entirely backward, but relatively advanced are also found. Most of the districts in Hui-ch'ang, for instance, are backward, but Hsi-chiang District is relatively advanced. The situation in Jui-chin is different. Wu-yang District may be considered an area of intensive struggle; T'ao-huang, Huang-po, Sha-hsin, Jui-lin, Chiu-pao, Yun-chi, Tu-t'ou, and Ch'eng-shih, a total of eight districts are relatively advanced; the remaining six districts are lagging behind. Nevertheless, regardless of which district in which county, as long as its soviet has been established and it has gone through the stage of land confiscation and division, usually relatively advanced and relatively backward villages are found.

Is there the situation of unbalanced development in a village? It exists in many areas. In many areas, the small villages (small hamlets) are advanced and the large villages (large hamlets) are backward. In other areas, due to the difference in historical background, one may find that some individual large villages are advanced, while some individual small villages are backward. Such a situation determines our work direction. When launching the land investigation movement in each of the counties, districts, townships, and even villages, we must concentrate our maximum attention on the backward portions and devote our maximum effort to them. Equal treatment and equal effort are incorrect. It is even more incorrect to shift the work direction to the areas which are easy to develop and ignore the difficult areas because of the difficulties of winning the masses and launching the struggle in the backward areas on ground that "it is impossible to fight one's way in." In regard to the steps of the work, when it comes to a township, naturally we must start with the villages and hamlets which are easy to activate, but the center of our work plan must still remain with the backward villages and hamlets. To eliminate the specially backward situation of a certain village or hamlet (temporarily "impossible to fight one's way in"), it is perfectly proper to start with the villages and hamlets which are easy to handle, thereby influencing the backward villages or hamlets, and activating immediately thereafter their struggles. But when it comes to a county or district, it is different. When planning the land investigation movement of a county or district, we must vigorously attack the backward districts and townships to begin with and devote our secondary effort to the relatively advanced ch'us and hsiangs.

The situation of unbalanced development produces another method, i.e., mobilizing the cadres from the advanced areas to lead the land investigation movement in the backward areas. While it is important to mobilize the cadres from Hsing-kuo and other most advanced areas to the backward areas, it is just as urgent to mobilize those of relatively advanced areas to the backward areas. All advanced and relatively advanced areas must take the responsibility of guiding the backward areas, and all backward areas must emulate the advanced areas. Only thus will the land investigation movement be rapidly deployed.

Chapter I ° "RED CHINA," No 86, 17 June 1933

▲ "Red Flag Weekly," No 49, 31 August 1933

Chapter II ° "RED CHINA," No 87, 20 June 1933

* "Struggle" (Shanghai), No 51, 14 August 1933

Chapter III ° "RED CHINA," No 88, 23 June 1933

* "Struggle" (Shanghai), No 52, 30 August 1933

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CONCLUSIONS OF THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT RALLY OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF SOVIETS OF THE DISTRICT LEVEL AND ABOVE OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

21 June 1933 21 June 1933

[Text] After hearing the report of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Government, on the land investigation movement and 5 days of detailed discussions, the Land Investigation Movement Rally of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above of the Counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing called by the Central Government from 17 to 21 June 1933, has profoundly understood the importance of the movement. It feels that, in the great victories of the soviet movement, as the tens of millions of the masses in the soviet areas have established their own political power, confiscated the land of the landlord class for distribution to the peasant masses, and restricted the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, and as the broad masses have aroused their positivity in the revolutionary victories, great achievements in the revolutionary war and the soviet construction have been made, innumerable enemy attacks repelled, the soviet areas expanded, and the vigorous development of the soviet movement promoted. All these have been a result of the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and the positive support of such leaderhsip shown by the broad masses. However, it does not mean that no serious problem exists in the soviet areas. Precisely because of the vigorous development of the soviet movement that the class enemies within and without the soviet areas are insanely waging their desperate struggle and resistance. Outside the soviet areas, the enemies resort to military attacks. Inside, they follow another pattern. The landlords, rich peasants, and class deviationists conceal their true counterrevolutionary nature and utilize the opportunities in many soviet areas where the land issue has not been completely solved. Many among them still possess certain economic bases, such as the many landowner elements whose land and assets have not been completely confiscated and the many rich peasant elements who have been allocated good land. Many of them also have infiltrated the soviet organs, mass organizations, and the local militia. They abuse the prestige of the soviet, suppress the development of the mass struggle, deceive, bribe, and threaten a part of the masses, spread rumors, organize secret

societies, falsely accuse and injure the positive work personnel of the soviet, and pursue all types of conspiratorial and disorderly activities. Such a situation is actually discovered frequently in many areas of the central soviet regions. The Rally of the Eight Counties feels that this is a serious problem. To destroy finally the remnant feudal forces, thoroughly solve the land issue, and consolidate the soviet political power, an extensive and intensive land investigation movement must be launched. The Rally of the Eight Counties feels that the land investigation movement is actually a cruel and violent class struggle, a great mass revolutionary movement, and the most important link in the current work. Therefore, the land investigation movement requires a large-scale organizational mobilization, firm implementation of the class line, and patient and complete mass work. The Rally unanimously supports the order of the Central Government on the land investigation movement and fully subscribes to the following conclusions.

I. Organizational Mobilization

1. All units of the government must take concerted actions. Not only the land, worker-peasant procurators', and judicial departments, and the political security bureau must shoulder the main responsibility of the land investigation movement, but the finance, military affairs, national economy, and education departments must also perform all items of necessary work in the movement, while the government chairman and the presidium must serve as the leaders of the entire movement. To feel that it is only the function of the land department is wrong.

2. The county, district, and township levels must all organize land investigation committees, under the governments of the various levels and in charge of the general leadership responsibilities of the movement. In addition to the responsible persons of the government, the committee members must also include the personnel of mass organizations.

3. The county soviet must immediately formulate a countywide land investigation movement plan for July. Thereafter, the land investigation movement plan for the following month must be formulated at the end of each month.

4. The district soviet must call a meeting of the chairmen of township soviets and poor peasants' leagues and formulate a plan for the work of the first 7 days. Thereafter, there must be plan formulation and work inspection every 7 days. Nevertheless, for those townships which are too far away, the parties concerned may attend the meetings at the district soviet every 14 days. For those townships which are not too far away, the parties concerned must attend the meetings every 7 days, in order to promote the rapid development of the land investigation movement.

5. In regard to the mobilization pattern of the township level, attention must be given to the following: (1) the township congress, (2) the labor

union, (3) the poor peasants' league, (4) the women's congress, (5) the Red Guard and Young Pioneers, (6) other revolutionary organizations, and (7) village and hamlet mass meetings. Only through such organs, organizations, and mass meetings will the maximum strengths be mobilized into the land investigation movement. Any method tending to reduce the sphere, seeking convenience without regard to the majority of the masses, is incorrect.

6. The county soviet must hold a land investigation movement training class which will include one person from every township and continue for 10 days. Then a second training class must be held, also including one person from every township. The most positive elements among the township soviet congress, poor peasants' league, and labor union will be selected for training and afterward returned to their original townships to lead the movement. However, those from the advanced districts and townships must be sent to the backward districts and townships to work. There must be two classes every month during the 3 months of July, August, and September.

The provincial soviet must select the positive elements from the advanced counties and districts to hold a land investigation movement training class and send the graduates to lead the movement in the backward counties and districts.

7. For the success of the land investigation movement, the organization of the government departments must be immediately made sound, mainly by eliminating double-duty and the habit of frequent transfers and adding the required work personnel.

8. The township level must organize a confiscation division committee, elected by the poor peasants' league and serving under the township soviet, and in charge of confiscating the land and assets of the landlords and rich peasants.

II. Implementation of the Correct Class Line in the Land Investigation Movement

1. Relying on the poor peasants, allying with the middle peasants, and enabling the farm laborers to produce a leadership effect in order to completely eliminate the landlord class, block the rich peasants from stealing the land benefits of the revolution, and weaken their economic hold constitute the correct class line and struggle strategy which must be firmly followed in the land investigation movement. In regard to allying with the middle peasants, it must be started from respecting the interests of the middle peasants. Without the consent of the parties concerned, the land of the middle peasants (including the well-to-do middle peasants) must not be divided. At the beginning of the land investigation, the policy of allying with and respecting the interests of the middle peasants must be generally propagandized. In the process of land investigation, the borderline cases between middle and rich peasants must be determined carefully, without any mistake. In dividing the confiscated land and assets,

attention must be given to the middle peasants and the individual impoverished elements among them must not be left out. In regard to enabling the farm laborers to produce a leadership effect, mainly it is by urging them to join the poor peasants' league and form a farm laborers' cell, in order to rally the positive poor peasant elements through them, develop the poor peasants' league, and hasten the progress of the land investigation movement. When dividing the confiscated land and assets, the farm laborers must be given priority.

2. Correctly analyzing the class classifications from the actual social relations is an important part of implementing the class line. The errors on this issue committed in the past must be promptly rectified. All actual class classification problems must be solved according to the criteria set forth in "How To Analyze the Classes." The criteria must be widely explained among the masses, primarily the cadres.

3. The goal of land investigation is "class investigation," not land redivision. The idea that land investigation requires "staking" is incorrect. Only after the conclusion of the cruel struggle of class investigation and when the majority of the masses demand the redivision of certain individual parcels will redivision be permitted. Such strict distinction is not only for the purpose of stabilizing the land ownership of the peasants, so that they will not be alarmed over the "uncertain land division," but also for the success of the "class investigation" struggle when we must concentrate our entire force (especially allying with the middle peasants) against the resistance of the landlords and rich peasants. At this time, there must not be any dissension in the peasants' own ranks.

4. All possible clan and local disputes must be avoided, and all forces united to deploy the struggle against the landlords and rich peasants. Therefore, activating the impoverished masses of the particular village and the particular clan to clarify the landlords and rich peasants of the said village and the said clan is an important strategy of the land investigation movement. Similarly, the struggle to break down superstition (though proper) must be subordinated to the "class investigation" struggle.

III Mass Work

First of all, we must rectify the neglect of winning the majority of the masses in many areas and the bureaucraticist and commandist work pattern. We must understand that only by patient and arduous work to activate and win the masses will we gain the support of the majority, bring out their maximum positivity, and attain the goal of the complete destruction of the feudal remnants. Such mass work is the only guarantee to the implementation of the class line and must be manifested in the following practical actions in the land investigation movement.

1. The start of the land investigation movement must be widely propagandized in all the villages and hamlets, and the necessity of the movement

explained to the masses. Land investigation is class investigation, not land redivision; class investigation is not an encroachment on the middle peasants. It is especially important to explain the distinctions among the landlords, rich peasants, and middle peasants to the masses. Village and hamlet mass meetings must be held more than once. The most backward villages and hamlets, especially, must hold more meetings, so that our land investigation movement propaganda will reach every member of the revolutionary masses. To attain this goal, we must first explain the movement clearly to the positive elements of the township congress, labor union, poor peasants' league, laboring women's congress, and other mass organizations and generally and intensively propagandize to the broad masses through them.

2. After collecting the reports on the classifications of the landlords and rich peasants, the actual investigation must not be performed by only the few persons of the land investigation committee. The positive elements of the township congress, poor peasants' league, and labor union must be activated to investigate from all sides, uncover and prove to the masses the many complex exploitations and evil activities of the landlords and rich peasants, and disprove the erroneous reports involving the middle peasants.

3. After the poor peasants' league has passed on the classifications of the investigated landowners and rich peasants, they must be passed on by the township soviet and approved by the district soviet. During the process, attention must be given to all the interference and resistance of the landlord and rich peasant elements hidden in the poor peasants' league and the soviet. In regard to them, they must be severely attacked. Meanwhile, attention must be given to the erroneous classification of the middle peasants. Before confiscation, mass meetings must be held in the village and hamlet of the party concerned and the consent of the masses obtained after detailed explanation. In the past, for the sake of convenience, many areas overlooked such procedure at mass meetings and caused the dissatisfaction of the masses, or even serious clan or local disputes. Such error must not be repeated hereafter.

4. In regard to the confiscated property, except cash or its equivalent (such as gold and silver jewelry) which must be surrendered to the finance department, all items must be distributed to the impoverished masses. The erroneous practice of delivering all confiscated property to the government found in many areas in the past must be thoroughly rectified. When distributing property, a larger portion must be given to the masses in the village where it is located, in order to win their satisfaction. The grain confiscated at the time of fall harvesting or not long thereafter may, with the consent of the masses, be temporarily stored for distribution to the impoverished masses in the following spring and summer. However, when the masses demand distribution, it must be immediately distributed. In regard to the confiscated land, besides reserving the public enterprise field and the Red Army public field, it must all be distributed to those who

have been allocated no, or inadequate, land. The distribution or property and land must be prompt; there must not be a long delay after confiscation. Mass meetings must be held when distributing land and property and lists posted so that everyone will be informed.

5. Winning the backward villages and hamlets, especially the large villages, is the important task of many areas. Therefore, attention must be given the following points: (1) The impoverished masses of the particular village must be activated and its landlords and rich peasants clearly investigated. (2) Many mass meetings to "discuss the classes" must be held. (3) The positive elements must be located and trained properly, even if there is only one of them; the local masses must be contacted through them in order to develop the poor peasants' league and launch the local class struggle. (4) In areas where the situation is specially serious, the reactionary elements blocking the struggle must first be arrested, tried at public trial mass meetings, and, with the approval of the masses, executed by shooting, and the mass struggle immediately launched thereafter. (5) In areas where there have been clan wars, "unity agreements" must be signed at the meetings of representatives of the two clans, which must mutually admit their past errors and agree to replace the clan war with the class struggle. All the foregoing are the necessary methods to win the backward villages and hamlets, especially the large villages. Here, we must oppose the capitulation of the large villages out of fear, the commandist method of severance from the masses, the opportunist laissez-faire toward the reactionary elements, and the clan, border, and local disputes. Only thus will we win over the revolutionary masses of all the backward villages and eliminate the feudal remnants in such villages.

6. The poor peasants' league is an organization which produces a great effect in the land investigation movement. In some areas where the league is in name only, without substance, it must be organized immediately. In areas where it has been organized, its positive elements must be immediately rallied, its backward elements won over, and the class deviationists and other evil elements which have infiltrated it firmly purged. Dissolving and reorganizing the entire league must be avoided as much as possible. Such a commandist method of dissolving the league just because a meeting cannot be convened after one or two attempts is completely incorrect. Superior propaganda and stimulation must be used to attract the positive elements to the meetings. Even when only a minority comes, a meeting must be held, in order to develop the membership. The league must include all the rural worker masses who are willing to join, and a worker cell must be formed in the league to produce a motivating and leadership effect. The middle peasants must not join the poor peasants' league, but they may be invited to the meetings as observers, especially when passing on the class classifications. The three-member managers' committee of the poor peasants' league must be changed to a five-member committee, a chairman elected among them, and small groups formed below them, consisting of 5 to 15 persons according to their residences. In regard to poor peasants' league meetings, when the land investigation movement is tense, a meeting may be held once every few days; after the conclusion of the movement, meetings may be held

according to the regular schedule. Nevertheless, when it comes to frequent meetings, consideration must be given to the feelings of the membership masses, and any coercion is detrimental. Before each meeting, the township soviet chairman must direct the poor peasants' league committee to make full preparations of the agenda. Unprepared meetings are the worst habit. During the land investigation movement, the district soviet must call a meeting of the poor peasants' league chairmen every 7 or 14 days to discuss such issues as how to make sound the organization of the league and how to lead the struggle. When necessary, a provisional districtwide poor peasants' league congress may be called.

IV. Reform of the Soviet

1. Reforming the unsound soviet organs in the land investigation movement and turning them into soviets representing the interests of the workers and peasants and possessing full working capacities constitute an important task at the present time.

2. Reforming the local soviet organ includes two aspects: Purging the undersirable elements and attracting the positive revolutionary elements. On purging the undesirable elements, the worker-peasant procurators' departments of the county and district must shoulder the main responsibility. In regard to the method, with the development of the "class investigation" struggle, a prosecution committee is organized on the township level to embark upon prosecution. The township prosecution committee must include two members of the labor union, five of the poor peasants' league, two of the women's congress, one of the youth league light riders' team, and one from the Young Pioneers. The committee elects two chairmen among themselves and serves directly under the worker-peasant procurators' department. The target of prosecution consists mainly of the class deviationists infiltrating the township congress and elements which are completely severed from the worker-peasant interests and have capitulated to or compromised with the landlords and rich peasants. The method of prosecution is as follows: First, the names and crimes of such elements are listed and posted for the opinions of the masses of the entire township. Next, after collecting the opinions of the masses, the committee reaches a conclusion. Thirdly, the conclusion is submitted to the township soviet congress for discussion and for approval of dismissal. Fourthly, after reporting to the district soviet worker-peasant procurators' department and with the approval of the district soviet presidium, the dismissals are announced to the masses of the entire township in the name of the worker-peasant procurators' department. In the prosecution movement, the shock troops of the worker-peasant procurators' department, the correspondents, and the accusation box must be put in full action. Those with the most serious crimes must also be tried at mass trials and delivered to the judicial department for handling according to law. The significance of prosecution and public trial is that, while purging the undesirables in the soviet, the broad masses receive an education so that they will understand the necessity of purging the undesirables from the soviet and supervise and support the soviet. As

a result, no such undesirable elements will continue to be found in the soviet. Prosecutions and public trials must not be expanded to include, as in the past, those who are not very positive or those who have only made minor errors. In regard to such elements, mainly we must win them over by criticism and stimulation. Before a public trial, full propaganda must be made to the masses, explaining the crimes of the culprit, in order to prevent him from deceiving a part of the backward elements and causing trouble at the meeting ground before the trial. In areas where there are clan, house boundary, or village boundary disputes, public trials must not be held lightly. Only when all such nonclass struggles are cleared away and the masses find it necessary will a public trial be held.

The prosecution of the undesirables in the district and county soviets must, under the gudiance of the worker-peasant procurators' department of the same level, be performed by means of a prosecution committee organized by representatives elected by the mass organizations and the medium and lower level work comrades (from section chiefs down to cooks) of the same level. The procedure and contents of prosecution are roughly the same as those of the township discussed above. In regard to the soviet prosecution movement launched along with the development of the land investigation movement, the higher level government presidium and worker-peasant procurators' department must guide the lower level with plans, inspect its work from time to time, promptly correct the errors, and collect the concrete experiences for the education of the lower level government presidiums, worker-peasant procurators' departments, and their prosecution committees.

3. In regard to attracting the positive elements into the soviet, the township level must first call a voters' mass meeting to elect the bravest and staunchest elements in the land investigation struggle to the township congress and fill the vacancies of the purged undesirables. Advance preparations must be made for such elections. Several to a dozen or more substitute representatives may be elected, and it is especially necessary in areas where many new positive elements are emerging, in order to gradually replace the backward representatives who are not completely satisfactory. The next point is to absorb large groups of new positive elements into the various committees under the jurisdiction of the township soviet, such as the land construction, forestry, water conservation, and education committees, in order to make such committees truly stabilized and functioning. The third point is to make it possible for the majority of the positive elements in the land investigation struggle to be elected into the township soviet in the general election of the entire soviet area in the fall this year.

On the district level, in the soviets where there are only a few undesirables in the district executive committee, the functions of the purged members may be taken over by the good elements, and the positive elements in the township soviets must be promoted to the district soviet. In individual areas where the undesirables constitute a large portion of the district executive committee, the county soviet must send men to hold a districtwide provisional congress during the land investigation movement and reelect the district soviet.

In regard to the substitute personnel of the county level, there are the methods of replacing the bad with the good in county executive committee and selecting and promoting the good elements in the district and township soviets to work on the county level.

V. Elimination of the Counterrevolution

1. The government organs of all levels and the entire system of the state political security bureau must pay serious attention to all the activities of the counterrevolutionary organizations of the hidden landlords and rich peasants and the individual elements of all areas and fundamentally eliminate them in the land investigation movement. The political security bureau of the provincial, county, and district levels and its special representatives must especially mobilize all their strengths to perform the work of eliminating the counterrevolution, and the error of overlooking counterrevolutionary activities in many areas in the past must be rectified.

2. Eliminating the counterrevolution in the land investigation movement is mainly by guiding the masses to submit information in conjunction with the class investigation mass struggle, following the thread of the counter-revolution, and arresting the counterrevolutionary elements. During the period of the land investigation movement, the special representatives of the district security bureau have the authority to make arrests. After pretrial questioning by the special representatives, the culprits are delivered for trial at the district judicial department. In case of important culprits, mobile courts must be organized in the hsiang and village of their residences for public trial in the presence of the masses and on-site execution with their approval. This will stimulate the hatred and vigilance against the counterrevolution. The practice of arresting the culprits and delivering them to the county soviet followed in some areas in the past, thereby ignoring the wrath of the masses against the counterrevolution and failing to take the opportunity to educate the masses to exercise continuous vigilance against the counterrevolution, is undesirable. To attain the goal of eliminating the counterrevolution, the techniques of detection, arrest, trial, and imprisonment must be greatly improved.

