

JPRS 71911-3

10 October 1978

COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG
(1917 - 1949)
VOLUME 4

CHINA

DISTRIBUTION STATEMENT A
Approved for Public Release
Distribution Unlimited

Reproduced From
Best Available Copy

20000412 167

U. S. JOINT PUBLICATIONS RESEARCH SERVICE

REPRODUCED BY
NATIONAL TECHNICAL
INFORMATION SERVICE
U. S. DEPARTMENT OF COMMERCE
SPRINGFIELD, VA. 22161

NOTE

JPRS publications contain information primarily from foreign newspapers, periodicals and books, but also from news agency transmissions and broadcasts. Materials from foreign-language sources are translated; those from English-language sources are transcribed or reprinted, with the original phrasing and other characteristics retained.

Headlines, editorial reports, and material enclosed in brackets [] are supplied by JPRS. Processing indicators such as [Text] or [Excerpt] in the first line of each item, or following the last line of a brief, indicate how the original information was processed. Where no processing indicator is given, the information was summarized or extracted.

Unfamiliar names rendered phonetically or transliterated are enclosed in parentheses. Words or names preceded by a question mark and enclosed in parentheses were not clear in the original but have been supplied as appropriate in context. Other unattributed parenthetical notes within the body of an item originate with the source. Times within items are as given by source.

The contents of this publication in no way represent the policies, views or attitudes of the U.S. Government.

PROCUREMENT OF PUBLICATIONS

JPRS publications may be ordered from the National Technical Information Service, Springfield, Virginia 22151. In ordering, it is recommended that the JPRS number, title, date and author, if applicable, of publication be cited.

Current JPRS publications are announced in Government Reports Announcements issued semi-monthly by the National Technical Information Service, and are listed in the Monthly Catalog of U.S. Government Publications issued by the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402.

Indexes to this report (by keyword, author, personal names, title and series) are available through Bell & Howell, Old Mansfield Road, Wooster, Ohio, 44691.

Correspondence pertaining to matters other than procurement may be addressed to Joint Publications Research Service, 1000 North Glebe Road, Arlington, Virginia 22201.

10 October 1978

COLLECTED WORKS OF MAO TSE-TUNG
(1917 - 1949)

VOLUME 4

Hong Kong MAO TSE-TUNG CHI in Chinese, Vols 1-10, Oct 1975

CONTENTS	PAGE
VOLUME 4 (pp 9-65, 67-217, 219-357, 359-397)	
Carry Out the Land Investigation Movement (1 September 1933).....	1
This Year's Election (6 September 1933).....	4
Declaration to the Toiling Worker-Peasant Masses of the World (6 September 1933).....	12
On Education Work (15 September 1933).....	16
Provisional Agricultural Tax Law (17 September 1933).....	18
Correct Commandism in Selling Bonds (23 September 1933).....	21
Order No 49 of the People's Committee of the Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China (10 October 1933).....	23
Decision on Certain Issues in the Land Struggle (10 October 1933).....	25
Resolution on the Repromulgation of the Labor Law (15 October 1933).....	42
Labor Law of the Chinese Soviet Republic (15 October 1933).....	44
Regulations Governing Punishments for Violating Labor Law (15 October 1933).....	65

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Emergency Mobilization Order Issued by the Central Government for Smashing the Fifth 'Encirclement and Suppression Campaign' (18 October 1933).	67
Work Report of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the Electorate on the Second Anniversary of Its Establishment (24 October 1933).....	71
Supplementary Regulations to Provisional Agricultural Tax Law (26 October 1933).....	78
Open Letter to the People of the Whole Country on 'Direct Negotiations Between China and Japan' (11 November 1933).....	83
On the AWOL Problem in the Red Army (15 December 1933).....	86
On Punishments for Corruption and Waste (15 December 1933).....	88
Investigation in Ch'ang-kang Township (15 December 1933).....	90
Investigation in Ts'ai-hsi Township (1933).....	124
Mass Work in the Land Investigation Movement (1933).....	142
First Cable Message from Provisional Central Government to Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and the 19th Route Army (20 December 1933).....	148
Decisions of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic (January 1934).....	149
Second Cable Message from the Provisional Central Government to Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and People's Revolutionary Army (13 January 1934).....	150
Inscriptions on Red Army Martyr Monument (15 January 1934).....	152
A Solemn Opening Speech Outline of Chairman Mao's Speech (At the Second All-Soviet Congress) (22 January 1934).....	153
Report of the Central Executive Committee and the People's Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the Second All-Soviet Congress (25 January 1934).....	155
Conclusions of Report of Central Executive Committee (27 January 1934)..	207
Closing Speech (1 February 1934).....	215
On Election at Second All-Soviet Congress and the Central Executive Committee and People's Committee (3 February 1934).....	217