VI. Attacking the Landlords and Rich Peasants With Fines and Donations

To fundamentally eliminate all the economic bases of the landlords class and weaken the economic hold of the rich peasants, it is very necessary to attack them by means of imposing fines on the landlords and assessing donations from the rich peasants. In view of the fact that the majority, or the greater majority, of the landlords and rich peasants of many areas in the eight counties have not been uncovered, we should be able to raise 800,000 yuan in the months of July, August, and September. The county and district finance departments must devote their maximum effort to this matter. The main method is to direct the township soviet to mobilize the farm laborers' unions, poor peasants' leagues, and other mass organizations, which will make surveys of the assets of the landlords and rich peasants,

decide on the suitable amounts of fines or donations, and strongly urge them to pay. Here, the middle peasants must not be involved. As for the rich peasants and landlords, a distinction must be made. In other words, the landlords must be eliminated, while the rich peasants are weakened.

VII. The Relationship Among the Land Investigation Movement, War Mobilization, and Economic and Cultural Construction

1. In the success of the land investigation movement, it is entirely feasible to raise 80,000 Red Army troops in the eight counties. It will not take long either. It is only necessary to launch an extensive and intensive land investigation movement in July, August, and September. When the broadest masses of the eight counties are all activated, it is entirely feasible to mobilize 80,000 new soldiers to the frontline from the eight counties in 6 to 10 months. Therefore, the task hinges mainly on the development and intensification of the land investigation movement. If our effort is not devoted to the land investigation movement, but only to the expansion of the Red Army, then we will not succeed, because it was the fundamental reason for the inadequate achievement of the eight counties in the past when expanding the Red Army. We must have a profound understanding of this point.

2. In the success of the land investigation movement, one of the important tasks at the present time is for the eight counties to generally develop cooperatives, mainly those of consumer goods, grain balancing, necessary production tools (mainly farm tools), and loans to the impoverished masses, in order to resist the cruel exploitation of the broad masses by the speculative merchants and develop the economy of the entire soviet area against the enemy blockade. The great organizational strengths of the soviet and the masses and large sums of capital are needed to wage this battle on the economic front rapidly and extensively. Therefore, a suggestion has been made to the Central Government to issue 3 million yuan of public bonds to be paid in grain, in order to perform the work promptly. The completion of this work likewise hinges on the success of the land investigation movement. If a great effort is not devoted to the land investigation movement and the great majority activated to join the economic construction, it will be impossible to fulfill the task.

3. Fall harvesting and fall cultivation, the two major undertakings, are close at hand. They constitute the fundamental crux of the people's living and the revolutionary war. Therefore, we must, in the land investigation movement, strive for their complete success this year.

4. The extensive development of the culture and education movement also can only be realized in the success of the land investigation movement. In regard to instances such as one club per 1,000 population, one elementary school per 500 population, one night school per 100 population, and the great majority of those 16 years of age and above enrolled in the literacy classes, when the great majority of the masses have become positive, it is not difficult at all to accomplish. Currently, Hsing-kuo has almost generally reached such a standard. It is an excellent example.

VIII. Enemy Attack

In the enemies' fourth "encirclement and suppression" of our central soviet areas, though our courageous Red Army has basically defeated Chiang Kai-shek's main force on the northern front, the enemies are still attacking us. While their disintegration intensifies day by day and they have innumerable other difficulties, they never forget to attack us. Currently, the enemies in Kwangtung have advanced to Hsun-wu and An-yuan, and those in Fukien still maintain a strong position in Shang-hang, Lien-ch'eng, and Ch'ing-liu. These constitute a great threat to the eight counties and their vicinities. To eliminate fundamentally such enemy forces and expel their remnant troops, besides the courageous Red Army, we must mainly rely on a broad mass warfare, and there is still the urgent fighting task of the land investigation movement. In face of the enemies pressing in on us, not only must we not relax on the land investigation movement, but we must double our effort to deploy it. We must, in the movement, strive to make positive and arm millions of the masses, eliminate the remnant forces of the landlords and rich peasants serving as the enemies' fifth columnists, and build an ironclad soviet. Then, our victory over the enemies will be fully assured.

IX. Supporting the Second All-Soviet Congress With the Success of the Land Investigation Movement

The land investigation movement must be thoroughly completed before the Second All-Soviet Congress on 11 December. Therefore, the work in July, August, and September must be intensified. An inspection mass meeting of the land investigation movement of the eight counties must be held in October. When the Central sends men to the various counties for mobile inspection in August, concrete achievements must be manifested. To hasten the progress of the movement, the eight counties have voluntarily formed land investigation movement competition agreements and are struggling for their full performance.

V. Severely Punishing Those Sabotaging and Resisting the Land Investigation Movement

In the cruel struggle of the land investigation movement, the class deviationists and other most evil elements infiltrating the soviet will inevitably sabotage or resist it. Such elements must be severely punished according to the order of the Central Government on the land investigation movement. At the rally this time, which is under the direct leadership of the Central Government, when all those attending the rally unanimously supported the policy of the Central Government on the movement and enthusiastically discussed the work, land department chief Huang Yen-p'an of Ho-k'ou ch'u, Ning-hua, actually expressed his fundamental opposition to the movement. He was severely criticized and attacked by the small group meeting and the rally. But from beginning to end, he refused to admit his mistake. The rally felt that he took the standpoint of the class enemies to resist the land investigation struggle of the broad masses and completely

desecrated the functions of the soviet. It suggested to the Central Government to dismiss him from his post as land department chief and deliver him to the Ning-hua county soviet to have his activities supervised. Only when such most evil elements are purged will the revolutionary ranks be rectified, the sabotage and resistance of all class enemies overcome, and the great revolutionary task of the land investigation movement completed.

° "RED CHINA," No 89, 29 June 1933

* "Guide to the Land Investigation Movement," published by the Central Government, 1933

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HOW TO DIFFERENTIATE THE CLASSES

June 1933

[Text] 1. What Is a Landlord?

A landlord is a person who possesses land (regardless of the amount), performs no, or only incidental, labor, and relies solely on exploitation for his living.

The pattern of exploitation practiced by the landlords is mainly the exploitation of peasants by means of land rent (including school rent). In addition, they may lend money, hire help, or engage in industry or commerce. But collecting land rent from the peasants is the main form of their exploitation. Managing the public hall is also one form of land rent exploitation. The exploitation by the small landlords among them is more cruel. Though some landlords have gone bankrupt, they still perform no labor after bankruptcy, but depend on fraud, plunder, and the help of their relatives and friends; therefore, they are still considered landlords.

The warlords, bureaucrats, local tyrants, and evil gentry are the political representatives of the landlord class and they are especially vicious among the landlords.

The landlord class is the main enemy of the revolution. The policy of the soviet on the landlord is to confiscate all their property and eliminate the landlord class.

All those helping landlords collect rent and manage the household and relying on the landlords' exploitation of the peasants for a living must be included in the same category as landlords.

Those who rely solely, or mostly, on high interest loans for their living are called usurers. Though they are not landlords, usury is a feudal exploitation, and all the assets of the usurers must be confiscated and the usurers eliminated.

2. What Is a Rich Peasant?

Generally, the rich peasants possess land, but there are also those who possess a part of the land and rent a part from others, or who possess no land, but rent all their land from others (the latter two categories are of a minority). The rich peasants generally own relatively superior production tools and liquid capital and perform their own labor. Nevertheless, they usually rely on exploitation for a part, or the greater part in some cases, of their living.

The rich peasants' pattern of exploitation is mainly exploiting hired labor (hiring permanent help). In addition, they may rent a part of their land to others and practice exploitation by collecting rent. Or, they lend money on the side, or engage in business or small industry. Most of them also manage the public hall. Some of China's rich peasants perform their own labor, without hiring help, but exploit the peasants by means of land rents and loan interests. Rich peasants regularly practice exploitation, it being the major practice for many of them.

The policy of the soviet on the rich peasants is to confiscate their land and only the surplus part of their draft animals, farm tools, and buildings, and allocate land of relatively inferior quality to them.

3. What Is a Middle Peasant?

Many of the middle peasants possess land; some possess a part of the land and rent a part from others; some have no land at all, but rent all their land from others. All of them have a fair amount of tools and rely entirely, or mostly, on their own labor. Generally they do not exploit others, and many of them are exploited through land rents and loan interests. The middle peasants, in general, do not sell their labor. Some of them (including the well-to-do middle peasants) practice partial exploitation, but it is not regular or major. All those are middle peasants.

The policy of the soviet on the middle peasants is to ally firmly with them. Without their consent, their land cannot be divided. Those without adequate land must receive allocations the same as the poor peasants and farm laborers.

4. What Is a Poor Peasant?

Some of the poor peasants possess a little land and odd tools, while others have no land at all and only a few odd tools. Generally, they must rent land from others to cultivate and are exploited through the payment of land rents, loan interests, and hiring out (generally the poor peasants must sell a portion of their labor). All those in this category are poor peasants.

In land distribution, the poor peasants must receive the same benefits as the middle peasants and farm laborers. Their existing land and tools are not confiscated.

5. What Is a Worker?

A worker (including farm laborers) is someone who has no land or tools, or a very small amount of land and a few tools, and depends completely, or mainly, on selling his labor for a living.

In the land revolution, the rural workers must receive the same land allocations as the poor and middle peasants, and the very small amount of land and tools owned by some of them must not be confiscated. As for some households which have someone working in the city, that particular person is considered a worker. If his family in the village rents land out or lends money, but does not rely on the rent as the main source of its living, his land is not confiscated, and he will receive land allocation the same as the peasants in general. But if his family relies on collecting rent or making loans as the main source of its living, his land is confiscated, but his wife and children will receive land allocations, while he, himself, will not receive land allocation as he is in the city.

° "RED CHINA," No 89, 29 June 1933

* "Guide to the Land Investigation Movement," published by the Central Government, 1933

* "Collection of Reactionary Communist Documents," Vol 3, 1935

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ON PROMOTING GRAIN COOPERATIVES

Announcement No 21 of the Central People's Committee

4 July 1933

[Text] The central soviet areas were originally large rice producing areas, but there is the situation of partial summer famine this year. Some of the worker-peasant masses do not have enough rice and they suffer great difficulties. This deserves our serious attention. The reason is because the imperialist Kuomintang's reactionary regime, in its desperate struggle, resorts not only to all political and military measures, but also the policy of economic blockade. As a result, the supply of industrial products is reduced and prices are high. To obtain the necessary industrial articles, the masses are forced to sell their new grain at a very cheap price. Thus, the unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants take the opportunity to manipulate the market and suppress the price of new grain to an alarming extent. They buy large volumes of grain at the cheapest price, either hoarding it for future profit or surreptitiously shipping it out, and the masses do not have enough rice to tide them over between spring planting and fall harvesting and have to buy it at a high price. The unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants again make use of the opportunity to manipulate and raise the price. In some areas, grain is not available even at a high price. This is the main reason for the summer famine this year. Other factors such as the natural disaster last year resulting in a bad harvest, the plunder and destruction of the White army and league bandits in outlying areas, the lack of attention on planned storage on the part of the government, and permitting the export of grain without restriction have all helped create the grain shortage this year. To remedy the situation, the government has formed many measures, such as establishing grain balancing bureaus and trade bureaus in the various areas and preparing to store large volumes of grain for the emergency need of the masses. Nevertheless, the main method to solve the grain supply problem of the worker-peasant masses is still the grain cooperative. The toiling worker-peasant masses will solicit capital among themselves. The shares may be paid for in cash or grain (converted into cash). After the fall harvest when the members need money, they may sell their grain to the cooperative at a price higher than the market. After purchasing the grain, the cooperative may store a small part

for the emergency needs of its members next year between spring planting and fall harvesting and ship the greater part to areas where the price is high or as export. This continuous purchasing and selling will not only expand the capital of the cooperative, but also enable the members to receive much surplus. By this means, we can stabilize the market, prevent extremes in grain prices throughout the year in the soviet areas, safeguard the peasants from difficulties of grain shortage, avoid the cruel exploitation of the unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants, and attain maximum improvement of the life of the workers and peasants. The toiling worker-peasant masses must immediately mobilize and urge one another to join the grain cooperative. The many revolutionary mass organizations must devote their maximum effort to help perform this work. The responsible comrades of the government of all levels must make the most extensive and intensive propaganda of the significance and effect of the grain cooperative, lead the masses, help the masses, and form at least one grain cooperative in every hsiang. We must begin now with registration and recording and elect the responsible personnel according to the grain cooperative bylaw issued by the Central Government while building granaries and performing all preparatory work before fall harvest, so that the work can be immediately started when the new grain comes to the market. This is an important task to assure the grain supply of the masses, consolidate the soviet political power, and enable the revolutionary war to develop rapidly and successfully; therefore, it must not be overlooked in the slightest. It is so announced.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

4 July 1933

° "RED CHINA," No 94, 14 July 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION ON "1 AUGUST" COMMEMORATION MOVEMENT

11 July 1933

[Text] The 1st of August is the commemorative day of the worldwide anti-imperialist war. It is also the commemorative day of the Nanchang Uprising in China. The Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army was born with the Nanchang Uprising and grew progressively in the course of the struggle. This year's "1 August" comes at a time when the danger of the new imperialist bandit war and anti-Soviet war is tremendously intensified, when Japanese imperialism is committing aggression against China on a broad scale, when the Kuomintang is openly selling out the three northeastern provinces, Jehol and North China, it comes at the same time when the high tide of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang movement is surging throughout the country, and when the Soviet movement and the revolutionary war are winning unparalleled great victories. Therefore, this year's "1 August" has a very great meaning for the revolutionary struggle. With a view to commemorating the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and giving encouragement and preferential treatment to the fighters of the Red Army, it is resolved by the Central Executive Committee:

(1) to approve the proposal of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission by designating "1 August" of each year as the commemorative day of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army. It is further resolved that on this year's "1 August" commemorative day war banners be conferred on various contingents of the Red Army and at the same time medals be awarded to responsible comrades who led the Nanchang Uprising and to commanders and fighters with distinguished services of achievement in the Red Army.

(2) to charge the Interior Department and People's Commissar Department with the production of preferential treatment cards for Red Army families and their issuance to all members of families of the fighters of the Red Army.

(3) to organize Red Army Public Land Control Committees under the Land Department of district soviets and under township soviets for the purpose of managing the production and harvest of Red Army public lands and the custody of harvested crops. Under the joint jurisdiction of the Land Department and

the Interior Department of district soviets, committees for the preferential treatment of Red Army families should be organized in township soviets to handle all matters pertaining to their preferential treatment.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kao-t'ao, Vice Chairman

°"Red China," No 95, 23 July 1933

11 July 1933

11,667
CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE MESSAGE AGAINST THE TREASONABLE DARIEN CONFERENCE RECENTLY HELD

July 1933

[Text] Revolutionary people of the whole country!

A week ago, the landlord-bourgeoisie Kuomintang government, the eternally faithful running dog of imperialism, in a more sinister and shameless manner than ever before, held a conference in Darien. On the afternoon of 5 July, a new agreement was concluded at the Japanese Gendarme Headquarters in Darien. This agreement contains more concrete and more shameless terms than the North China Truce Agreement signed on 30 May!

Amid the din of congratulations from the Deputy Commander of the imperialist Japanese Kwantung Army and near the end of the banquet celebrating their accomplishment of treason, Lei Shou-yun and company, the traitor representative of the Kuomintang government, raised their champagne glasses and shook hands with the representatives of Manchukuo, which the Kuomintang once seemingly called a "puppet," on the one hand greeting the establishment of their newborn ally and on the other hand putting their final signatures on the irrevocable agreement by which they sold out the national interests of China. The main contents of this new treasonable agreement are: (1) the Kuomintang government formally recognize Manchukuo and nominally regroup and reorganize the contingents of Manchukuo troops stationed along the Luanchow-Linyu area; (2) Japan is allowed to establish surveillance troops in such counties as Mi-yun and Luan-chou in North China; and (3) the Lu-Yu section of Peking-Lianong Railway is placed under joint control.

Under the above agreement the Kuomintang has in fact not only formally recognized Manchukuo but even more shamelessly concluded an alliance with that puppet state, thereby swearing allegiance to their common master, imperialist Japan. Recent facts tell us that the Kuomintang government has yielded to the demand of Manchukuo by permitting within a short time the resumption of postal remittances to and from Manchukuo and altering the existing arrangement of routing Europe-bound mail in transit through Vladivo stock and Siberia. These hard facts give lie to the Kuomintang allegation before the people that Manchukuo is a so-called "puppet." This is a completely shameless deceptive propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Kuomintang itself is a loyal puppet of Japanese imperialism; they and Manchukuo are both brothers of running dogs.

The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, representing the people of the whole country, is resolutely against the shameless treasonable agreement concluded by the Kuomintang at the Darien Conference and absolutely denies in toto the terms of this treasonable agreement. It calls on the workers, peasants, soldiers and all revolutionaries of the whole nation to rise in unity against the recent treasonable Darien Conference and urges them to engage in persistent revolutionary struggle by going on strikes, closing shops, not attending classes, and abandoning sentry posts, and organize themselves into holding mass demonstrations and forming armed units in order to oppose and prevent the execution of the Darien Agreement. The people of the whole country must clearly recognize that under the puppet alliance between the Kuomintang and Manchukuo the Japanese imperialist robbers will inevitably expand their acts of aggression on an even larger scale by actively carrying out attacks against Chahar and Suiyuan and seizing the coastal provinces in southeast China with a view to participating with international imperialism in the joint dismemberment of China! At the same time the Japanese robbers, the oriental gendarme of international imperialism, will keep up their recent frenzied acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and will certainly embark upon military adventures of open armed intervention against the Soviet Union the fraternal ally of the Chinese people!

Revolutionary people of the whole country!

Only the Soviets can save China! Only the anti-Japanese Red Army which is accelerating the pace of smashing the fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the imperialist-Kuomintang is the arm of the revolutionary people of the whole country! With a view to striving for the national independence and liberation as well as the territorial integrity of China, the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic calls on the revolutionary people of the whole country and the revolutionary soldiers in the White army to unite under the Soviet banner and launch their revolutionary national war, knock down the imperialist-Kuomintang and bury them in the grave of history!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kno-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

°"Red China," No 95, 23 July 1933

11,667
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LETTER TO SOVIET GOVERNMENT OF HUANG-PO DISTRICT OF JUI-CHIN COUNTY ON THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

13 July 1933

[Text] Comrades of Huang-po Ch'u:

With the help of the working group of the Central Land Department, you have mobilized the broad masses of workers and peasants in 12 townships of Huang-po District and enthusiastically initiated the movement to investigate land and classes. In the course of this intense class struggle you have found out 270 or more families of landlords and rich peasants. They had hitherto been treated as middle and poor peasants. Some landlords who had been treated as rich peasants were given land and even good farm land. Compared with 122 cases of landlords and rich peasants which had been disposed of by the soviet government of this district during the past 3 years, this number makes up 70 percent of the total number of cases handled during that period. In the course of this struggle of the investigation of land ownership and classes, you have confiscated a great amount of land and property which were distributed to poor peasants, suppressed the activities of the reactionaries, heightened the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses in the entire soviet sector, purged a number of alien elements and other elements of the worst type who had sneaked into the soviet sector, absorbed a great many activist workers and peasants into our midst, held new elections of district and township soviets, and thus greatly consolidated the soviet political power. This is a great victory in the land ownership investigation movement of Huang-po district. However, the movement has not been brought to its completion. There are still remnants of feudal forces at work and certain reactionary activities going on. This is particularly true in townships of Shang-tuan, Hsin-chuang and Lan-t'ien where some alien and bad elements are covertly or overtly active in deceiving and inciting some of the masses and some of these elements are bent on reversing verdicts on past cases. You must pay utmost attention to such conditions and you must mobilize the masses on the broadest scale in these townships to expose the intrigue of these reactionary elements, continue to investigate the remnant components of landlords and rich peasants, suppress the reactionary elements in Shang-tuan and other townships, prevent their attempt to counterattack and reverse prior verdicts, and tirelessly and unflinchingly lead the masses in their struggle in order to win the final victory in the land investigation movement.

Having carefully examined the investigation forms on which you have determined the composition of class elements, we find that most of your decisions on class elements were correct but a few of them were incorrect. For example, several families should have been determined as landlords but you had decided them to be rich peasants or even middle peasants. Your decision on one family was that he was a usurer but he should have been a rich peasant. In still another case labor power was not filled out clearly; we hope you will reinvestigate and then decide. Now with a view to drawing your careful and clear focus on determining the class elements, we enumerate the errors of your decisions on the class elements of 10 families as follows:

(1) Chou Tsung-jen (a native of Shang-tuan township) This family has three persons. They are not engaged in labor (20 years ago he had been a long-term laborer for 12 years). He owns land of 50 tan which is completely rented out to others. Each year he collects a land rent of 25 tan of rice and has been collecting it for 7 years. He also has 2 strips of hilly land which yields him a few hundred mao a year. He is a lender of mortgaged land rent of 4 tan from which he deducts 400 yuan. (You decided him to be a middle peasant)

(2) Hsieh Ming-szu (a native of Shang-tuan) with himself as the sole member of the family. He does not engage in labor. He owns land of 39 tan which is completely rented out and on which he collects land rent of 16 tan of rice a year; he has been collecting it for 20 years. He owns a house which is rented for 1 tan of rice a year and he has been collecting it for 20 or more years. He lends money totalling 1,040 mao. In the past he had oppressed people in the rural area and forced the masses to attack the Red Army. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

(3) Chu Te-meng (a native of Hsin-chuang township) The family has two persons. They are not engaged in labor. He owns a land of 41 tan which is completely rented out to others. He is a lender of mortgaged land rent of 6 tan. He has also been a lender of 30 yuan for 8 or 9 years. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

(4) Chung T'ung-chi (a native of Shan-ho township) The family has two persons. They are not engaged in labor. He owns a land of 85 1/2 tan. He regularly hires long-term as well as odd laborers to till 46! tan and rents out 39 tan of his land. He is a lender of 1 tan of new rice. He manages two pieces of communal land. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

(5) Liu Fang-lo (a native of Fu-ch'i township) The family has three persons. They do not engage in labor. He owns a land of 54 tan and rents from others another 10 tan on which he pays a land rent of 2 tan, 90 catties. Each year he collects land rent of 14 tan on his land of 35 tan which he rents out to others. He has been collecting it for 8 years. He hires long-term and short-term laborers to till 29 tan of his land. He owes a debt of 1,590 mao. He has been managing 1 piece of communal land for 8 years. In the past he was influential in the rural area and had oppressed people. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

Based on the conditions filled out on the investigation forms and viewed from their land relations and relations of exploitation, the above five families are not middle or rich peasants but are all landlords (small landlords). In the families of Chou Tsung-jen, Hsieh Ming-szu and Chu Te-ming, no one is engaged in labor. They rent out all of their land and are wholly dependent on rents for their living. They are typical specimen of landlords. Thus your decision of Chou Tsung-jen as a middle peasant and your decision of Hsieh Ming-szu and Chu Te-meng as rich peasants are all wrong. As for Chung T'ung-chi and Liu Fang-lo, no member of these families is engaged in labor and all are totally dependent on exploitation. The difference between them and the other three families is that they rented out a portion of their land and hired long-term laborers to till the other portion of their land at home. But they are just the same landlords and not rich peasants. This is because the price of labor power in the rural areas of China is extremely cheap and many of the landlord class have utilized a part of their land and their old farm implements by hiring laborers to till them at their home. They have most cruelly exploited these laborers in various forms of feudal servitude while at the same time they rent out another part of their land to peasants to be exploited by them. Here these landlords differ from rich peasants in that they are not engaged in labor themselves whereas rich peasants are so engaged in person. Because you have overlooked this point, you have erred in your decision.

(6) Hsiao Hsu-chiao (a native of Yuan-k'eng township) This family has four persons. He himself engaged in labor to a small extent (he was killed during the revolution). He owned a land of 62 tan of which 38 tan were tilled by his long-term laborers (he had hired long-term laborers for two generations up to the time of the revolution). He rented out 24 tan of his land (for 36 years). He owned three strips of catalpa tree hilly hand yielding 42 tan of catalpa wood a year. He lent money amounting to 210 mao. He managed two pieces of communal land which earned him a land rent of 20 tan of rice a year. He had been collecting it for 35 years. He had oppressed people in the past. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

(7) Liu Chi-ho (a native of Hu-ling township) This family has three persons. He engages in labor himself to a small extent. He owns a land of 65 tan of which he hires long-term laborers to till 32 tan and rents out the remainder of 33 tan on which he collects land rent of 15 tan of rice. He owns three strips of hilly land which yields him over 30 yuan a year. He has a pond which yields him 20 or more yuan a year. He rents out six houses collecting rent in kind of 6 tan of rice a year. He rents out a privy collecting rent in kind of 30 catties of rice a year. He manages four pieces of communal land on which he collects rent in kind of 89 tan 29 catties of rice a year. He was quite influential in the rural area. (You decided him to be a rich peasant)

Both of the above two families rent out a part of their land but at the same time hire long-term and short-term laborers to till another part of their land. They live almost entirely by exploitation. These facts are identical with

those of the families of Chung T'ung-chi and Liu Fang-lo. The difference lies in that they themselves engage in labor to a small extent but only to a small extent. Thus they should still be determined as landlords but you were wrong in deciding them to be rich peasants. This is because rich peasants are actually engaged in production on their land. Those who engage in light labor to a small extent cannot be said to be rich peasants. The number of such small landlords who engage in labor to a very small extent but live mostly by exploitation is not inconsiderable in China.

(8) Ch'en Tse-hung (a native Yuan-k'eng township) The family has five persons. Only one person is engaged in labor. He owns land of 62 tan and rents from others another of 10 tan on which he pays land rent of 3 tan of rice. The land is tilled by himself and by a long-term laborer. He owns two strips of catalpa tree hilly land which yields him 40 tan of catalpa wood a year. Each year he hires a long-term laborer as he has done for the last 10 years. He has been a lender of mortgaged land rent of 3 1/2 tan of rice for 3 years. He has been a money lender totalling 500 mao for 20 or more years. He rents out a room for 4 mao a year for the 34 years. In the past he had oppressed people in the rural area. (You decided him to be a middle peasant)

Ch'en Tse-hung regularly hires long-term laborers. At the same time he is also a usurer and administrator of communal land. He relies on exploitation as the main source of his livelihood, but he is actually engaged in production on his land. This is a typical specimen of a rich peasant in China. You were wrong in deciding him to be a middle peasant.

(9) Chung Kuo-fang (a native of Pai-ti township) This family has nine persons, three of whom are engaged in labor. He owns a land of 112 tan and three strips of catalpa tree and bamboo hilly land. He has been lending money totalling 3,200 mao for over 10 years. He rents out two rooms for 2 yuan a year. As rent has not been paid, it has accumulated with compound interest to a total of 7,000 or more mao. (You decided him to be a usurer)

A usurer is one who depends for his livelihood exclusively or mainly on exploitation by lending money at high interest. The soviet policy on usurers is total confiscation and their elimination. Chung Kuo-fang owns a land of 120 tan which is completely tilled by himself and makes up the main source of income for his livelihood. We must not determine him to be a usurer and adopt the policy of eliminating him because he also lends money at high interest. It is incorrect to take this kind of excessively left point of view by ignoring his own labor. The correct decision should be to make him a rich peasant, confiscate his land, his surplus draft animals, farm implements and house, but he should still be given some relatively poor land to be tilled by his own labor. Why can't he be called a well-to-do middle peasant? Because his exploitation by usury has reached the figure of 10,000 mao and it has been a regular exploitation. Some rich peasants engage in this kind of exploitation to some extent but this is not regularly done and the amount is certainly not large.

(10) Liu Ch'i-ch'ang (a native of Pai-ti township) This family has four persons. He himself engages in farming to some extent and is also a pig broker. He owns land of 36 tan and rents from others another of 44 tan on which he pays 15 tan of rice as land rent. He has two strips of hilly land which yield him 20 tan of catalpa wood and peaches a year. He has been hiring long-term laborers for 18 years. He is a lender of mortgaged land rent of 2 tan and 1 lo of new rice. He manages a communal land which yields him 15 tan of rice a year. (You decided him to be a landlord)

We have some doubt whether this man should be a landlord. According to the investigation form, his family has tilled their rice field of 80 tan and two strips of hilly land. If he hires only one long-term laborer to till them, it would not be enough so the amount of his own labor is probably quite substantial. If the amount of his own labor is relatively substantial, then he should be determined as a rich peasant. You should not adopt the policy of eliminating him but should treat him according to the elements of a rich peasant. Moreover, some landlords rent land to be tilled by long-term laborers, but this is in the minority and the majority of landlords to not rent land from others. Now this man has rented the greater part of the land from others; such is frequently the case with rich peasants. It is, therefore, necessary for you to find out the condition of his own labor before reaching a correct decision whether he should be a landlord or a rich peasant. If you have clearly established that the amount of his own labor is incidental and quite small, then your decision is a correct one.

The People's Committee of the Central Land Department

°"Red China," No 95 23 July 1933
13 July 1933

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CSO: 4005

ORGANIZATION AND OPERATIONAL PROGRAM OF POOR-PEASANT GROUPS

13 July 1933

[Text] Generally speaking, Poor-peasant Groups have played an important role in the land revolution. By uniting the broad masses of hired farm laborers and poor peasants and aligning with middle peasants around them, and under the leadership of the Communist Party and the soviets, they have exerted their overwhelming revolutionary strength in overthrowing the feudal and semi-feudal forces in the rural areas and seized from the landlord class land on which they have actively promoted production. Moreover, they have also played a great part in the important work of war mobilization, economic mobilization and cultural construction. Such great revolutionary achievements of the Poor-peasant Groups fully deserve to be commended. However, viewed from present conditions such achievements have not been made by Poor-peasant Groups in all areas. Then, too, in the light of these achievements we cannot ignore a number of shortcomings and errors which exist in their organization and in the execution of their program. On the contrary, only by viewing their past achievements and at the same time detecting their shortcomings and errors or the inadequacies of their achievements in certain respects can they strive to correct these organizational and operational shortcomings and errors and win still greater victories in the future and fulfil their assigned responsibilities in the soviet movement.

Based on materials from many sources, the Poor-peasant Groups have shown many weaknesses from the organizational and operational standpoint and in some areas they exist in name only and have no actual work at all. Summing up these materials, we can divide them into two situations: (1) In some localities a Poor-peasant Group does not exist in a township but only in a village where the Poor-peasant Group has a sub-group under it. In some other localities there is no Poor-peasant Group in a village but only in a township where the Poor-peasant Group has a sub-group under it. In still other localities a Poor-peasant Group exists both in a township and in a village; a village Poor-peasant Group has a sub-group under it. Under a township or a village Poor-peasant Group there is an executive committee comprised of three operational sections: chairman, organization and propaganda and all sub-groups are directed by the executive committee. Meetings are held regularly: in some cases full executive meetings are held once every 10 days, and sub-group meetings once

every 5 days; in other cases full executive committee meets once a week and sub-groups meet once every 5 days. Any one who wishes to join a Poor-peasant Group, regardless of whether he is a hired farm laborer or a toil-and-moil poor peasant, must be introduced by 3 persons or he cannot become a member. Thus many of these farm laborers and peasants are being excluded from the door of the Poor-peasant Group, thereby retarding the development of members and reducing the effectiveness of the Poor-peasant Group.

(2) Even worse than the above is another kind of situation: in some localities it was summarily declared that except landlords, rich peasants and middle peasants, all others were made members of a Poor-peasant Group with someone appointed as its chairman by a Communist Party branch or a township soviet. With this done a township is deemed to have organized its Poor-peasant Group. Now this chairman does not know how many members there are, or what kind of work is expected to be done, and no meeting has been held in 3 or 4 months, or even in 6 months or a year. This kind of Poor-peasant group hanging up an empty name is in reality nothing at all. Its tasks and the role it is destined to play in the rural area cannot remotely be expected to be accomplished. Among Poor-peasant group under the first situation, a few have taken over the functions of a government. For example, such conditions exist in Poor-peasant Group in Lung-kang township, Wu-yang district and in Hsin-chuang and Pai-ts'un townships, Jui-chin County. The Poor-peasant Group under the second situation described above has no regular work schedule and is disorganized and ineffectual. Both of these phenomena are not good. However, in many localities of the soviet sector the Poor-peasant Group are organizationally and operationally healthy and well-developed. The majority of the members, inbued with an intense spirit for struggle, are capable of actively discussing various issues of revolutionary struggle and yet do not encroach upon the functions of their township administration. They are not only radically different from the Poor-peasant Group of the second type (hanging up an empty name) but also more advanced than those of the first type (with errors). They are truly a model of Poor-peasant Group in the soviet sector and deserve to be emulated by Poor-peasant Group in all areas. With a view to summing up the past experience of struggle of Poor-peasant Group, unifying their organization, extensively establishing their regular operations, and thus fulfilling their important tasks in the present stage of the revolution, the Central Government, based on its experience in the development of the land struggle and acting on the proposal of the Poor-peasant Group People's Congress of eight counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua and Ch'ang-ting, promulgates this Organization and Operational Program of the Poor-Peasant Groups and it is hoped that the broad masses of poor peasants in rural areas of the whole country will be united in solidarity and in action under this Program:

(1) A Poor-peasant Group is not purely an organization of one single class but one embracing the broad masses of poor peasants under the jurisdiction of the township soviets. At the same time farm laborers must take part and form themselves into workers' sub-groups in order to assume the role of positive leadership inside the organization and unite the poor peasants to become the most reliable pillar of the soviet political power under the leadership of the proletariat.

(2) The function of a Poor-peasant Group is to assist the government in implementing all its laws and decrees but it does not substitute for the work of the government. It should express its own views on various questions concerning the interests and rights of the workers and peasants and present proposals to the government.

(3) A Poor-peasant Group should pay particular attention to the interests and rights of middle peasants, thus enabling them to center around the Poor-peasant group, form a solid alliance between them and become a strong link in the coalition between the proletariat and the middle peasants, thereby facilitating the struggle to eliminate the landlords and oppose the rich peasants.

(4) Only under the leadership of the Communist Party and the soviets can the Poor-peasant Group correctly accomplish all their tasks without being trammeled by such backward peasant ideologies as absolute equalitarianism and localism. In localities where no Poor-peasant Groups have been set up, they can be promoted by farm labor unions and activist elements among poor peasants. Farm laborer and handicraft workers' unions must generally accomplish their participation en masse in Poor-peasant Groups in order to realize the constant leadership of the proletariat in Poor-peasant groups.

(5) Activist elements among poor peasants should be absorbed into Poor-peasant Groups during the initial period of its formation in order that it will gradually become an organization of all poor peasants. With a view to attracting the latter to participate in Poor-peasant Groups (those bad elements who sabotaged the land revolution and protected landlords and rich peasants naturally cannot join even if they are poor peasants), old members of Poor-peasant Groups should constantly be responsible for carrying out extensive propaganda work and actively looking for poor peasants and farm laborers to join without the formality of introduction but opening the door wide and leading them into Poor-peasant Groups. Participation in Poor-peasant groups should be based on the principle of one's own free will. All farm laborers and poor peasants, men and women, old and young, may enroll and join. It is wrong to use the method of deputizing people from each household. With a view to strictly preventing landlords and rich peasants from sneaking into Poor-peasant Groups, all new members, whether they were found by old members or voluntarily enrolled themselves, must be scrutinized according to the criteria of analyzing classes and they should be immediately expelled if they were discovered to be incorrect elements. This will protect the Poor-peasant groups from being infiltrated by landlords and rich peasants.

(6) During the period when land struggle is being launched or land ownership investigation movement is being carried out, if Poor-peasant Group has produced a contrary effect because it was loosely organized and ineffectual in the past or because it was dominated by a small minority of landlords and rich peasants, it would be totally incorrect to adopt the method of commandism by dissolving and reorganizing the Poor-peasant Group for this would be departing from the masses. The proper measure to take at such time is to unite the activist elements among poor peasants and intensify their education so that they will

initiate vigorous struggle within the Poor-peasant Group to expose the swindles of landlords and rich peasants, strive to keep the members from being influenced by them, and resolutely purge them as well as those bad elements who can no longer be individually re-educated from the Poor-peasant Group, thereby strengthening the fighting power of the Poor-peasant Group and seizing total victory of the land struggle and land ownership investigation movement. If the Poor-peasant Group has middle peasants as members, it is impossible to treat them as landlords and rich peasants and consider the job done once they are purged. It is necessary to go through a process of clear explanation by telling them why they need not take part in the Poor-peasant Group and that after leaving the Poor-peasant Group they can still attend its meetings as observers and all middle peasants are welcome to attend and listen.

(7) As the Poor-peasant Group is not purely an organization of one single class, it does not require a strict organizational form of a trade union, nor does it need definite bylaws or payment of membership dues (when money is needed, members may be asked to make temporary contributions at general meetings). Still less does it need a structural system at a provincial, county or district level. It is only necessary to organize the Poor-peasant Group at a township level. A township Poor-peasant Group has sub-groups under it. A sub-group takes one house (one tiny hamlet) as a unit with members of each house forming a sub-group. If, however, a house has very few families and thus very few members, then 2 or 3 neighboring houses can form themselves into a sub-group. On the other hand, if one house contains a score or more of families and thus a great number of members, it can be organized into several sub-groups.

(8) To facilitate the work of the Poor-peasant Group, the people's congress should nominate 3 persons (most activist elements) to form a committee. The Poor-peasant Group in a larger township or with many members may nominate 5 persons to 7 persons to form a committee. A chairman is nominated by the committee to take charge of over-all work and no other working section will be established. Poor-peasant Groups should practice a liberal system of revolutionary democracy. Important questions must be discussed by the people's congress called for that purpose; only ordinary questions are discussed by the committee alone or with the participation of sub-group chiefs at its request.

(9) Meetings of Poor-peasant Group people's congress, committees and sub-groups should not be mechanically scheduled at fixed time to avoid formalism and diminish the interests of the members. A meeting should be called promptly when important questions arise. During the period when class struggle becomes particularly intense in rural areas such as during land distribution and land ownership investigations, membership meetings should be held once every 3 or 4 days or 5 or 6 days, and committee and sub-group meetings once every 2 or 3 days.

(10) The work of the Poor-peasant Group should be focused on the interests of workers, poor peasants and middle peasants at all times and undertaken to strive for the consolidation and development of the soviet political power. The important items of the work of Poor-peasant Groups are enumerated as follows:

(a) On the question of confiscating and distributing land, houses, farm implements and other property of local tyrants, evil gentry and landlords and the land, surplus draft animals, farm implements and houses of rich peasants, discussion of this question should be centered on how to deal with the resistance of landlords and rich peasants and how to let the benefits of the land revolution fall into the hands of workers, poor peasants and middle peasants. Here special attention must be paid not to harm the interests of middle peasants but to effect a close alignment with them. Attention must be drawn to the total elimination of feudal influence in rural areas, without letting landlords and rich peasants pretend themselves to be middle peasants and poor peasants in order to steal their land benefits and no effort should be spared to the extent that not a single landlord shall be allowed to keep 1 ts'un of land and not a single rich peasant shall be allowed to steal one strip of good land.

(b) Discussion of questions of farm production such as how to carry out the movements of spring planting, summer planting, autumn harvest and autumn planting, how to increase manpower and fertilizer, improve seeds, develop conservancy works, redistribute draft animals, buy farm implements, eradicate pests, reclaim barren land, plant trees, and protect mountains and forests.

(c) Discussion of questions of economic mobilization. In addition to the development of farm production as described above, the main question to be discussed is how to develop cooperatives such as cooperatives of food-grains, consumers, credit, production and farm cattle in order to promote the large-scale development of the national economy to resist the cruel exploitation of merchants and smash the economic blockade of the enemy, thereby further improving the livelihood of the masses and substantially reinforcing the powerful strength of the revolutionary war.

(d) Discussion of questions of relief to famine and starvation such as how to render mutual help in food, seeds, farming cattle and farm implements during periods of famine and how to devise ways and means of giving relief to victims in areas harassed by enemy disturbances.

(e) Discussion of questions of public health of the masses such as initiating universal health campaigns, talking about sweep-out and clean-up campaigns to combat sickness and pestilence and protect the health and living of the masses.

(f) Discussion of questions of preferential treatment of Red Army personnel such as the cultivation, harvest and conservation of Red Army public land, helping Red Army families till their land and carrying out the regulations governing the preferential treatment of Red Army personnel.

(g) Discussion of questions of war mobilization. Here the first question is the expansion of the Red Army, the second is the raising of funds to help the Red Army, the third is to comfort the Red Army, and the fourth is to expand the Red Guard contingents and the Red Guard Young Pioneers units.

These are all extremely important questions of war mobilization.