CONTENTS (Continued)	Page
Declaration on the Fukien Incident (11 February 1934).....	221
Organic Law of the Central Soviet (17 February 1934).....	225
Provisional Regulations Governing the Utilization of Auxiliary Labor (20 February 1934).....	235
Judicial Procedure (8 April 1934).....	240
Regulations Governing Punishments of Counterrevolutionaries (8 April 1934).....	243
Marriage Law (8 April 1934).....	250
How Do Township Soviet Governments Work? (10 April 1934).....	254
Declaration of Central Government on 1 May Labor Day (April 1934).....	268
Comrade Mao Tse-tung on Schemes of Japanese Imperialism (April 1934)..	270
Declaration of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army on Its Intention To March North To Combat Japanese Aggression (15 July 1934).....	273
Comrade Mao Tse-tung Talks on Current Situation and the Anti-Japanese Vanguard Unit of the Red Army (July 1934).....	278
Order of Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic (15 August 1934).....	283
Six-Point Program Proposed by Chu Teh and Mao Tse-tung (1934).....	285
Final Decision of CCP Central Committee Against Enemy's Fifth Encirclement (8 January 1935).....	287

CARRY OUT THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

Announcement No. 27 of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China

1 September 1933

[Text] In order to eliminate the remnant feudal forces, the Central Government promulgated the Land Investigation Directive and called a mass meeting in June, appealing to the masses to rise up and firmly launch the land investigation movement in all rural areas. In the past several years, great achievements have been made. Nevertheless, many areas have not launched the movement. In some areas, people either protect the landlords and rich peasants, encroach upon the middle peasants, fail to hold mass meetings or make propaganda, confiscate without the approval of the masses, fail to distribute the confiscated articles to the masses, or fail to be firm in suppressing the counterrevolution. These are grave errors. In order to eliminate the feudal remnants promptly and enable the middle and poor peasants and the worker masses to receive all the benefits of the land revolution, the Central Government now makes this announcement to the governments of all areas and the broad worker-peasant masses, asking all of them to rise up and support the order of the Central Government and, under the following methods, pursue a firm class struggle and strive for the complete success of the land investigation movement.

- (1) The governments and land investigation committees of all areas must closely tackle the leadership of the land investigation and activate the labor unions, poor peasants' leagues and all mass organizations to soundly prosecute the land investigation movement. They must first make extensive propaganda to the masses, so that everyone understands the significance of the movement and personally takes part in the land and class investigations.
- (2) Land investigation is not land division. And class investigation is not an investigation of the middle peasants, poor peasants and farm laborers. Therefore, it must not be carried out household by household, farm by farm, or by staking, but by activating all the revolutionary masses and concentrating on investigating the landlords and rich peasants.

(3) Because the poor peasants' league is the central force of the land investigation movement, it must be vigorously developed. Any and every poor peasant may join the league without requirement of sponsorship. All rural workers should join it so that they will lead the land investigation struggle. The middle peasants may attend the meetings of the poor peasants' league as observers.

(4) The interests of the middle peasants absolutely must not be encroached upon. The middle peasants must not be mistaken for rich peasants. In regard to some well-to-do middle peasant elements, although they might have been guilty of some slight exploitation in the past, they must not be regarded as rich peasants. All the middle peasant masses must rally around the poor peasants and together attack the landlords and rich peasants.

(5) The rich peasants rely on their own labor and exploitation for their livelihood. Therefore, they can only be allocated inferior land, and they must not be regarded as middle peasants. Nor must they be regarded as landlords. Confiscation of all their assets is wrong.

(6) The landlords perform either no, or only incidental, labor. They belong to the feudal exploiting class, and all their land and assets must be confiscated. The able-bodied among them must be organized into a labor team, given training and made to take part in state or local labor work.

(7) After confiscation, the assets of the landlord class, except cash, must be promptly distributed to the impoverished masses of the particular village. Besides reserving the public enterprise field, the confiscated land must be promptly divided among the masses.

(8) In regard to the landlord and rich peasant elements and those guilty of corruption and decadence, negative slowdown, commandism and coercion and sheltering the landlord and rich peasants who have infiltrated the soviet, the worker-peasant masses must, under the leadership of the worker-peasant procurators' department, struggle against them, rectifying those committing minor mistakes and purging those guilty of grave errors, in order to consolidate the soviet political power.

(9) All those participating in counterrevolutionary activities must receive severe suppression and those guilty of major crimes must be executed by shooting. The worker-peasant masses must successfully coordinate with the security bureau and judicial department of the soviet and thoroughly eliminate the counterrevolution.

(10) The work of the land investigation movement should be concretely coordinated with the expansion of the Red Army, reinforcement of the Red Guard and Young Pioneers, sale of economic construction bonds, development of the cooperative, promotion of agriculture and industry, development of import and export trade, total enforcement of the labor law, development of the Lenin school and literacy movement, repair of bridges and roads and launching of the Soviet election movement. All the broad worker-peasant masses

must, under the leadership of the local soviet and with one mind and a unanimous effort, perform all necessary tasks, in order to smash promptly the fifth "encirclement and suppression" of the imperialist Kuomintang and strive for the victory of the revolution throughout the whole of China.