(h) Discussion of questions of participation in soviet election and accusation campaigns such as to insure the election of activist elements among workers and poor peasants during elections and attract the best elements of middle peasants to take part in soviet work. When alien class elements are found to have sneaked into the soviet ranks or when corrupt, passive and sabotaging elements are discovered, participate in accusation campaigns called by the workers' and peasants' investigatory department and initiate self-criticism by soviet workers in order to insure the absolute health of soviet work.

(i) Discussion of questions of how to completely carry out all soviet laws, decrees, resolutions and orders in all local townships.

(j) Discussion of any major questions which arise at any time. Poor-peasant Groups must constantly discuss all of the above questions, actively present proposals to the government, and resolutely participate in all struggles on the revolutionary front under the leadership of the government for the complete fulfilment of various revolutionary tasks. Only thus can they constantly have their own work and truly earn benefits for workers, poor peasants and middle peasants without becoming an empty organization which exists in name only.

(11) With a view to further strengthening the proletarian leadership of the peasant masses in rural areas, Poor-peasant Group committees (a few activist poor peasants may be elected to go along) may propose to hold joint meetings with the leading bodies of farm labor unions and handicraft workers' unions. Such joint meetings should be called by labor unions. They may be held to discuss, for example, the organization of Support the Red Army Committee, Anti-imperialism and Support Soviet League, Revolutionary Mutual Help Society, and certain commemorative and demonstration mass meetings and to strive for their realization by common effort and with unanimous consent.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

15 July 1933

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DECISION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE REDEMARCATION OF ADMINISTRATIVE AREAS

21 July 1933

[Text] The demarcation of the soviet administrative areas is absolutely different in principle from the demarcation of those of the old reactionary government. The scope of administrative areas of the old reactionary government was very extensive because they were bureaucratic organs far removed from the masses and their aim was only to weaken and oppress the people. The principle upon which the demarcation of the soviet administrative areas is based is in complete contrast because they must be as close to the people as possible and work for the benefit of the masses. Thus the range of a town, district, county and province must not be too large. The central soviet areas have undergone not a few changes in demarcation, but they have, generally speaking, kept their old boundaries without any fundamental alterations. This has greatly hampered the work of war mobilization and economic and cultural construction. Therefore, it is resolved by the Central Executive Committee to redemarcate the administrative areas of the Central soviet sector and stipulates the standards of their demarcation at various levels as follows:

(A) City: Apart from its own area, a city may govern portions of a town and village within its environs but their area should not exceed 5 li.

(B) Township:

(1) Township of 1st class. In a densely populated area on the plain, each township should as a standard rule govern a population of 2,000. If a village or several villages in the vicinity have a population of more than 2,000, a township soviet may govern a larger population but it must not exceed the maximum of 2,500 people. At the same time if for reasons of topography (such as rivers and streams) it is desirable to divide one township into two, thereby reducing the population of one township to less than 2,500, then that township soviet may govern a smaller population.

(2) Township of 2d class. In a locality intermixed with plains and hills where the population is not as dense as that of a township of 1st class and where the area is wider, a township may as a standard rule govern a population of 1,500. If for reasons of topography it is desirable for a township soviet to cover a wider or smaller area, the population of such a township may be more or less than 1,500 people.

(3) Township of 3rd class. In a hilly locality with a sparse population, each township as a standard rule may govern a population of 1,000. If for reasons of topography it is desirable for certain villages and hamlets to be governed by one township, then the population of such a township may exceed 1,000 but its area must not be too extensive or it would run counter to the soviet principle of being close to the masses. At the same time if for topographic reasons it is not desirable for a township soviet to govern a larger population, then its population may be less than 1,000. In a locality surrounded by big mountains where the area is exceptionally extensive and the population exceptionally sparse, the population of such a township may be as small as 400 but not less than 250 as a minimum.

(C) District: Each district should as a standard rule govern seven townships. In a locality on the plain with an unusually dense population, such a district may govern nine townships. In a hilly and expansive locality with an unusually sparse population, the number of townships governed by a district may be reduced to five townships.

(D) County and Province: The demarcation of administrative areas of a county and a province shall be entrusted to the People's Committee and shall be governed by decree based on the principle of being close to the masses.

All soviet districts outside the Central Soviet sector should re-examine their administrative areas in accordance with the principle enunciated in this decision and any district whose area is too extensive should be redemarcated in conformity with this principle.

Upon publication of this decision, "the Provisional Regulations Governing the Demarcation of Administrative Areas in the Chinese Soviet Republic" promulgated in December 1931 shall be declared null and void.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

21 July 1933

°"Red China," No 98, 1 August 1933

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CSO: 4005

DECISION OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE ON THE ISSUANCE OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION BONDS

22 July 1933

[Text] Drastic developments of the revolutionary war require the soviets to mobilize all forces to carry out economic construction in a planned way. From the standpoint of such economic construction, the masses should be organized into broadly developing cooperatives, coordinating the production and marketing of foodgrains and all products, and promoting external trade to smash the enemy's economic blockade and the ruthless exploitation of traitor merchants, thereby further improving the livelihood of the masses and enabling the revolutionary war to gain more substantial material strength. This then is the major fighting task at the present time. With a view to vigorously carrying out the work of economic construction, the Central Executive Committee has approved the proposal at the workers' mass meeting of the Land Ownership Investigation Movement and the Poor Peasant Group People's Congress of eight county soviets of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua and Ch'ent-t'ing for the issuance of Economic Construction Bonds in the amount of 3,000,000 yuan and permits the purchasers of these bonds to make payment freely either by foodgrains or in money. Apart from using a part of the proceeds for present military expenses, the main portion of the proceeds will be spent in developing cooperatives, redistributing foodgrains and expanding external trade. For the purpose of ascertaining the use of these bonds and the procedure of payment of their principal and interest, the Central Executive Committee hereby enacts the Regulations Governing the Issuance of Economic Construction Bonds. It charges the People's Committee with the responsibility of urging the People's Finance Department and the People's National Economy Department to direct local governments to issue and distribute these bonds correctly and promptly in accordance with this decision and these regulations and at the same time to make broad publicity and explanation to workers and peasants as well as all residents who abide by soviet laws and decrees so that economic construction can be speedily launched throughout the soviet areas. Any anti-revolutionary elements attempting to sabotage the faith and credit of the bonds and any economic measures will be severely suppressed by necessary measures to be adopted by the National Political Defense Bureau in order to insure the satisfactory implementation of the work of economic construction.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Deputy Chairmen

22 July 1933

°"Red China," No 96, 26 July 1933

11,667 CSO: 4005

REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ISSUANCE OF ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION BONDS

22 July 1933

[Text] (1) With a view to developing the enterprises of economic construction, improving the livelihood of the masses and reinforcing the fighting forces, the Central Government hereby issues the Economic Construction Bonds of which two-thirds shall be used in promoting external trade, redistributing food-grains and developing cooperatives and agricultural and industrial production and one-third shall be spent for military expenses.

(2) The amount of the Bonds shall be 3,000,000 yuan in -- pi.

(3) The rate of interest of the Bonds shall be 5 percent per annum.

(4) Interest on the Bonds shall be paid by installments at the rate of 5 fen per yuan per annum beginning October 1934.

(5) Principal on the Bonds shall be paid by installments for a period of 5 years beginning October 1936, namely, 10 percent of the total amount of principal shall be paid in the 1st year, that is, 1936; 15 percent of the total amount of principal shall be paid in the 2d year, that is, 1937; 20 percent of the total amoung of principal shall be paid in the 3rd year, that is, 1938; 25 percent of the total amount of principal shall be paid in the 4th year, that is, 1939; and 30 percent of the total amount of principal shall be paid in the 5th year, that is, 1940. Detailed measures for the amortization of the Bonds shall be formulated and announced by the People's Finance Department at the appropriate time.

(6) The profits earned by the Food Coordinating Bureau, the External Trade Bureau and other state-operated enterprises shall constitute the fund for the payment of principal and interest of the Bonds.

(7) The Bonds may be used as pledges in sales and purchases and as collateral security for other purposes.

(8) The purchaser of the Bonds shall have the free choice to make payment in money or in foodgrain. In the case of payment by delivery of grain, the price of grain shall be the price publicly announced by the local county government.

(9) The face value of the Bonds shall be in five denominations of 0.50 yuan, 1 yuan, 2 yuan, 3 yuan and 5 yuan.

(10) Anyone who deliberately destroys the faith in and credit of the Bonds shall be charged with the crime of sabotaging the soviet economy and punished accordingly.

(11) The Bond Issuance Committee of the government at various levels shall be charged with the responsibility of issuing the Bonds. All moneys received shall be forwarded to the branch treasuries. All grains received shall be delivered to the Granary Custody Committees.

(12) The present Regulations shall be effective as of 1 August 1933.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

22 July 1933

°"Red China," No 96, 26 July 1977

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NEW SITUATION AND NEW TASKS

July 1933

[Text] Relying on the correct offensive line of the Party and the positive leadership of the soviets, relying on the heroic combat and enthusiastic support of the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the masses, and relying on the daily struggle of the working and peasant masses in the White sector and the unprecedented vigorous advance of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang mass movement, we have in the wake of the battle of Tung-huang-p'i essentially smashed the enemy's fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign. In the unparalleled great glorious victory of the battle of Tung-huang-p'i, the heroic Red Army has dealt a most fatal blow to the Kuomintang warlord chieftain Chiang Kai-shek, the most formidable pillar of the landlord-bourgeoisie! In his tearful "hand-written order" and other correspondence, he mournfully admitted that this is their "secret sorrow since the day of birth." (Chiang Kai-shek's letter to Chen Cheng) This is an unprecedented grievous defeat and collapse of their army! Consequently after they had suffered this grievous defeat, even though they attempted to launch counterattacks on several occasions, they were found powerless to do so in the end!

The reasons why the Kuomintang warlords have suffered this grievous defeat and why they have not been able to counterattack are: First, it is due to the stout prowess and heroic combat skill of the Worker-Peasant Red Army. In the great victory of Tung-huang-p'i, they received enormous reinforcements to strengthen themselves. The soviet sector has also gained tremendous consolidation and development. The majority of the Kuomintang soldiers were fundamentally shaken and unwilling to attack the Red Army. Even the reactionary Kuomintang army officers were mostly scared to death and when they spoke of the Red Army, they were like "speaking of the tiger making them pale." Thus despite the repeated attempts of Chiang Kai-shek to launch counterattacks, he has been powerless to do so in the end. Second, it is due to the deepening and continuing aggravation of the national crisis in China. At a time when Japanese imperialism had occupied Jehol and Luan-tung and were closing in on Peking and Tientsin and when the Kuomintang continued to surrender without shame, the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang revolutionary storm has surged to a new height. This has made it inevitable for the Kuomintang on the one hand to conclude the agreement of surrender with Japanese imperialism finalizing the sell-out of Peking, Tientsin and North China and on the other hand

carry out an unparalleled White reign of terror to suppress the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang roaring revolutionary masses. Third, it is due to the general collapse of the national economy which has subjected hundreds of millions of workers and peasants to an unprecedented catastrophe from a sub-human enslaved standard of living to the bitter sea of starvation, death and homeless destitution. As a result, workers' strikes and peasant uprisings erupted throughout the country on a tremendous scale, turning their struggle for daily living into a political struggle against imperialism and the Kuomintang. These revolutionary struggles have obstructed our enemy and forced them into a state of shock and helplessness. Meanwhile the diminished receipts of customs revenue of the Kuomintang government and the exodus of workers and peasants into soviet areas thereby escaping from the range of their exploitation have brought the finances of the Kuomintang government to the verge of bankruptcy!

Confronted with such a grave defeat and hopeless circumstances, the only "strategem" of the Kuomintang warlords is to surrender themselves even more vilely and shamelessly to imperialism. From the hands of international imperialism they sought and received large batches of loans and munitions which enabled them to mount their fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the soviet areas and the Red Army. The signing of the North China Truce Agreement and the travels of Sung Tsu-wen [T.V. Soong] to Europe and America are precisely aimed at implementing their intrigue. Now a new bargain has been struck between the Kuomintang and imperialism. The Kuomintang has given away 4,000,000 or more square li of China's territory and many secret and unannounced gifts for which they received several hundred million yuan of loans and large supplies of arms and munitions. Utilizing these loans and supplies of arms and munitions, the Kuomintang, under the direct command and organization of various imperialist countries, has been deploying their troops in North China and elsewhere, training many new contingents in the making of poisonous gas bombs, and concentrating all their forces to organize their fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and launch their frenzied but futile attack against the Red Army in the soviet areas which will certainly be doomed to defeat!

Thus we are now confronted with a new revolutionary situation. In the face of such a new situation, our task is to mobilize all our forces and concentrate them to smash the imperialist-Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign! This is a great historical turning point. Two types of political power: the soviet political power of workers, peasants and soldiers and the Kuomintang regime of the landlord-bourgeoisie, will in the course of the impending war on a broader scale unfold this kind of the future--our soviet political power will advance with more victories and their Kuomintang regime will collapse with more death and destruction.

With a view to striving for total victory in the smashing of the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaign, we must first and foremost increase and concentrate all our forces to heighten our confidence in victory and offer our all to the war! In this connection we must above all else insure the steady increase of the numbers of the Red Army and expand it to 50,000 during August, September, and October this year. At the same time we must vastly raise the political education and military skill of the Red Army fighters

and enlarge and strengthen the organization of the Red Guards 2nd Young Pioneers. Next we must insure ample supplies of provisions for the Red Army and daily necessities for the living of the masses. Here we must broadly unfold the land investigation movement, deepen the class struggle in the cities and rural areas, absolutely consolidate the soviet political power, develop the national economy in a planned way, widely establish cooperatives of the masses, issue economic construction bonds, redistribute foodgrains, expand external trade, break the enemy's economic blockade, and seize material conditions of the revolutionary war. These are our important fighting tasks at the present time!!

Finally, with a view to successfully carrying out war emergency mobilization and totally smashing the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign, we must oppose the inadequacies of the assessment of the present new revolutionary situation, oppose all psychological fatigue of the war, in particular oppose those opportunists who have shown alarm and helplessness and wanted to beat a retreat in the face of the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign! At the same time we must also oppose those "left" determinists of empty talk and victory! These "left" and rightist opportunists are the fiercest enemies of war mobilization and they actually help our class enemies!

Workers, peasants and Red soldiers of the whole soviet sector! Now we are confronted with a new revolutionary situation. We must sacrifice our all and assume our great historical mission! Comrades! We are now in the face of the more cruel and devastating battle of the war! We are now in the face of totally smashing the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and we are also in the face of the first victory in the revolution of Kiangsi and several other neighboring provinces!

°Red China, No 97, 29 July 1933

11,667
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PROCLAMATION OF PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT ON CONVENING THE SECOND NATIONAL SOVIET CONGRESS

1 August 1933

[Text] It has been 2 full years now since the convening of the First National Soviet Congress. These 2 years have been the years in which imperialism has frantically intensified its attacks against the Soviet Union and the Chinese revolution, the imperialist Kuomintang has carried out its most barbarous massacre and encircling attacks against the soviet areas of the whole country, and the Kuomintang has sold out China by shamelessly surrendering to Japanese and all other imperialisms. But these have also been the 2 years in which under the correct leadership of the Central Soviet Government the Worker-Peasant Red Army has won great glorious victories through arduous struggle. During the struggle of these 2 years we have expanded and consolidated our soviet political power and we have gained infinitely rich and invaluable experience. With a view to focusing our leadership of China's national soviet movement, further developing and consolidating the soviet political power, and summing up the soviet experience of the past 2 years, the Central Soviet Government decides to convene the Second National Soviet Congress in the Red capital of Jui-chin on the 6th anniversary of the Canton Uprising (11 December 1933).

During the past 2 years, China's national crisis has worsened. The intensified aggression of imperialism and the selling out by the Kuomintang have brought several million li of Chinese territory in the three northeastern Provinces, Jehol, Peking and Tientsin and tens of millions of Chinese people under the iron yoke of Japanese imperialism. Because of the consistent surrender and selling out by the Kuomintang, the imperialist dismemberment of China has advanced rapidly. The tragic fate of the complete colonization of China has been hanging over the heads of the Chinese people in the whole country.

During the past 2 years the total collapse of the Chinese national economy has become ever more acute. The wholesale bankruptcies of national industries, the ultimate collapse of the rural economy, and the widespread incidence of floods, drought and famine all over the land have driven the overwhelming majority of workers and peasants to the road of joblessness, starvation and death. Yet the Kuomintang warlords just keep on exploiting the people without any letup. In Szechwan Province they have already levied land rents in advance to the year 1971, and the number and variety of exorbitant taxes and

taxes and miscellaneous contributions have reached a total of 1,700 or more. Throughout the country landlords and evil gentry have exploited the peasants more ruthlessly than ever. Capitalists have also intensified their attack against the workers. Conflicts and internecine wars between and among the warlords have further quickened the pace of the collapse of China's national economy. The pain and suffering of the workers and peasants in the whole country have truly reached indescribable proportions!

Dear comrades! The workers and peasants of China cannot and will not tolerate such a state of affairs. The fires of the revolutionary torches are burning all over the country and the heroic struggle against imperialism and the Kuomintang is unfolding itself--from demonstrations, strikes, riots to geurilla warfare and large-scale revolutionary war. Furthermore, during the past 2 years the great victories of the Chinese soviet workers and peasants and the Red Army, the tremendous developments of the soviet areas, and the vigorous expansion of the heroic Red Army from tens of thousands to hundreds of thousands constitute the most powerful lever in the development of the revolutionary situation in China.

Now two roads lie ahead of the Chinese people: the imperialist-Kuomintang road and the soviet road! Under the rule of the imperialist-Kuomintang, China can only become completely the colony of imperialism whereas under the soviet political power imperialism has already been totally overthrown. Representing the revolutionary masses of the whole country, the Central Soviet Government has formally declared war against Japan. It has on the one hand led the heroic Red Army in vigorously launching the national revolutionary war and defeating the Kuomintang warlords who had prevented the Red Army from advancing north to resist Japan and on the other hand several times called on the White armed forces of the whole country to cease attacking the soviet areas and conclude with the Red Army an agreement of war against Japan. Under the rule of the imperialist-Kuomintang, the workers, peasants and soldiers have been suffering from the ruthless exploitation and suppression of the evil gentry, landlord-bourgeoisie and Kuomintang warlords and driven into bankruptcy and joblessness, even death and starvation. Under the soviet political power, feudal and semi-feudal exploitation by the evil gentry and landlords has been completely eliminated. Here laboring peasants and Red fighters have been awarded land, the working class has received the protection of labor laws, the soviet economic construction is surging vigorously ahead, and the livelihood of the workers and peasants has been greatly improved. Under the rule of the imperialist-Kuomintang, workers and peasants have been frequently subjected to arrest, imprisonment and slaughter. All freedom of speech, assembly, conscience, and in particular the freedom to resist Japan and oppose imperialism has been denied, and the organs of political power are completely in the hands of a small minority of landlords and capitalists. On the other hand, under the soviet political power workers and peasants have gained their complete political freedom and the exploiting class (capitalists, landlords, rich peasants, etc.) has been deprived of its political rights. For the first time in the history of China workers and peasants govern their own country and become its ruling class with the working class as its leading force. It cannot be pointed out

more clearly by all this that the only road to save China is the soviet road and that the victory of the soviet revolution is the victory of the people of the whole country against imperialism and the landlord-bourgeosie. It is precisely for this reason that the Kuomintang and all counterrevolutionary cliques, under the direct command and organization of imperialism, have mobilized all their forces to mount futile attacks against the soviet sector and the Red Army. Although the enemy's 1st, 2d, 3rd and 4th "encirclement and suppression" campaigns have been totally smashed by the iron fists of the heroic Red Army, the imperialist-Kuomintang, with a view to making its last stand, is actively preparing to launch even more cruelly its fifth "encirclement and suppression" major campaign which is aimed at the complete destruction of the soviets and the Red Army. This "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the imperialist-Kuomintang is a necessary and major step on the way to the seizure of China as a colony. All people of China should concentrate all their forces to smash this "encirclement and suppression" campaign and fight for the victory of Soviet China.

The Central Government of Soviet China calls on the toiling masses of the workers and peasants and the revolutionary soldiers to rise against the imperialist aggression and selling out by the Kuomintang, against the imperialist-Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign against the Soviet Red Army, to smash this campaign, overthrow the Kuomintang rule of the landlord-bourgeoisie, support the Second National Soviet Congress, and elect delegates to this Congress fighting for the future of Soviet China. Relying on the enthusiasm of the Chinese people for their revolutionary struggle, relying on the invincibility of our heroic Worker-Peasant Red Army and relying on the correct leadership of the staunch proletariat of China and their vanguard the Communist Party, the victory will surely be ours!

People of all China, rise enthusiastically to struggle for a new Soviet China!

Long live the Second National Soviet Congress!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

1 August 1933
°"Red China," No 101, 13 August 1933

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CSO: 4005

CABLE OF GREETINGS FROM CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO RED ARMY IN EASTERN AREA FOR ITS GREAT VICTORY

8 August 1933

[Text] Political Commissar of General Command Headquarters of the fighting Red Army in Eastern Area for transmittal to all commanders and combat comrades:

You heroes have beaten the enemy's recalcitrant 19th Route Army on the eastern front like fallen flowers in a flowing stream. This victory demonstrates the growing strength and increasing invincibility of the Worker-Peasant Red Army. It presents the imperialist-Kuomintang which is preparing for its fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign with a grave threat and also constitutes an initial victory in the smashing of the enemy's threat and also constitutes an initial victory in the smashing of the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign. We are very happy to learn of this victory. During the present period of the historical turning point in the decisive victory or defeat between the revolution and the counterrevolution, the Central Soviet Government is organizing and leading the Red Army and hundreds of millions of the toiling masses of workers and peasants in smashing the enemy's fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign and fighting for the cause of Soviet China. We believe you heroes will surely bring to your task even more courage by advancing and destroying more enemies and winning still greater and more glorious victories.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

8 August

11667
CSO: 4005

PROVISIONAL SOVIET ELECTION LAW

9 August 1933

[Text] Chapter 1 General Provisions

Article 1 The election of soviets of all levels in the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic shall be governed by the provisions of this Law.

Article 2 During the period of war the election of the Red Army shall be governed by a special chapter of this Law.

Article 3 The proletariat is the vanguard of the soviets, leading the peasantry in the overthrow of the Kuomintang regime of the landowning bourgeoisie and establishing the workers' and peasants' democratic dictatorship of the soviet political power. In order to strengthen the leadership of the proletariat in soviet organs, the workers, in comparison with other residents, shall enjoy superior rights in the proportion of their number of deputies in relation to the number of residents.

Chapter 2 The Right To Elect and the Right To Be Elected

Article 4 All citizens residing in the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic and having reached the age of 16 years on election day shall enjoy the right to elect and to be elected without any distinction as to their sex, religion and nationality provided that they possess one of the following qualifications:

(1) All hired laborers and their families as well as all persons who live by their own labor and their families (such as workers, employees, poor peasants, middle peasants, independent laborers, urban poor residents, etc);

(2) Those in the active service of the Army, Navy and Air Force of the Chinese Soviet Republic and their families;

(3) Persons of the above two categories who have lost their laboring power or jobs at the time of the election.

Note: The families of persons of all categories in this Article shall not have the right to elect and to be elected if they have been deprived of their right of election owing to the origin of their birth.

Article 5 Persons who violate the provisions of one of the following articles shall not have the right to elect and to be elected:

(1) Those who hire the labor of others for profit (such as rich peasants and capitalists);

(2) Those who do not live by their labor but depend for their living on the profits of their capital, land, and other properties (such as evil gentry, landlords, and capitalists);

(3) Landlords, agents of capitalists, middle men (such as intermediaries and brokers) and compradores;

(4) All persons who engage in the profession of propagating religion and superstition such as missionaries of various religions, priests, monks, taoist priests, geomancers and magicians;

(5) Police, spies, gendarmes, bureaucrats, warlords and all reactionary elements who have participated in opposing the interests of workers and peasants in the Kuomintang government and other reactionary governments;

(6) Insane persons;

(7) Those who have been convicted of a crime by court and whose period of sentence has not been completely executed or whose period of deprivation of the right of election has not expired;

(8) The families of persons of all categories mentioned in Paragraphs 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5 of this Article.

Note: The families of persons who engage in the profession of propagating religion and superstition under Paragraph 4 of this Article shall still have the right to elect and to be elected if they live by their own labor.

Article 6 Persons of all categories mentioned in Article 4 of this Law who violate the provisions of one of the Paragraphs from 1 to 7 of Article 5 of this Law shall likewise be deprived of the right to elect and to be elected.

Chapter 3 Election Procedures

Article 7 An election shall be held by the soviet of a locality at a fixed date in accordance with the decision of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 8 An election shall be held only in the presence of the representative of the election committee.

Article 9 Prior to the conduct of an election the registration of electors must be carried out so that a list of the names of electors and those who have been deprived of their right of election as well as a list of the total number of residents in the election district shall be publicly announced by the local soviet 5 days in advance of the election.

Article 10 After the completion of registration of electors, each elector must be notified of the time and place of the election meeting and must be registered in front of the place of the election meeting.

Article 11 A worker shall take the organization of his production or his occupation and industry as the unit to hold the election meeting. Those who are unable to take their production as the unit to conduct the election must demarcate their district or their street and designate a place to hold the election meeting. A peasant takes his house (tiny hamlet) as the unit to hold the election meeting. If a small house has too few people, it can be combined with one or several of the neighboring houses to hold the election meeting.

Article 12 The families of workers shall participate in the election in conjunction with the basic person at the same place and acquire equal qualification of an elector with the basic person. If the family of a worker does not live with the basic person at the same place, he or she shall participate in the election at the place of his or her work or residence.

Note: The family of a worker who has been deprived of the right of election cannot participate in the election.

Article 13 An election meeting shall be held only with the presence of more than half of the total number of electors of the locality. If the number of electors has not reached a quorum, the election meeting must be postponed and the election committee shall fix a date and convene another election meeting. If another election meeting is to be convened, the electors must again be notified of the time and place of the election meeting.

Article 14 If a second election meeting is convened, it can be held regardless of whether or not a quorum has been reached and elect the number of deputies to be elected at the meeting.

Article 15 No written ballot is used in the election and voting is decided by a show of hands. Those who receive a majority of hands are elected.

Article 16 The presidium of the election meeting shall be composed of three persons two of whom shall be elected by the election meeting and one shall be the representative of the election committee. The representative of the election committee shall be the ex officio chairman of the presidium of the election meeting. A secretary shall be nominated by the presidium to keep the record of the election meeting.

Article 17 When an election meeting is declared to be in session, the chairman shall announce the number of persons present based on the register at the time of entering the meeting place to see if a quorum has been reached.

Article 18 The agenda of an election meeting shall be as follows:

(1) Election of regular deputies.

(2) Election of alternate deputies.

(3) Passing of proposals.

Note 1: When a vote is taken on a proposed candidate, the method of individual voting shall be adopted in each case and no vote shall he taken on the entire slate all at once.

Note 2: A vote cannot be taken on a regular deputy and an alternate deputy at the same time. The election of a regular deputy must be completed before the election of an alternate deputy.

Article 19 The record of an election meeting must be signed or stamped by all members of the presidium and the secretary.

Article 20 The record of the election meeting, the attendance register and all other documents relating to the election must be collected and sent to the election committee for transmittal to the municipal soviet or district executive committee for examination after the conclusion of the election.

Chapter 4 Procedure of Election of Soviets of all Levels and Criteria of Number of Deputies

Article 21 A township soviet shall be composed of deputies elected by the electors of the entire township at various election meetings. Each 13 worker residents may elect one regular deputy. Each 50 other residents may elect one regular deputy.

Note: In a township with a population of less than 500, the proportion between the number of deputies and residents may be reduced as follows: each 8 worker residents may elect one regular deputy and each 32 other residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 22 A municipal soviet under a district shall be composed of deputies elected by the electors of the entire municipality at various election meetings. Each 13 worker residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 23 A municipal soviet directly under a county shall be composed of deputies elected by the electors of the entire municipality at various election meetings. Each 20 worker residents may elect one regular deputy. Each 80 other residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 24 A municipal soviet directly under a province shall be composed of deputies elected by the electors of the entire municipality at various election meetings. Each 100 worker residents may elect one regular deputy. Each 400 other residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 25 A municipal soviet directly under the Central Government shall be composed of deputies elected by the electors of the entire municipality at various election meetings. Each 500 worker residents may elect one regular deputy. Each 2,000 other residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 26 A district soviet congress shall be composed of deputies elected by the townships' soviets and the Red Army attached to the district. With respect to deputies to the district soviet congress, each 200 town and village residents may elect one regular deputy. Workers should make up 70 to 25 percent of the composition of deputies.

Note: If a district soviet has a municipal soviet under it, deputies from the municipal soviet should be added to it. Each 50 municipal residents may elect one regular deputy.

Article 27 A county soviet congress shall be composed of deputies elected by district soviet congresses and municipal soviets directly under a county as well as deputies elected by the Red Army attached to the county. With respect to deputies to the county soviet congress, each 400 municipal residents may elect one regular deputy and each 1,600 town and village residents may elect one regular deputy. Workers should make up 20 to 30 percent of the composition of deputies.

Article 28 A provincial soviet congress shall be composed of deputies elected by county soviet congresses and municipal soviets directly under a province as well as deputies elected by the Red Army attached to the province. With respect to deputies to the provincial soviet congress, each 1,500 municipal residents may elect one regular deputy and each 6,000 town and village residents may elect one regular deputy. Workers should make up 25 to 35 percent of the composition of deputies.

Article 29 The National Soviet Congress shall be composed of deputies elected by the deputies of provincial soviet congresses, county soviet congresses directly under a province and municipal soviets directly under the Central Government as well as deputies elected by the Red Army. With respect to deputies to the National Soviet Congress, each 1,500 municipal residents may elect one regular deputy and each 6,000 town and village residents may elect one regular deputy. Workers should make up 25 to 30 percent of the composition of deputies.

Article 30 In localities where the number of residents has not reached a quorum, if their number is more than half of a quorum, they may elect one regular deputy, and if their number is less than half of a quorum, they may elect one alternate deputy.

Article 31 Each five regular deputies may elect one alternate deputy in addition. An alternate deputy may attend meetings and has the right to speak but not the right to vote. If a regular deputy for any reason leaves or is dismissed from his post, he shall be replaced in order by an alternate deputy.

Article 32 District, county and provincial soviet congresses, in addition to electing deputies to the county, provincial and National Soviet Congress, shall also elect the executive committees of soviets of their respective levels. The National Soviet Congress shall elect the Central Executive Committee.

Article 33 The qualifications of deputies to the district, county, provincial and National Soviet Congress shall be examined by examining committees organized by the soviet congresses of their respective levels. The qualifications of deputies of township and municipal soviets shall be examined by examining committees organized the plenum of the township and municipal congresses.

Article 34 The membership of the soviet executive committees of various levels shall be regulated as follows:

A district executive committee may not exceed 35 members.

A county executive committee may not exceed 55 members.

A provincial executive committee may not exceed 95 members.

The Central Executive Committee may not exceed 581 members.

Note 1: With respect to deputies of the Red Army to the soviet congresses of various levels, the criteria of their number and procedure shall be specially regulated by Chapter 5 of this Law.

Note 2: The criteria of the number of deputies from counties directly under the Central Government to the National Soviet Congress shall be regulated by special order of the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter 5 Procedure of Elections and Criteria of Number of Deputies of the Red Army

Article 35 As the Red Army has no fixed points of station during the war period, its personnel cannot participate in the elections of township or municipal soviets. Therefore, it is necessary to adopt provisional measures of accomodation which are specially provided in various articles of this Chapter.

Article 36 The Worker-Peasant Red Army attached to the district soviet government (such as guerrilla units, etc.) shall directly elect deputies to the district soviet congress.

The Worker-Peasant Red Army attached to the county soviet government (such as Independent Regiments, etc.) shall directly elect deputies to the county soviet congress.

The Worker-Peasant Red Army attached to the provincial soviet government or although not attached to the provincial soviet government but charged with long-term work in that province (such as Independent Divisions and various Army Groups in Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi, Hunan-Kiangsi, Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi and other soviet areas) shall directly elect deputies to the provincial soviet congress. Regional Armies of the Red Army shall directly elect deputies to the National Soviet Congress.

Note: Guards units such as Guards Company, Guards Regiment, Political Defense unit, etc. shall participate in the elections of municipal and township soviets of their localities with their number of deputies equal to that of workers.

Article 37 The criteria of the number of deputies from the Red Army shall be provided as follows: each 25 persons may elect one regular deputy to the district soviet congress; each 100 persons may elect one regular deputy to the county soviet congress; each 400 persons may elect one regular deputy to the provincial soviet congress; and each 600 persons may elect one regular deputy to the National Soviet Congress.

Note: The criteria of the number of alternate deputies shall be governed by the provisions of Articles 30 and 31 of this Law.

Article 38 The election work of the Red Army shall be carried out by the election committee composed of 3 to 5 persons appointed by the political bureau of a regiment or the political commissar of an independent division or the political instructor of a battalion.

Article 39 The election of deputies to the district soviet congress shall take the company or battalion as the unit and shall be conducted by an election meeting. The election of deputies to the county or provincial soviet congress shall take the batallion or regiment as the unit and shall be conducted by an election meeting. The election of deputies to the National Soviet Congress shall take the regiment as the unit and shall be conducted by an election meeting.

Note: The procedure of elections and the work of the election committees shall be governed by the provisions of the various articles in Chapters 3 and 7 of this Law.

Chapter 6 Approval and Cancellation of Basic (Municipal and Township) Elections and Recall of Deputies.

Article 40 Only elections carried out in accordance with the procedure prescribed by this Law shall be considered valid and shall be approved.

Article 41 After a municipal soviet and a district committee have received all documents of an election, a special committee shall be organized to examine them. If it is found that certain parts of an election have violated the provisions of this Law, the right to cancel those parts of the election shall be vested with the municipal soviet and the district executive committee. If the entire election is found to be in violation of the provisions of this Law, the right to cancel the election shall be vested with the soviet executive committee of the next higher level.

Article 42 When the validity of an election is in dispute, it shall be settled by the municipal soviet and the district executive committee. If it cannot be settled by the municipal soviet and the district executive committee, it shall be submitted to the soviet executive committee at the next higher level for settlement.

Article 43 If an election is in violation of the provisions of this Law, every elector may make a complaint to a municipal soviet or a district executive committee. When such a complaint is received by the municipal soviet or the district executive committee, it must be examined at once. If it cannot be settled, it may successively be appealed to the next higher levels.

The Central Executive Committee shall be the final organ of appeal in an election.

Article 44 If deputies of a municipal soviet or a township soviet violate the trust of the electors in the performance of their duties or commit an act of crime, they may be dismissed by the municipal or township soviet at a meeting of the plenum. The electors have the right to recall the deputies elected by them at any time and may elect others in their place. In such cases they must report to the soviet executive committee at the next higher level for examination.

Chapter 7 The Election Committee and Its Work

Article 45 An election committee is the special organ to conduct elections. Its organization has two types as follows:

(1) The municipal election committee to manage the election work of the entire municipality composed of 7 to 11 members.

(2) The district election committee to manage the election work of the various townships of the entire district composed of 9 to 13 members.

Article 46 The election committee is composed of representatives of the government and various mass organizations. Its members shall be passed by the municipal soviet or the district executive committee at a meeting of its presidium and shall be examined and approved by the presidium of the county executive committee.

Article 47 Citizens who work or live in a locality shall be eligible for membership of the election committee of that locality. Under special circumstances the government at the next higher level may transfer someone from another locality.

Article 48 The chairman of a municipal soviet, township soviet and district executive committee may not be a member of the election committee.

Article 49 A member of the election committee need not leave his original post and may temporarily be relieved of his work at election time and devote himself exclusively to the conduct of the election.

Article 50 The election committee will not establish a separate office and may conduct its business in the district executive committee or the township soviet and make use of all of its technical and staff personnel. In case of necessity it may hire additional technical and staff personnel.

Article 51 Prior to an election the election committee should carry out the following work:

(1) It shall register electors. Organized electors may be registered through their own organizations (such as trade unions, poor peasant groups, etc.). Unorganized electors shall be registered by the registrars of the election committee. Registration forms should be filled out according to the register of the electors.

(2) After the conclusion of registration special personnel shall be designated by the election committee to examine the registration forms and a list of the names of the electors shall be published at the locality and on public grounds by the local soviet government 5 days in advance of the election. The number of regular and alternate deputies to be elected from the district shall also be published at the same time.

(3) The time and place of the election meeting shall be publicly announced 3 days before the election meeting and the electors of the district shall be so notified.

(4) It shall prepare proposals to be passed by the election meeting.

(5) It shall prescribe the order in which the various organizations, organs and houses (tiny hamlets) shall hold their election meetings, arrange the meeting hall and appoint registrars at its entrance.

(6) It shall through the local soviet government publish the list of the names of persons who have been deprived of their right of election 5 days in advance of the election.

Article 52 The election committee must appoint its representative to attend every election meeting. The election meeting should be declared in order

by the representative appointed by the election committee and he shall be the ex officio chairman of the presidium of the election meeting.

Article 53 The first item on the agenda of the election meeting shall be the report by the representative of the election committee on the provisions relating to the right to elect and to be elected in accordance with Articles 4, 5 and 6 of this Law.

Article 54 After the election the election committee shall collect and forward all the documents of the election to the municipal soviet or the district executive committee for safekeeping and examination. It shall also submit a report summing up the election to the municipal soviet or the district executive committee.

Article 55 The election committee shall be declared dissolved after the conclusion of the election.

Chapter 8 Election Expenses

Article 56 A budget on the expenses of an election shall be prepared by the election committee at various levels, examined by the municipal soviet or the district executive committee and reported to the soviet government at the next higher level. The expenses of elections shall be paid out of the election fund allotted by the Treasury.

Article 57 With respect to the election expenses of the Red Army, a budget shall be prepared by the election committee and sent to the political department at various levels for examination and approval.

Article 58 The election committee shall be responsible for submitting a final account report on all expenses incurred in elections to the organ of disbursement.

Chapter 9 Supplementary Provisions

Article 59 This Election Law shall come into effect in the Central soviet area from the date of its promulgation. In other soviet areas which have not yet been merged with the Central area it shall come into effect from the date of receipt of this document.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

9 August 1933

°Red Reactionary Documents; No 3, 1935

11,667
CSO: 4005

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT CABLE CONGRATULATING THE INAUGURATION OF THE INTERNATIONAL ANTI-IMPERIALIST AND ANTI-WAR CONGRESS

August 1933

[Text] Delegates to the International Anti-imperialist and Anti-war Congress:

On behalf of the toiling worker-peasant masses of the entire China, the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China extends its proletarian salute to all the delegates to the Congress! Courageous vanguard on the anti-imperialist front. You disregard the White terror of the imperialist Kuomintang and the threats of fascists and police and detectives, and resolutely call a world anti-imperialist and anti-war congress in Shanghai which is under the joint control of international imperialism and laid waste by the cannons of Japan. We wish to express our unlimited admiration and eager hopes! The inauguration of the congress is an unprecedented success won by the international worker class and all the toiling masses on the united front under the anti-imperialist international. We firmly believe that the congress will be able to lead the anti-imperialist warriors of the whole world to resist, by concrete measures, the undeclared Far East war for the purpose of entirely colonizing China and the imminent and urgent international imperialist war against Soviet Russia.

The toiling masses of the entire China completely and profoundly understand the sharp opposition between the (Lytton) inquiry group and the international anti-imperialist and anti-war delegation. Our political experience tells us that the former is the planner and organizer of the bandit international imperialism to divide up China, while the latter, which is you--you are the most effective helper of the people of the entire China in resisting the imperialist bandit aggression and striving for China's independence and freedom and liberation. We hope you will reveal the truth of all the imperialist inhuman conduct, crimes, and conspiracies in China to our worker-peasant brothers of the whole world. Meanwhile, we enthusiastically welcome you to come and inspect the soviet areas, contrast the revolutionary fervor of the workers and peasants in the soviet areas, the improvement in their living, and all the constructions of the soviet government against

the hunger, death, unemployment, and famine which you see in the imperialist Kuomintang controlled areas, spread it among the workers, peasants, and soldiers of the world, and arouse their excitement and sympathy!

Currently, China is in the midst of a violent war between the two paths--the colonial and the soviet paths. The fifth "encirclement and suppression" against the soviet Red Army launched recklessly by the imperialist Kuomintang is to make China follow completely the colonial path, while we are concentrating all forces to smash the enemy's desperate attack, block the imperialist colonial path, and struggle for the road of an independent and free soviet China. We believe that the congress is in complete sympathy with us. Therefore, the success of the congress is our success; the victory of the congress is our victory. Leading the workers and peasants of the entire China and the Red Army, we unanimously support the congress in its successful progress, and we wish to express our sincere congratulations for its great advance!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman, Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

° "RED CHINA," No 107, 3 September 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

PROLETARIAT AND OPPRESSED NATIONS OF THE WHOLE WORLD, UNITE!

Cable from the Central Government to the International Anti-imperialist and Anti-war Congress, 30 August 1933

[Text] Delegates to the International Anti-imperialist and Anti-war Congress, and Proletariat, Toiling Masses, and All Revolutionaries of the Whole World!

The intensification of the panic of world capitalism and the end of the temporary stabilization of postwar capitalism have caused the imperialist bourgeoisie to launch more reckless attacks on the proletariat and toiling masses of their own nations, to place all the burdens of the economic crisis on them, and to handle the organizations of the worker class and all revolutionary actions with the most cruel fascist bloody means. In Germany, in Italy, in Japan, and in all the capitalist nations in the world, the mad tide of fascism is waging a death struggle against the revolutionary movement of the worker class and toiling masses of the whole world.

Towards the outside, the imperialist nations are preparing to launch an imperialist war in order to find a way out of the economic crisis. Their attack on Soviet Russia and their plunder of the colonies have been reenforced. By means of a bandit war, Japanese imperialism first occupied the vast areas of China's Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar, and Lo-tung and placed 50 million toiling masses under its heel. British imperialism is using Tibetan troops in western China to occupy our provinces of Hsi-k'ang and Szechwan and is preparing to make all of western China a British colony. Others such as French and American imperialism are also competing to divide up China's territory. Waging a violent imperialist war, they wish to divide anew their market in China!

The loathsome imperialist bourgeoisie is the common enemy of the proletariat and toiling masses of the world. In China, they ally with the Kuomintang--the loathsome White terror--and arm over 1 million Kuomintang troops with guns, cannons, airplanes, and poison gas bombs at a cost of hundreds of millions of dollars to attack China's revolutionary base and its soviet areas, attempting to extinguish its revolutionary movement with bloody massacres.

They wish to turn China completely into an imperialist colony in order to maintain their control and to continue their exploitation and enslavement of their domestic proletariat. This is the fifth time that the Kuomintang government, with the aid of imperialism, has launched large-scale attacks on China's soviet areas.

The Provisional Central Covernment of the Soviet Republic of China declares to the proletariat and toiling masses of the whole world: The Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China is the representative of the oppressed people of the entire China.

The Soviet Republic of China was consolidated and developed in the anti-imperialist war in the past; now it will deal a fatal blow to the fifth "encirclement and suppression" of the soviet areas launched by imperialism through the Kuomintang. It negates all secret treaties between the imperialist powers and China's Kuomintang government. It is in the process of appealing to, mobilizing, and arming the people of the entire China. It will resist the imperialist attempt to divide China with the war of national revolution, fundamentally overthrow the imperialist control in China, and establish a soviet political power of the entire China, in order to preserve its independence and unity and its territorial integrity. It is a staunch partner to the proletariat and toiling masses of the whole world in their struggle against imperialism.

Proletariat and toiling masses and all revolutionaries of the whole world! On behalf of the oppressed people of China, the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China appeals to you to line up with us and overthrow the common enemy of the workers, toiling masses, and all revolutionaries of the whole world--the world imperialist bourgeoisie!

We request that you adopt all means to block the imperialist nations from sending guns and cannons, airplanes, and poison gas bombs to China and slaughtering the people of China. We appeal to the soldiers of your nations to resist imperialist aggression of colonies and refuse to slaughter China's masses in the interest of the imperialist bourgeoisie!

The proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole world, unite!

Resist imperialist wars! Resist imperialist division of China! Down with world imperialism!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

30 August

° "RED CHINA," No 106, 31 August 1933

ON THE WAYS AND MEANS TO SELL BONDS

Directive of the Central People's Committee, 28 August 1933

[Text] Three million yuan of economic construction bonds have begun to be issued in the various areas in Jui-chin. According to the most recent experiences of Jui-chin, though Yun-chi District and other areas adopted the correct method and made a great achievement, several other districts committed grave errors. The main manifestation was that the district soviet presidium did not closely tackle bond selling and place it on its daily agenda for discussion and inspection, but considered it the function of the finance department. It did not activate the mass organizations of the district level for unanimous mobilization. As a result, the extremely serious situation of equal distribution appeared in many townships. Without going through the discussion and recognition by the labor unions, poor peasants' leagues, women's delegates' association, and other mass organizations, without making reports at the township soviet delegates' meeting, and without holding mass meetings to explain clearly the significance of the bonds, the bonds were issued to the township soviet, which, in turn, divided them evenly among the township delegates, who, in turn, divided them evenly among the masses. Whether the masses understood or not, the bonds were evenly divided. Some individual areas forced the middle peasants to buy bonds. If they refused, they were called rich peasants. Consequently, the masses in many areas were dissatisfied, and the sale of bonds was hampered. However, it was entirely different in Yun-chi District. Because the Yun-chi District soviet adopted the correct method of mobilization toward the townships and gave detailed explanations to the cadres of the township level, and the cadres, in turn, propagandized to the masses, it made a great achievement. The district pledged to sell 40,700 yuan of bonds. In less than 3 weeks, it had sold 25,500 yuan's worth of bonds. Yang-ch'i township was the best. It had sold all 4,600 yuan of bonds undertaken by it. The glorious examples of Yun-chi District and Yang-ch'i township are worthy of emulation by all the soviet areas. For the satisfactory result of bond selling this time, the Central Government specifies the following points on the method of mobilization. The governments of all levels must implement them completely.

1. The provincial soviet must give close attention to the work of bond issuance in the province and discuss, motivate, and inspect it. It must gather the experiences of bond selling in the county where it is located and compile the good and bad examples of the mobilization into a document for the guidance of all the counties in the province.

2. The county soviet must give close attention to the work of bond issuance in the county and discuss, motivate, and inspect it. It must gather the experiences of bond selling in the several counties near the county soviet and compile the good and bad examples into a document for the guidance of the districts.

The county soviet must, for the purpose of selling bonds, summon all the district chairmen and finance department chiefs for a meeting. Even in counties where the bonds have not been received, such meetings must be called, so that the districts will embark upon the mobilization work without delay. They must not wait until the bonds have arrived before holding a meeting and discussing. After the bonds have been issued, they must again call a meeting of the district chairmen to inspect the work and rectify the errors.

3. The district soviet is the pivot to sell bonds and mobilize the masses. It must call a meeting of the township soviet chairmen, poor peasants' league chairmen, and the responsible persons of other mass organizations and explain to them in detail the significance of bond issuance and the method of mobilizing the masses. Meanwhile, it must send men to the various townships and help the township soviets call meetings of township delegates, poor peasants' leagues, labor unions, and other mass organizations and make detailed explanations to them. Village and hamlet mass meetings must be held through the cadres of the township level and the significance of the economic construction bonds explained in detail to the masses. If the masses cannot understand after one meeting, another meeting must be held again. When necessary, there may be a third meeting in areas where it is required. The masses must be made to understand that buying bonds is in their own interest and for the victory of the war, so that they will eagerly buy them.

4. The government presidiums of all levels and the township soviet chairmen must strictly prevent the error of even distribution. They must understand that even distribution is thorough bureaucraticism and an extremely erroneous method which will block the sale of bonds. On the other hand, it will make it easy for the counterrevolutionaries to create rumors and deceive the people; on the other hand, it will not arouse the revolutionary fervor of the worker-peasant masses. If even distribution is again discovered in the future, the higher level government must rectify it immediately. If the error is not corrected after rectification, punishment must be dealt out.

5. Prohibition of even distribution is for the purpose of encouraging the masses to buy bonds voluntarily. The names of those who buy more bonds and the amounts bought by them must be posted at the gate of the township soviet to serve as models. But absolutely no one must be forced to buy bonds. If a person refuses to buy, the representatives of the township soviet and women's delegates' association, and the members of the labor union and poor peasants' league must persuade and encourage him to buy bonds. Those who have bought bonds may be asked to persuade those who have not. Those who have bought more bonds in a village may be organized into a propaganda team to promote the sale of bonds.

6. Concerning propaganda work, the Central Government has already made an announcement. Upon receipt of the announcement, the township government must immediately post it in the villages and hamlets. The Central Government has also issued a propaganda outline on the economic construction bonds. The work personnel and propaganda teams of the district and township soviets must follow the articles in the outline and perform propaganda and encouragement work toward the masses.

7. The masses may pay for the bonds in cash or grain. The district soviet will set the price of grain according to the local market value and notify the townships.

8. The district soviets must guide the townships to form bond selling competition agreements. Besides the figures, the agreement must provide that no bureaucraticist method, such as coercive distribution, is allowed. The time limit must not be set too short (naturally nor too long either), because it will make full mobilization impossible.

Attention must be given to all the eight points above. The provincial and county soviets must send men to the counties and districts to inspect and determine whether they are implementing fully this directive of the Central Government. The county soviets must make a simple summary of the district in their own counties which was most successful in selling bonds and mail it to "RED CHINA" for publication, in order to encourage all the soviet areas. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

28 August 1933

° "RED CHINA," No 108, 6 September 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

CENTRAL GOVERNMENT DIRECTIVE ON RECTIFYING THE FINANCE MINISTRY

25 August 1933

[Text] At a time when the Red Army is victorious, the soviet areas are expanding, and the revolutionary movement is vigorously progressing, the principle of the soviet financial policy must be: (1) Place the burden on the exploiting class in both soviet and White areas, mainly by imposing fines on the landlords, assessing donations from the rich peasants, and levying appropriate taxes from the merchants, provided such taxes do not damage the economic growth of the soviet areas. (2) Vigorously promote economic construction and, by developing the national economy, breaking down the enemy blockade, and restricting exploitation by the merchants, increase the revenue of the soviet. (3) Rely on the revolutionary fervor of the laboring peasant masses to collect suitable land taxes for the treasury of the state. These constitute the fundamental principle of the soviet financial policy.

Under this principle, the soviet financial organ must, by revolutionary means, sound organization, and careful planning, expand the revenue and make it compatible with the development of the revolutionary war. All conservative concepts and disorderly conditions apart from the political tasks are extremely detrimental.

So far, the work of the soviet financial organ, under the supervision of the People's Committee, has shown considerable achievements in supplying the war needs and building an accounting system, but it has not adhered to the correct policy in regard to the principle of the financial policy. Instead of devoting the maximum effort to raise funds from the exploiters and increase revenue by developing the national economy, it has concentrated on tax revenues and paper currency bonds. Meanwhile, its assessment of the development of the revolution is inadequate, resulting in a lack of financial planning. This constitutes a hindrance to large-scale financial administration. In leadership pattern, if, instead of relying on the urban and rural soviets and the worker-peasant mass organizations and mobilizing the broad masses through them in fund raising, one depends on the small number of work personnel of the district level and above, the task cannot

be completely fulfilled. Such bureaucratic leadership pattern exists to a large extent in the soviet financial organ. On the issue of cadres, attention is not given to training and promoting large groups of financial administration work personnel, nor to criticizing and weeding out some of the corrupt and decadent elements. All these are the result of failing to implement the correct class line and of making opportunist assessments of the revolutionary situation, and Comrade Teng Tzu-hui [6772 1311 1863], people's finance commissioner, must be mainly responsible.

The People's Committee feels that this situation must not be allowed to continue; it commands the new chief of the people's finance department, Comrade Lin Po-ch'u [2651 0130 3255], to rectify it fundamentally. Self-criticism in the entire financial system must be launched in order to rectify the erroneous understanding of the financial policy, formulate financial plans compatible with the development of the war, change the leadership pattern, promote and train large groups of financial work personnel, and eliminate the partial corruption and decadence in the financial system, so that the entire soviet financial system will rapidly become sound and the soviet financial administration will become compatible with the development of the revolution, furnishing the full financial condition to the revolutionary war and thoroughly smashing the fifth "encirclement and suppression" of the imperialist Kuomintang. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-t'ao

25 August 1933

° "RED CHINA," No 107, 3 September 1933

6080
CSO: 4005

PRELIMINARY SUMMARY OF THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

August 1933

[Text] I. A Great Success

The land investigation movement, under the appeal of the Party and the Central Government, has been extensively launched. If the movement in the past was considered as an initial stage only, then the work in the 1 month of July, after the eight-county land investigation mass meeting in June, surpassed the achievement of more than half year since last winter. Generally speaking, in the eight counties included in the mass meeting, the movement has reached a new stage and become an extensive mass movement. The achievements of Jui-chin and Po-sheng were the greatest, uncovering a total of two thousand and several hundred landlords and rich peasants. Initial achievements were made in the counties of Sheng-li, Yu-tu, Hui-ch'ang, T'ing-tung, Ch'ang-t'ing, Shih-ch'eng, and Ning-hua. In all the districts and townships where achievements were made, extensive mass struggles have started. In soviet work and party work, there was much stagnation in the past, but now the work has become lively. Many of the undesirable elements in the soviet were purged, and the counterrevolutionaries hidden in the rural villages encountered severe suppression. In other words, the remnant feudal forces suffered a tragic defeat at the hands of the broad masses. On this foundation, all kinds of work developed even more. In areas where the land investigation movement had made achievements, great successes were also made in the expansion of the Red Army and the local militia, the sale of economic construction bonds, the development of the cooperative, fall harvesting and fall plowing, the launching of labor mutual aid associations, and such cultural undertakings as clubs, night schools, and elementary schools. All items of work became more successful. On the foundation of mass activeness, large groups of positive elements made themselves into cadres for all types of work, and many among the workers and peasants joined the party and enlisted in soviet work. The best example was Jen-t'ien District in Jui-chin. With the help of the work group of the Central Government, Jen-t'ien District, in its land investigation movement, activated the masses of the entire district in 55 days, thoroughly eliminated the feudal remnants, uncovered over 300 landlords and rich

peasants, executed by shooting 12 counterrevolutionaries known as "big tigers" by the people, and suppressed counterrevolutionary activities. Certain elements among the soviet work personnel committing serious errors were accused at mass meetings, and certain class deviationists infiltrating the soviet were purged. Some 27,000 tan of land were ascertained in the entire district, and the more than 20,000 toiling masses received an additional 1 tan 2 ton of land per capita. Large quantities of money and things belonging to the rich gentry and landlords were distributed to the masses. Due to the unprecedented height of mass positivity, over 700 new Red Army soldiers were recruited into the Jui-chin Model Division in 55 days, without even one desertion. The amount of grain saved and sold to the Red Army reached 1,900 tan or more, an accomplishment which no other district in the entire county could match. Under the demand of the townships, the district undertook to sell 40,000 yuan of economic construction bonds; 7,500 yuan were collected from landlord fines and rich peasant donations; the district promised to continue to raise 10,000 yuan. Cooperatives developed rapidly, and cultural and educational constructions, such as clubs, literacy classes, and night schools, also increased. The number of party members expanded; the Party's leadership strengthened; labor union work improved. A new atmosphere emerged in the district. From the backward district of Jui-chin, it reversed itself in 55 days and became a first class district similar to Wu-yang. Why did Jen-t'ien District make such great achievements? We must point out that it was because they realized the importance of the task of land investigation and because they firmly followed the correct directives of the Central Bureau and the Central Government in their mobilization pattern, class line, and mass work and performed true Bolshevik work. In regard to understanding the tasks, they understood the close links between the land investigation movement and the revolutionary war; therefore, they performed the work conscientiously, closely tackled the leadership of the movement, and arranged the work of the local area with plans. In regard to the mobilization pattern, they tightly tackled the work of the seven townships which were most, or relatively, backward among the 11 townships in the district, activated the party, the league, the township soviet, the labor union, the poor peasants' league, and other mass organizations of the seven townships, and mobilized the broad masses through them. In regard to the class line, they firmly followed the strategy of relying on the farm laborers and poor peasants and allying with the middle peasants, and extensively developed the poor peasants' league. They explained that land investigation was not land division and that class investigation did not include the middle peasants, poor peasants, and farm laborers. Their work on "discussing the classes" was adequately performed. When the landlords and rich peasants of O-feng township frightened the middle peasants and caused alarm in some of them, our comrades held individual conversations with several middle peasants who spread our ideas to other middle peasants. The middle peasants of O-feng township immediately settled down and actively supported the land investigation policy of the soviet. Instead of continuing to be defrauded by the landlords and rich peasants, they joined the poor peasants and workers and attacked the landlords and rich peasants together. The comrades of Jen-t'ien District did make mistakes on the classification of several

households, but they remedied them promptly. In regard to guiding the mass struggles, they first made extensive propaganda. Instead of holding meetings of the entire district and township, they held village and hamlet meetings, contacted broader masses, and propagandized to and encouraged them many times. Therefore, the masses of the entire district understood that land and class investigations were their responsibilities and in their interest. Next, they investigated the class components and activated many people to perform the task. Material evidence on the various components was carefully collected and shown to the masses; therefore, there was no incident of dissatisfaction among the masses. Subsequently, through the class classifications, the land investigation committee first made an analysis and decision which were handed to the poor peasants' organization for discussion and passage and then submitted to the district soviet for approval. Thereafter, they proceeded to the village where the party whose property was to be confiscated resided and called a village mass meeting. Only after a clear explanation of the case and the raising of hands to show support was the property confiscated. In regard to the distribution of money and things and land, the work personnel all understood that they, themselves, must serve as the models and refrain from taking anything. They distributed everything to the masses, a larger amount to the village where the property was found and a smaller amount to other villages, and won the satisfaction of the masses. Land was also promptly divided. The situation of prolonged delays in other areas was not found in Jen-t'ien district. Therefore, the masses were rapidly activated. The way they attacked the backward big villages was also correct. They were not afraid of the big villages, but nor did they use brute force. What they did was to concentrate their forces, make more propaganda, try to win over the local positive elements, rallying and educating them, and activate the remainder of the masses through them. They were very patient in performing such village work which appeared to be slow but actually very fast. In 55 days, they activated all the backward big villages in the district and eliminated their backwardness within a short time. When they were unable to enter a village in Po-k'eng township because of the two well-known "big tigers" there, they adopted a different means. The two rascals were arrested and tried in the local mobile court and, with the enthusiastic support of the masses, executed by shooting. The mass struggle in this village spread like wildfire. They held 10 mass trial meetings and mobile court meetings, all via a very extensive mass line. Most of the people of the township attended while all the villages of other townships sent delegates, 10 or more from the small townships, and 40 or 50 from the large townships. Therefore, the results of each public trial and judgment were immediately spread to all the townships and villages of the district. Besides realizing the justice of punishing or killing the culprit, the masses of all the townships and villages immediately thought of similar evil elements in their own areas who also should be punished. The land investigation movement of Jen-t'ien District is truly a model for the entire soviet area! Chiu-pao District of Jui-chin also was very successful. They first closely tackled three townships, summoned the members of their land investigation committees to the district soviet for a 3-day training class, and explained the mobilization method, the class line, and the means to win the masses. On the issue of distributing the confiscated

property, they created a good method. When a landlord's household was to be confiscated, they would ask the masses of the village and the household to gather together, elect a confiscation distribution committee, proceed with the confiscation under the supervision of the masses, pile the things confiscated in an open space, and distribute them to those entitled with the approval of the masses. The edibles were handled in a different manner. They slaughtered hogs and cooked rice for a big meal for the masses. This method produced a great effect in Chiu-pao District. Their confiscation distribution committee was not a regular organization, but a temporary one, thus creating a closer association with the masses. (As for the distribution of confiscated land, it was still handled by the regular land committee). The confiscated things were not taken to the township soviet, nor did they wait until several households were confiscated before distribution; therefore, delay and theft were avoided. Chiu-pao District was just as correct on other lines and methods; therefore, they could activate the broad masses for class investigation. They were so successful that no landlord or rich peasant appeared at the township soviet to object to the classification, which was completely contrary to the condition of land investigation in the past. In the past, there were always many investigated landlords and rich peasants who appeared at the soviet to object, claiming that the classification was wrong. Not just themselves, but even the responsible persons of the township representing the poor peasants' organization would come forward and argue for them. This time, naturally, it was not because the landlords and rich peasants did not want to object, but they could not do so. No one of their clan or among their relatives supported them. They were incapacitated, and it was impossible for them to object. It showed that Chiu-pao District performed adequate work in activating the masses, for otherwise they could not have attained this stage.

All such glorious exemplary instances (not scarce in other areas) constituted a Bolshevik response to the appeal of the Party and the Central Government and proved the absolute accuracy of the directives of the Central Bureau and the Central Government. Anywhere where such directives were completely implemented, great successes were immediately made. Anywhere where they were violated or overlooked, errors were committed in the work, and little or no achievement was made. Let me prove this point by the facts.

II. Some Areas Relinquished the Leadership of the Land Investigation Movement.

In regard to the fighting task of the land investigation movement, after the promulgation of the decision of the Central Bureau, the issuance of the directive of the Central Government, and the mass meeting of the eight counties, the development of the movement did not reach all areas. The land investigation achievement of the entire province of Fukien, for instance, was only equivalent to that of the county of Po-sheng; the achievement of Sheng-li, Yu-tu, Hui-ch'ang, or Shih-ch'eng could only match that of the best one or two districts of Jui-chin. The land investigation committees

of many areas had not even held one meeting, and even the county land investigation committees of several counties failed to tackle the land investigation work of the county (Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Shih-ch'eng, and Ning-hua). In many districts and townships land investigation committees, the district and township chairmen did not serve as the committee chairmen. On grounds of being busy in other matters, they relinquished the task of land investigation. In regard to Party leadership of land investigation, in all areas where land investigation was successful, the effect of the Party's firm leadership was clearly demonstrated, and the majority of the Party membership masses, under the guidance of the Party branch and district committee, performed much courageous Bolshevik fighting work. On the other hand, wherever land investigation achieved little, or nothing, the Party unit's neglect of the movement was apparent. Almost 2 months after the promulgation of the land investigation decision of the Central Bureau, the Hui-ch'ang county committee, for instance, never once discussed land investigation work. Not until the end of July did they hold a meeting on the matter. In one period, the Pu-hsiao district committee paid no attention to the land investigation movement at all. Though the urban committee of Jui-chin held one meeting for land investigation, it did not activate the suburban branch committees to give attention to the leadership of land investigation, and none of the branches ever held a meeting for the movement. In other areas, such as the county committees of Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Shih-ch'eng, and Ning-hua and many district committees, they also failed to pay close attention to the work of land investigation. The party and the Central Government said: "The land investigation movement has become an effective means to activate the masses for intensive rural class struggle, thoroughly solve the land issue, and eliminate feudalism or semi-feudalism" (decision of the Central Bureau); "the land investigation movement is an urgent task of the soviets of all areas" (directive of the Central Government); "the land investigation movement is the most important link in the current work" (summary of the eight-county mass meeting). Meanwhile, many of our comrades said: "Too busy; no time to look after the land investigation movement." The Party resolution stated: "The superficial attitude of handling the land investigation movement with bureaucraticism and formalism is most detrimental." Yet these comrades still handled the land investigation with bureaucraticism.

III. Some Areas Actually Capitulated to the Rich Peasants.

In areas where the land investigation was launched, there still appeared many individual serious errors. One often came across individual comrades in the local Party unit or soviet who, in face of the violent class struggle of the land investigation movement, indicated their opportunist vacillations. This was mainly because, during the vigorous development of the movement, they were unable to abandon their clan or local relationships but sheltered the landlords and rich peasants of their own clan or village. Or they erroneously analyzed the class components, considering the landlords as rich peasants and the rich peasants as middle peasants. Some work comrades of the judicial department, by their extreme negligence, accepted the false accusations of the positive elements in the land investigation by the landlords and rich peasants in the name of the people. In another aspect,

some of our security bureau and judicial department comrades failed to keep pace with the development of the mass class investigation struggle and actively suppress the counterrevolution, and they even turned down the demands of the masses to arrest and execute the landlord and rich peasant elements who resisted the land investigation. The judicial department of Jui-chin was an example of making all those mistakes.

IV. The Tendency to Encroach Upon the Middle Peasants Is the Most Serious Danger.

The "leftwing" opportunist tendency, in the July land investigation, appeared in many areas. Here, the tendency to encroach upon the middle peasants must be emphatically pointed out. The Central Bureau clearly indicated in its resolution: "Special attention must be given to the alliance with the middle peasant masses. They are the broadest basic masses in the soviet village after the revolution; therefore, we must win their approval and support in all our measures and strategies. Every decision made by a poor peasant organization or the soviet must acquire the support of the middle peasant masses at the village or hamlet mass meetings, and all appeals of the middle peasant masses must be heeded. Any attempt to encroach upon their interest must be severely discouraged." It was pointed out at the conclusion of the eight-county mass meeting: "The goal of land investigation is class investigation, not redivision of land.... Allying with the middle peasants must start from not encroaching upon their interest.... At the beginning of the land investigation, we must generally propagandize the soviet policy of allying with the middle peasants and guard against encroaching upon their interest. In the process of land investigation, we must carefully decide on the borderline cases between the middle and rich peasants and avoid mistakes." However, the comrades of many areas did not pay attention to such instructions. In the land investigation of the Jui-chin urban area, they began the investigation by the households and farms. Some middle peasants were so alarmed that they came to the soviet and asked to have their classification changed into poor peasants. They said: "It is very dangerous to be a middle peasant, because it is only one step removed from the rich peasant. A poor peasant will be further removed from the rich peasant." Do such painful appeals not deserve our attention? The comrades of Yang-ku township, Huang-po District, announced to the masses: "Class investigation is only the investigation of the middle peasants, rich peasants, and landlords." The comrades of T'ao-ching District put down stakes and forced the investigation, and some of the middle peasants were so terrified that they fled into the mountains to hide. Some townships in Po-sheng county also put down stakes and made a general investigation, and the middle peasants there were similarly terrified. It was stated at the eight-county mass meeting that "the idea that land investigation requires staking is not correct," Nevertheless, the comrades paid no attention. General investigation by staking happened in every county. It was an unusually serious situation. They confused land investigation and land division. True, land division would require staking, but the land figures must first be clarified before division. If the method of staking was used in the land investigation movement, it would confuse the rural struggle goal.

We pointed out in the past: "Land investigation and land division must be strictly distinguished. Such distinction is not only for the purpose of stabilizing the peasants' land ownership so that they will not be alarmed over the uncertainty of land division, but also for the victory of the class investigation struggle. We must concentrate our forces, especially by allying with the middle peasants, to handle the resistance of the landlords and rich peasants. At this time, there must not be any confusion or disturbance within the peasants' own ranks" (conclusion of the eight-county mass meeting). It was one of our most important strategies in guiding the land investigation struggle; yet it was neglected by many comrades. Such neglect cannot be tolerated for another moment. In regard to those who, after being given guidance, continue with such mistakes, the local higher level soviet must punish them severely. Ideological struggles must be launched inside the Party and the league, and any Party or league member, in his thinking or action, encroaching upon the interest of the middle peasants and violating the strategy of allying with them, must be opposed. In regard to the mistakes already made, the soviet personnel must openly admit their mistakes to the local middle peasant masses and return the land and property to the wronged parties. Last year, Hsing-kuo returned land to many middle peasants and won the satisfaction of the middle peasant masses. It was a valuable lesson.

V. The Closed-door-ism of the Poor Peasants' League and the Neglect of the Leadership Effect of the Farm Laborers Are Wrong.

"The poor peasant masses are the props of the Party, the proletariat in the rural village, and the staunch supporters of the land revolution." "Relying on the poor peasants" is one of our important strategies in the land investigation movement and all land struggles, and the poor peasants' league is an organization with a great effect in the land investigation movement. The eight-county poor peasants' league delegates mass meeting already pointed out that the closed-door tendency of the poor peasants' league was wrong, that the sponsor system must be abolished and the gates opened wide to the poor peasant workers, and that all poor peasant workers, men and women, old and young, could join. But many places still followed the old method without change and still required sponsoring. In T'ao-ching District, Jui-chin, when the poor peasant masses not belonging to the league came to its meeting, the responsible persons refused them admittance. In Chu-chai-chi District, Po-sheng, not one new member was admitted to the poor peasants' league in the entire month of July. In all the districts and townships where land investigation was successful, the poor peasants' league developed extensively, while in all the districts and townships with little or no success, the one manifestation was the closed-door situation of the poor peasants' league. Similarly, many comrades failed to recognize the great leadership effect of the farm laborers in the land investigation movement. The party resolution stated: "The farm laborer masses are the rural brothers of the urban proletariat and the vanguard of the land revolution; therefore; the work personnel of the soviets must establish a

close connection with the labor union, develop and organize the positivity of the worker masses through it, and turn them into the vanguard of the land investigation movement." Not many of our comrades followed this instruction. Here, the main means is to make the rural workers join the poor peasants' league and form separate workers' cells within it. Through such workers' cells, the positive elements among the poor peasants are rallied to develop the poor peasants' league and promote the progress of the land investigation movement. The experiences of Shan-ho township, Huang-po District, are valuable. When our comrades failed twice to call a poor peasants' league meeting, they held a joint mass meeting of the agricultural and handicraft labor unions and activated several dozen workers. Each worker brought a poor peasant to the poor peasants' league. The next day, a poor peasants' league meeting was held and the land investigation movement was launched in Shan-ho township. This experience must be introduced in all the rural villages. The higher level leading organ of the labor union must render positive guidance to the lower level labor union and consider land investigation one of the important tasks of the labor union.

VI. Incorrect Concepts of the Rich Peasant Issue.

Our general strategy in the rural struggle is to rely on the poor peasants, firmly ally with the middle peasants, make the farm laborers produce a vanguard effect, and rally all revolutionary forces, in order to eliminate the landlord class and resist the rich peasants. On the rich peasant issue, the party has stated correctly: "The landlords and rich peasants must be clearly distinguished. In the struggle to eliminate ruthlessly the landlord remnants, there must not be any attempt to eliminate the rich peasants." In the land investigation in July, though there was no theory openly advocating the elimination of the rich peasants, instances of considering them as landlords and confiscating all their assets were discovered in many areas. The source of the error was a result of obliterating the labor force of the rich peasants. When we said that "those who perform no labor, or only incidental labor, but practice exploitation, such as collecting land rent, are landlords," some areas considered those who used considerable number of labor elements as "performing only incidental labor" and classified them as landlords. Other areas considered the rich peasants who also exploited by high interest loans as "usurers" and handled them according to the method of "eliminating usurers." There were also areas which reckoned old accounts, going back a certain number of years before the revolution. If a person hired permanent help 5 or 6 years, or even 10 or more years, before the revolution, he was considered a rich peasant. Or, the well-to-do middle peasants who once hired permanent help for 1 or 2 years but had not done so since then were classified as rich peasants. The even more serious instances occurred in a certain area in Hsing-kuo. They distinguished the landlords and rich peasants by the number of exploitations. Those guilty of three kinds of exploitations were called landlords, and those guilty of two kinds, rich peasants. For instance, if a peasant hired permanent help, collected rent, and lent out money, he was considered a landlord regardless

of the number of family members who labored. Then, the problem of "reactionary rich peasants" was very confused in many areas. One rich peasant in Wu-yang District who was also a merchant had 17 mouths to feed in the family. Because one member of his family joined the AB League 2 years ago and was killed, the comrades there insisted on confiscating his entire family assets. Similar instances were many in other areas. In regard to the rich peasants who were not guilty of very serious counter-revolutionary conduct before the uprising, such as "collecting 30 percent grain as rent" (Jui-chin), and who did not perform any counterrevolutionary activity in the several years since the uprising, the majority of the masses did not want to punish them; yet some of our comrades insisted on confiscating their assets. Actually, in regard to this kind of people we must use different strategies for consolidated areas and uncosolidated outlying areas. In the outlying areas, doubtlessly we must adopt a strict method and suppress all counterrevolutionary elements, including the rich peasants. In central areas, we must decide according to the situation. In regard to those who indulged in serious conterrevolutionary conduct before the uprising, or who continued in their counterrevolutionary activities after the uprising, naturally we must confiscate their assets, but otherwise we must not do so. For some households, we should confiscate only the assets belonging to the guilty party himself and those directly connected with his counterrevolutionary conduct, and leave the assets of the rest of the family intact. This is the only way to handle it correctly.

VII. The Worker-Peasant Procurators' Department Failed To Discharge Its Duties and Made Mistakes.

Many of our comrades in the worker-peasant procurators' department did not realize that the land investigation movement was the best opportunity to launch the ideological struggle, resist bureaucraticism, oppose corruption, decadence, and negative slowdown, and expel the class deviationists from the soviet, and they were very inadequate in performing such work. Many of them, in face of the violent class struggle, manifested their negative vacillation, bureaucraticism, and formalism. The chief of the Jui-chin city soviet worker-peasant procurators' section sheltered the chief of the city soviet judicial section who was guilty of grave corruption (appropriating over 1,000 yuan of public funds). The chief of Tu-t'ou District worker-peasant procurators' section failed to criticize or prosecute the district soviet chairman who neglected land investigation. In some areas, the worker-peasant procurators' department followed another erroneous directions in its prosecution movement. They considered love as decadence and taking things belonging to the landlords as corruption and prosecuted, or even tried in public, the culprits. Some areas dismissed those making minor mistakes from their posts. Instead of systematically launching self-criticism and ideological struggle, which involved strenuous work, they resorted to punishment in their place. Needless to say, those among the soviet work personnel committing long-term and serious errors must be firmly purged, but dismissing and punishing those making lesser errors were excessive. In regard to the class deviationists, generally only the classification was taken into consideration, not the work. As long as their background was bad, regardless of their long struggle history, or their

correct implementation of the Party and soviet lines and policies in the past or at present, they were considered class deviationists and dismissed. True, we must firmly purge the class deviationists. Those with undesirable classifications and inferior work performances (including landlords, rich peasants, negative slowdown, corruption, etc.) must doubtlessly be purged, but it would be excessive to handle the lesser ones likewise.

VIII. The Leadership Technique of the Land Investigation Struggle.

If we understand the task and the line, but do not have the Bolshevik technique of leading the mass struggle, the land investigation movement still cannot develop. At the beginning of this article we discussed the many good examples of leading the struggle in Jen-t'ien District and other areas, but in many other areas, numerous mistakes were made on this point. In some areas, they did not know how to employ all kinds of means to activate the struggle in the backward big villages where the landlords and rich peasants corgregated. In some big villages, only by first arresting the evil gentry and landlord elements, known to the masses as "big tigers," before the struggle could be launched, but our comrades failed to do so. In regard to distributing the confiscated goods to activate a mass struggle, which is an excellent method, many areas did not resort to it. In Wa-tzu township, T'ao-ching District, Jui-chin, the confiscated things were only distributed to the land investigation cadres and poor peasants' league members, not to anyone else, on ground that those who were not positive were not entitled. Some areas were very slow in distributing the confiscated things, holding them for as long as a month or more. The distribution of confiscated land was even slower. The comrades of many areas did not know that they must produce a nucleus leadership effect in the mass organizations and villages by mobilizing the departments of the soviet, the mass organizations, and the Party and league members. When the work could not be started, they would say that there was nothing one could do in this area anyway. In some areas, after the class investigation mass struggle had been started and many people came to report on the landlords and rich peasants and request investigation and confiscation, our comrades were unable to utilize the mass fervor, lead the struggle, and spread the class investigation work to the various villages. In some areas, after some investigation, the struggle fervor of the masses could not continue to rise and a situation of stagnation appeared. Our comrades were unable to stimulate the masses by all kinds of means in order to raise their enthusiasm until all feudal remnants were eliminated. In other areas, after the land investigation movement, when the struggle fervor of the masses flourished, our comrades were unable to organize and shift the fervor to another front. For instance, after the people received things or land, they should have, at the mass meetings or other favorable occasions, encouraged them to enlist in the Red Army, sell bonds, join the cooperative, devote their effort to fall harvesting and fall plowing, establish clubs and literacy classes, or develop night and elementary schools. They missed the best opportunities. When the higher level ordered such work to be done, they would then begin to propagandize and encourage. Such tailism leadership, dropping behind the struggle fervor of the masses, is most detrimental to revolutionary work.

In another aspect, there was, in many areas, the undesirable situation of a few persons working with brute force. We once stressed that we must oppose the indifference of the majority of the masses and the commandist work pattern, and that only by patient and arduous work to activate the masses and win them before we could get the support of the majority and attain the goal of eliminating the feudal remnants. Such mass work is the only safeguard to implementing the class line. At the beginning of the land investigation movement, we must propagandize extensively in all the villages, explaining to the masses that the land investigation movement was necessary, that land investigation was not land division, and that class investigation was not an investigation of the middle peasant, poor peasant, and farm laborer classes, and clarifying to them especially the distinctions among the landlords, rich peasants, and middle peasants. Village mass meetings must be held more than once, especially in the backward villages. Our propaganda must reach everyone of the revolutionary masses. To attain this goal, we must first explain clearly at the township soviet delegates meetings, labor unions, poor peasants' leagues, women laborers' and farm women delegates' meetings, and other mass organizations, and to all the positive elements, and propagandize through them to the masses. Class investigation must not be performed by only a few individuals, but by the majority. In regard to class classification, it must be passed not only at the poor peasants' league, the township soviet, and the district soviet, but also at the mass meetings of the village and hamlet of the party whose assets are to be confiscated, and the confiscation can only be carried out with the approval of the masses. When distributing things to the masses of the particular village and hamlet, it must be to the satisfaction of such masses. All these measures are for the purpose of winning the majority of the masses. The work personnel of the Party and the soviet must never forget the majority of the masses in any task at any time. We must turn toward the masses, which means the majority of the masses. Our work must penetrate the masses, which means penetrating the masses of the large and small villages, large and small towns. We must severely oppose the erroneous means of closed-door-ism and commandism with only a few individuals performing the work. Yet, our comrades in many areas did not do so. In many districts and townships in Jui-chin, they never even once discussed the classes (never analyzed the distinctions among landlords, rich peasants, and middle peasants) to the masses. In many areas in Jui-chin and other counties, they started investigating without propaganda. As a result, the landlords and rich peasants created rumors and deceived the middle peasants. They claimed that there were many landowners and rich peasants in the township or that several hundred landlords and rich peasants were to be investigated (Jui-chin); yet our comrades failed to use the means of "discussing classes" to break down the rumor. A landlord in Kuang-ch'ang said: "The land investigation movement means that the Central Government wants the debtors to repay their debts to the Central;" yet our comrades did not immediately expose such falsehood. In several townships in T'ao-ching District, besides not propagandizing, class investigation was performed only by the several members of the land investigation committee, and class classification did not go through the mass

meetings, nor the poor peasants' league. They said: "The masses are not reliable. They don't know how to analyze the classes. To pass the class classifications at the mass meeting will lead to disputes. It is more reliable for the land investigation committee to handle it." This theory is truly amazing! In several areas, confiscation of the property of landlords was done at night, not during day time, on the sole ground that the landlord might run away. In one area, for the mass meeting, they used the method of "mass meeting of the entire district." Less than 200 people showed up. Three men lectured in turns from morning to afternoon, not permitting the masses to rest or eat, on the grounds that they might run away. This barbarous method can be considered another amazing thing!

IX. Launch the Struggle between the Two Lines, Overcome One's Own Errors, and Strive for the Complete Success of the Land Investigation Movement.

Doubtlessly, land investigation has been launched extensively. Nevertheless, when the movement is progressing, and when we have made a correct assessment of the achievements and laid a foundation for its development, we must be alert and give attention to the obstacles in the movement. Only by launching the struggle between the two lines to eliminate such obstacles will we promote the faster progress of the movement. Launching anti-rightwing ideological struggles and opposing under-estimation of the serious significance of the movement, compromise with and capitulation to the landlords and rich peasants, and the tailist leadership of the mass struggle are the responsibilities of each and every communist party member. Meanwhile, all the Party members must be alerted to the danger of encroaching upon the middle peasants; we must "severely hit any attempt to encroach upon the interest of the middle peasants," because this is an extremely serious danger which has clearly manifested itself in the current land investigation work. The incorrect concepts concerning the rich peasants will also doubtlessly affect the middle peasants. All the commandist ways of brute force are most harmful to the alliance with the middle peasants. By sweeping aside all obstacles on the road of the land investigation movement with the firepower of the struggle between the two lines, the movement will advance in big strides, and its complete success will be fully guaranteed.

° "STRUGGLE," No 24, 29 August 1933

* "Collection of Reactionary Red Bandit Documents," Vol 3, 1935

* "On the Land Investigation Movement," Su-nan Hsin-hua Bookstore

* "Reference Material of the Revolutionary History of China's New Democracy," China Book Publishing Corporation, April 1951

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SMASHING THE FIFTH 'ENCIRCLEMENT AND SUPPRESSION' AND FULFILL SOVIET ECONOMIC CONSTRUCTION TASKS

Report at the Economic Construction Rally of the 17 Southern Counties, 12 August 1933

[Text] Comrades: This time we are holding two economic construction rallies--the 17 southern counties and the 11 northern counties. We have never before held a rally for economic construction. Today is the first time. The current situation is: The fourth enemy "encirclement and suppression" has been completely smashed by us, and the fifth "encirclement" is imminent. The great storm of world revolution and war is pressing in on us. The imperialist world war and the war against the Soviet Union are under insane preparation. Imperialism recklessly oppresses China. Having occupied four and a half of China's provinces, Japan is extending its bandit war toward Inner Mongolia. After the total failure of the fourth "encirclement and suppression," the Kuomintang is in the process of preparing a fifth one. The revolutionary struggles and revolutionary war of the whole of China are developing forcefully under a new situation. That we hold an economic construction rally at this time indicates what we wish to discuss and the purpose of our economic construction. This is the point which I wish to explain in my report today. This report is divided into two parts.

I. Smashing of the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression" and the New Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression"

1. I will first discuss the victories won by us in smashing the fourth "encirclement and suppression."

We wish to say that:

First, it was a large destruction of enemy troops.

The fourth "encirclement and suppression" was completely smashed. The Red Army in the central area, Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei, Szechwan, Hunan-west Hupeh, Hunan-Kiangsi, Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi, and Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi soviet

areas wiped out a total of over 15 divisions of enemy troops in the past year, a greater victory than the smashing of the enemy's third "encirclement and suppression." The armed forces of the enemy suffered a most severe setback. All the middle and lower echelon officers of the enemy army are in mortal fear of the Red Army and are afraid to fight it. Meanwhile, the vacillation of the soldiers of the White army and their sympathy for the revolution continue to grow.

Second, it is the strengthening and expansion of the Red Army.

The Red Army has become an invincible ironclad force. The change in its organization, the improvement in its military technique, and the stability in its politics have all made great progresses. In regard to its expansion, it has doubled from the past. We have built a large-scale combat army.

Third, it is the consolidation of the soviet areas.

During the fourth "encirclement and suppression" the class awareness of the worker-peasant masses and their fervor in supporting the revolutionary war were raised even higher. The intensification of the land investigation movement and the development of the workers' struggles have constituted serious blows on the remnant feudal forces in the soviet areas. The culture and education mass movement has made a further development. A new situation has unfolded in the economic construction movement. The work of the soviet has improved even more and its prestige in the masses has risen even higher. The soviet banner is reflected in the minds and eyes of the toiling masses in the entire nation.

The fourth is the expansion of soviet territory.

This includes the establishment of the central area and the provinces of Fukien and Kiangsi, and the opening of several hundred li of new soviet areas in Szechwan. Comrade Ho Lung [6320 7893] of Hunan-Hupeh-Szechwan has developed a large soviet area there.

The fifth is the great development of the revolutionary movement in areas controlled by the Kuomintang.

As Japanese imperialism forcefully occupied four and one-half provinces belonging to China and the Kuomintang surrendered to capitalism and formed a traitorous agreement with Japan, the movement of the broad masses against imperialism and the Kuomintang has spread on a large scale. As a result of the oppression and massacre practiced by the Kuomintang, the bankruptcy of agriculture, industry, and commerce, and the aggravated cruel exploitation of workers and peasants by the capitalists and landlords, the strikes of the workers, the struggles of the peasants, and the resistance of the calamity stricken masses against taxes and levies, and the rural riots and guerrilla warfare have greatly expanded.

2. Comrades, we have won great victories, but how were such victories won?

I feel that you all know that they were won because of (1) the courage and skill of the Red Army, (2) the revolutionary positivity of the broad worker-peasant masses in the soviet and White areas, and (3) the leadership of the communist party's correct line. Only with these three important factors did we smash the enemy's fourth "encirclement and suppression" and win the great victories discussed above. These victories constituted a tremendous blow to the imperialist Kuomintang. On the one hand, the revolutionary strengths have increased even more, advancing powerfully like an iron torrent. On the other hand, the counterrevolutionary strengths have weakened more than ever before. Feeling the pressure of imminent destruction, the enemies have no choice but to prepare an attack of an even larger scale than before, attempting to salvage their dying control.

3. Therefore, the enemies are insanely planning their fifth "encirclment and suppression"

To arrange for the "encirclement and suppression" this time, the Kuomintang has to submit even further to imperialism. After selling out Manchuria, Jehol, and North China, Chiang Kai-shek entered into secret treaties containing many traitorous provisions with the imperialist countries of America, England, France, Italy and Germany, and borrowed large quantities of money and arms. Moving the troops, training the recruits, and approaching the factional warlords (but the conflicts and wars among the warlords are inevitable), he is actively preparing the fifth "encirclement and suppression" of the soviet and the Red Army.

II. Smashing of the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" and the Soviet Economic Construction Tasks

1. Seize all favorable factors to smash the enemies' fifth "encirclement and suppression"

China's revolution is now at a critical point. In other words, will imperialism destroy China? Or will the revolutionary war destroy the Kuomintang, expel imperialism, and turn the nation into a soviet China? The imperialist Kuomintang selected the path of destroying China. They have already adopted the method of a fifth "encirclement and suppression." They wish to divide China up like a melon or place it under joint control by means of the fifth "encirclement and suppression," turning China's millions into slaves of imperialism, into Indians and Koreans, and China itself into an imperialist colony. This is a great danger. It hangs over our head and threatens us. Comrades, can we permit them to do so? No, we must fight for the way out through revolution. Our way out is to subjugate the imperialist Kuomintang, sever China from its control, and make it into a new free and independent worker-peasant-soldier soviet republic. The critical point is to thoroughly smash their fifth "encirclement and suppression" and strive for victory. We must still rely on the Red Army, on the masses, and on the firm implementation of the communist party's line of attack.

Nevertheless, we must concentrate our effort to seize all factors even more favorable than ever before in order to smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression" and win even greater victories.

To gain victory this time, we must perform much work. We must vigorously expand the Red Army and train 200,000 new soldiers for the front line in 6 to 10 months in the central and the several soviet areas nearby, so that the Red Army groups on all fronts are even stronger and able to perform the task of hitting Chiang Kai-shek's several hundred thousand White troops. We must launch an extensive and intensive land investigation movement and vigorously develop the rural class struggle, in order to thoroughly solve the land issue, eliminate the remnant feudal forces, and increase the eagerness and joy of the broad peasant masses in joining the revolutionary war. We must generally introduce the labor law, expand the struggles of the workers, and further raise the positivity of the worker masses toward the revolutionary war. We must, through the election movement this year, reelect the soviet of all levels, from the township to the central, so that the entire soviet political power will be strong like iron and able to shoulder the great mission of organizing and directing the revolutionary more successfully. We must give attention to the work on the frontier and in the newly developed areas and make the revolutionary war progress rapidly toward the pivotal cities. We must launch mass cultural movements and improve the cultural and political levels of the masses, so that the revolutionary war will gain an effective spiritual tool. Besides the foregoing, there is yet another extremely important task which we wish to stress in our present discussions--the work in the economic construction aspect. We must vigorously launch the economic construction movement and consider economic construction one of the most fundamental factors to smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression"--an indispensable material factor in the revolutionary war. The holding of the economic construction rally this time is for this purpose.

2. The great economic construction tasks are spread before us!

The intensive development of the revolutionary war makes it necessary for the soviet to mobilize the masses, immediately launch a movement on the economic front, and proceed with the required economic construction tasks. Why? For winning the victory of the revolutionary war, for acquiring the material factors to guarantee the supplies of the Red Army, for improving the life of the masses in order to stimulate even higher their positivity in joining the revolutionary war, for organizing the broad masses on the economic front and educating them in order to gain new mass strengths for the war, for consolidating the worker-peasant alliance by means of economic construction, stabilizing the soviet political power under the worker-peasant dictatorship, reenforcing the proletarial leadership, and striving for the thorough victory of the entire revolutionary war, primarily the smashing of the fifth "encirclement and suppression," the economic construction work has to be undertaken. Each and every soviet work personnel must immediately realize this point. In the past, some comrades

felt that, as the revolutionary war alone had kept them busy, how would they have the spare time to perform economic construction work? Anyone discussing economic construction was condemened as rightwing. Moreover, they also felt that it was impossible to undertake economic construction in the environment of the revolutionary war, that it must be postponed until the final victory of the war, that it could only be promoted in an evironment of peace and tranquillity, and that it was out of the question at the present time. Comrades, are such opinions correct? No. Those comrades making such statements failed to realize that if economic construction is not undertaken, there will be no complete assurance of the material factors of the war and we will be weary in a long-term war. The enemies are enforcing an economic blockade, and the unconscionable reactionary merchants are sabotaging our currency and commerce. If we do not overcome such difficulties, will the revolutionary war not suffer a great damage? The blockade by the enemies and the manipulations by the unconscionable merchants have greatly hindered our trade with the outside. The cost of salt is very high, and sometimes not even available. Grain is cheap in the fall, but soars in the spring and summer. Such conditions produce an immediate impact on the life of the workers and peasants and block the further improvement of their living standards. Will this situation not affect the basic line of the worker-peasant alliance? If the workers and peasants are dissatisfied with their life, will it not affect our effort to expand the Red Army and mobilize the masses to join the revolutionary war? Therefore, the idea that the soviet economic construction should not be undertaken in a revolutionary environment is extremely fallacious. Those holding this view often express their desire to subordinate everything to the war, not realizing that blotting out economic construction actually weakens and affects the war, not subordinating it to the war. Precisely for the purpose of subordinating economic construction to the war, we must undertake all kinds of necessary economic construction work, because it is an extremely necessary and indispensable factor of the revolutionary war. Only when the work on the economic front is launched and the economy of the soviet areas developed will the revolutionary war acquire an appropriate material foundation, making it possible for us to launch more successful military attacks and deal effective blows on the enemy "encirclement and suppression." Only then will we have the strength to expand 1 million Red troops and extend our front several thousand li away. Only then will the iron troops of our Red Army be able to hit Nan-ch'ang and Chiu-chiang without a backward glance. Only then will our Red Army soldiers be relieved of the chore of foraging for their own provisons and concentrate on fighting the enemies. Only then will our broad masses be appropriately satisfied with their living and become more eager to serve in the Red Army and perform all kinds of revolutionary work. Only by so doing can it be called subordination to the war; otherwise, it will not be subordination to the war, but the absence of the one determining factor of the war. This opportunist viewpoint is completely wrong. Among the soviet work personnel in all areas, many still do not understand the importance of economic construction in the revolutionary war. They have not truly placed the economic construction tasks on their shoulders. Therefore,

they have not devoted all their energy to implement the appeal of the Central Government or exerted a hundred-fold effort to develop the movement on the economic front. Take the following instances: Many government presidiums do not stress the discussion of economic construction. The organization of the national economy department is still not sound. Some of them have not even found a department chief, or they assign the unqualified to perform the work of the national economy department. The development of the cooperative is still in the initial stage. The work of balancing grain supplies is only performed in a part of the areas. The various areas have not propagandized the task of economic construction to the broad masses. This is extremely important. The fervor to struggle for economic construction has not been created in the masses. All such conditions are the result of failing to recognize the importance of economic construction. At our rally this time, we must first severely oppose the erroneous viewpoints; we must eliminate the erroneous opportunist viewpoint of overlooking economic construction. Through discussion of the comrades at the rally and their transmission to the people when they return to their homes, we want to create a fervor among the entire soviet work personnel and the broad worker-peasant masses, and clarify to them the position of economic construction in the revolutionary war, so that they will devote their unanimous effort to selling 3 to 6 million yuan of economic construction bonds. We want to develop the cooperative movement and recruit 1 million people to join the cooperatives, half for the consumer cooperatives and the other half for the grain cooperatives. We want to build granaries generally and establish famine preparation storehouses. Every county seat must organize a grain balancing branch bureau, and crucial areas and markets must organize grain balancing sub-bureaus, so that, on the one hand, the shortages and surpluses in the soviet areas are balanced and the prices made more uniform and, on the other hand, the surplus grain of soviet areas is shipped out according to plans (not unrestricted) and sold at a high price, without the intermediate exploitation of the unconscionable merchants. With the cash acquired from the White areas, we can purchase the necessities. We want to vigorously develop agricultural and handicraft production, so that the harvest next year will be even greater and such special products as tungsten, lumber, camphor, paper, tobacco, summer cloth, mushrooms, and peppermint oil will resume their past output and be shipped out to the White areas in volume. Tungsten, for instance, is an industry with a good future, because it is needed by the military industry of imperialism. The export of tungsten has great prospects. We must have several thousand or tens of thousands of people to mine tungsten. For the development of agricultural production, the manufacture of farm tools and lime is extremely necessary. In regard to the volumes of import and export trade, the largest export from the soviet areas is grain. The central soviet area exports approximately 3 million tan of grain a year. With our 3 million people, the export of 1 tan of grain per capita to exchange for necessities is about the minimum. Who is handling the transactions? They are exclusively handled by the merchants. The merchants indulge in extremely cruel exploitations. Last year, the peasants of Wan-t'ai sold the grain to the merchants at 0.50 yuan per tan, and the latter sold it in Kan-chou at 4.00 yuan, an 8-fold profit. Take another instance:

Our 3 million people consume almost 9 million yuan of salt and 6 million yuan of fabric per year. Needless to say, the import of the 15 million yuan's worth of salt and fabric, so far, has been monopolized by the merchants, and our soviet has never interfered. The merchants' exploitation is unbelievable. They buy salt in Chia-ying-chou, for instance, at 7 catties per yuan, bring it into the soviet area and sell at 12 ounces per yuan. Isn't such exploitation alarming? The soviet can no longer remain on the sideline. We must take action from now on. Our foreign trade bureau must devote a great effort in this aspect. How do we plan to spend the proceeds of the 3 million economic construction bonds? We plan to use the money in the following way: 1 million to be allocated to the Red Army for its war expenditures; 2 million to be loaned to the cooperatives, grain balancing bureaus, and foreign trade bureaus as their capital. A small part will be used to develop production and a large part to develop import and export trade. In addition to developing production, our goal is to sell our export high while buying salt and fabric low from the White areas for distribution to the masses of the soviet areas. We will thus break down the enemy blockade, resist exploitation by the merchants, develop the economy of the soviet areas daily, greatly improve the life of the masses, greatly increase the revenue of the soviet, and solidly build the material foundation of the revolutionary war. However, we inquire whether such economic construction work can be performed in a violent environment of war? I think only the opportunists will say that it is impossible. We are not saying that we want to build a railway to Lung-yen, or a highway to Kan-chou; we are not saying that grain export or the 15 million yuan salt and fabric import will be exclusively handled by the government. We do not say so, nor do we do so. What we say and do is that we will temporarily use the 2 million capital, plus stocks of the people, to develop agricultural and handicraft production, export grain and tungsten, and import salt and fabric. Are these things which should not, or cannot, be done? We have already begun to do the work and made some achievement. The fall harvest this year shows an increase of 20 to 25 percent over last year, surpassing our estimate of a 20 percent increase. In handicraft industry, the production of farm tools and lime is in the process of recovery. The production of tungsten has begun to recover. The production of tobacco, paper, and lumber is showing some life. Much achievement has been made in grain balancing. Some work has been done on the import of salt. Such initial achievements constitute the foundation of our belief in the future. The opportunists say that economic construction can only be undertaken after the conclusion of the war and that it is impossible now. Are they not apparently wrong?

Therefore, it is clear that, at the present stage, economic construction revolves around the central task of the revolutionary war. The revolutionary war is the current central task, and economic construction is for its purpose, revolves around it, is subservient to it, and not a center in itself. The idea that economic construction is the central task among all current tasks is likewise an opportunist viewpoint. The revolutionary war requires that the soviet undertake the necessary economic construction. To pursue economic construction apart from the revolutionary

war is erroneous. Only after the conclusion of the domestic war can, and should, economic construction be considered the center of all tasks. To do economic construction work which should be undertaken in peacetime in the future and not at present, and which is feasible in a future environment and infeasible under the present environment during the domestic war, is blind thinking. The work today consists of items urgently needed by the war, and each item is for the war, not a peacetime undertaking apart from the war. Any comrade entertaining such an erroneous view must be immediately corrected.

3. The issue of the leadership pattern in economic construction.

Without a correct leadership style and work method, it will be impossible to launch rapidly the movement on the economic front. This is also an important problem and must be solved at this rally, because the comrades, upon returning to their homes, must immediately take action and direct the many personnel of the provincial, county, and area soviets to work together, especially the comrades of the basic level and town soviets, and the cooperatives, grain bureaus, trade bureaus, and purchasing offices. They are in charge of the practical work, and they must personally mobilize the masses to organize cooperatives, balance and transport grain, and manage the import and export trade. If their leadership pattern is incorrect, and if they cannot adopt all kinds of correct and effective methods in their work, it will immediately affect the result of the work and make it impossible for us to gain the support of the broad masses of our slogans and tasks and to complete the entire economic construction plan of the Central Government in the fall and winter of this year and the spring and summer of next year. Therefore, I wish to clarify the following points to the comrades:

The first is to mobilize the masses organizationally. Here, the presidiums of all levels of the government and the comrades of the national economy and finance departments must place the issuance of bonds, development of cooperatives, balancing of grain, promotion of production, and expansion of trade on the daily agenda for discussion, solution, supervision, and inspection. Next, mass organizations must be activated, mainly labor unions and poor peasants' leagues. The labor union must be made to mobilize its membership masses to join the economic front. The poor peasants' league is an effective organization for mobilizing the masses to develop cooperatives and buy bonds. The distinct and township soviets must vigorously render them guidance. Next, propaganda of economic construction must be done through mass meetings with the villages or hamlets as the units. In the propaganda, the relationship between the revolutionary war and economic construction must be made very clear, and improving the people's life and increasing the struggle strength explained in a very practical manner. Appeals must be made to the masses to buy 3 million yuan of bonds, develop cooperatives of 1 million people, balance the grain supply, stabilize the money market, and promote trade. They must be urged to struggle for these slogans, and their fervor must be raised. If we do not thus organizationally mobilize and propagandize to the masses, i.e., if the

presidiums and the national economy and finance departments do not devote their effort to the discussion and examination of economic construction work, give a tention to activating the mass organizations, and propagandize by means of mass meetings, it will be impossible to attain our goal.

Second, the pattern of mobilizing the masses must not be bureaucratic. The bureaucratic leadership pattern must not exist in any kind of revolutionary work, and this applies to economic construction. The bureaucratic leadership pattern, a most undesirable thing, must be thrown onto the trash pile. No comrade likes it. What the comrades prefer should be the Bolshevik work pattern, i.e., the mass pattern--a pattern which leads to the closest association with the masses and is welcomed by the workers and peasants. The manifestations of bureaucraticism are as follows: One is the indifferent or superficial opportunist negative slowdown, which is the worst phenomenon. We must wage a strict struggle against it. Another is commandism. On the surface, there is no slowdown, and there is a semblance of great effort in the work. Actually, developing the cooperative by commandism will not succeed. Temporarily there may be a development in form, but it cannot be consolidated. Confidence in the cooperative will be lost and its development blocked. Selling bonds by commandism is another instance. Regardless of whether the masses have understood or whether they can buy that much, bonds are sold arbitrarily according to the desired figures. As a result, the masses are displeased, and the bonds cannot be sold successfully. We must never follow commandism. We must propagandize vigorously and convince the masses by persuation. We must develop the cooperative, sell bonds, and perform all economic mobilization work according to the concrete circumstances and the concrete manifestations of the sentiment of the masses.

Third, the economic construction movement requires large numbers of working cadres. It is not an undertaking of tens or hundreds of people, but thousands and tens of thousands. They must be organized, trained, and sent to the battlefield of economic construction. They are the commanders on the economic front, while the broad masses are the soldiers. The opportunist often laments the lack of cadres. Comrades, is there really lack of cadres? Innumerable cadres have emerged from the masses tempered in the land struggle, economic struggle, and revolutionary war involving millions in the soviet areas. How can one say there is a lack of cadres? If the opportunist viewpoint is discarded, one will see the cadres standing in front of him.

Finally, I wish to say that economic construction is not only inseparable from the general task of war, but also from other tasks. Only by an intensive land investigation movement will the rural class struggle be further developed, the positivity of the peasants increased, and the broad peasants rapidly led to the battlefield of economic construction. Only by firmly implementing the labor law will the life of the worker-peasant masses be improved, the worker masses rapidly recruited for economic construction enterprises, and their leadership effect on the peasants

strengthened. Only by the correct guidance of the election movement and the prosecution movement, which is launched with the land investigation movement, will the soviet organs become even sounder and the soviet even more effective in guiding the revolutionary war, the work of all aspects, and economic work. Improving the political and cultural levels of the masses is also of extreme importance in developing the national economy. There is no need for me to stress the fact that the work of expanding the Red Army cannot be ignored even for one day. You all know that, without the victories of the Red Army, the economic blockade would have been even more severe. On the other hand, the development of the national economy and the improvement of the people's life will doubtlessly help expand the Red Army, so that the broad masses will march to the frontline in large groups. In general, if we acquire all the factors discussed above, and if we also acquire the new and extremely important factor of economic construction, and subordinate all the factors to war, then, the victory of the fifth "encirclement and suppression" campaign will doubtlessly be ours. (Enthusiastic applause).

° "RED CHINA," No 102, 16 August 1933

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