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

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

1 September 1933

- ° "Announcement No. 27 of the Provisional Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China"

6080

CSO: 4005

THIS YEAR'S ELECTION

Report at the Election Movement Meeting of the 18 Southern Counties

6 September 1933

[Text] Comrades, the election meeting of the 18 northern counties has been held. Today, we hold the election meeting of the 18 southern counties. Comrades, we hold elections every year. Is there any difference between the election this year and that of the last? Yes, there is a great difference. The election this year will result in a more consolidated Soviet--the most important class weapon. We will use this weapon to further improve the welfare of the masses, smash the enemy's new "encirclement and suppression," resist the imperialist policy of dividing up China like a melon and expand the soviet movement throughout the nation. Comrades, this is the significance of the election this year. My report is to explain this significance. I will discuss it in several sections.

(1) This year's election is at a time when we have smashed the enemy's fourth "encirclement and suppression" and continue to strive for victory over its fifth "encirclement and suppression."

From last year until the time of the victory of the battle of Tung-huang-p'o, the fourth enemy "encirclement and suppression" was completely smashed. We have expanded the Red Army, consolidated and developed the Soviet areas and led and helped the nationwide great revolutionary struggles against imperialism, the Kuomintang and the landlords and capitalists. The victories of the revolution have been greater than any previous year. What about the counter-revolution? They are weaker than ever before. The counterrevolution, however, is still waging a desperate struggle, especially imperialism. Confronted by imminent world revolution and war, the imperialists are desperately invading China. Japan has already established Manchukuo under its artillery and plans to form a nation of Mongolia. England wants to set up a nation of Tibet in west China. France invades Yunnan and Kweichow. America hopes to divide up the Yangtze provinces. All these imperialists are directing their running dog, the Kuomintang, to turn China into a colony, and the imperialist Kuomintang is carrying out its fifth large-scale "encirclement and suppression" against us. Our current task is to smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression" with a gigantic effort and resist the imperialist division of China.

Revolution and war of a larger scale are spread before our eyes. The Soviet under the leadership of the Communist Party is the organizer and leader of the revolution and war. The Soviet election this year is at the time of smashing the fifth "encirclement and suppression." We must elect a powerful Soviet to organize and guide the war. This is the momentous significance of this year's election. This is also the year when the Second All-Soviet Congress will be convened, and a new Central Government, the organizer and leader of the revolution and war on a national scale, elected. To enable the Second All-Soviet Congress to shoulder its great historical mission, the election this year cannot be regarded as an ordinary one.

(2) In order to understand the importance of the election, we must explain the functions of the soviet.

There are two aspects in the functions of the Soviet, which is a worker-peasant democratic dictatorship, and both aspects are completely contrary to the government of the old ruling class. First, the Soviet of worker-peasant democratic dictatorship is a weapon to hit the counterrevolution. It eliminates the external counterrevolution by means of war--our resistance to the enemy "encirclement and suppression" in the past and at present, our victorious attacks, and our task to prosecute a revolutionary war against all the counter-revolutionary forces in the nation. Meanwhile, the Soviet suppresses the internal counterrevolution by means of the court--our handling, in the past and at present, of the AB League, the Reorganization Faction, the Social Democratic Party, the Trotskyites and all the landlords and capitalists in the soviet areas. The moment they perform any counterrevolutionary activity, we immediately suppress them. The revolutionary class--the toiling worker-peasant masses--handles internal and external counterrevolution with the Soviet as the weapon. This is the first function of the Soviet. Only when all the counterrevolutions are overcome will our class become the ruling class and our political power the ruling political power. As you can all see, we are in control today because we have overcome innumerable enemy attacks and suppressed the counterrevolutionary activities all along.

Now we will discuss the second function. The Soviet of worker-peasant democratic dictatorship is a tool for the masses to manage their own lives. The lives of our worker-peasant masses were entirely managed by the landlords and bourgeoisie in the past. Because they possessed political power, they enjoyed freedom, while withholding freedom from us. The peasants had no land. The workers had no labor law for their protection. What about today? The peasants have land, and the workers enjoy the protection of the labor law. Our own political power gives us freedom, and we promote all kinds of necessary construction under our own political power. We completely manage our own lives. We are truly free and equal, without interference from any landlord or capitalist, while we enforce dictatorship over the landlords and capitalists, excluding them from participation in our political power. We formulate all kinds of laws to control them, giving them no political freedom at all. This is the function of the Soviet in the second aspect.

All revolutionary struggles in the world are for the purpose of seizing political power and consolidating it, while the desperate struggle of the counterrevolutionaries against the revolutionary forces is solely for the purpose of defending their political power. The worker-peasant masses in the Soviet areas have already seized political power. We must defend and develop it so that it can fulfill the momentous functions of hitting internal and external counterrevolutionary forces and improving the living condition and welfare of the workers and peasants. We must elect large groups of the most advanced and most positive elements, with the greatest awareness, into the Soviet, and eliminate unsatisfactory elements among the existing personnel. This is important.

Many people do not understand clearly the solemn significance of political power and elections. If they do not understand the functions of the Soviet, they will not participate in the election in a positive manner. When the Soviet personnel do not understand them, they will not guide the election successfully. Comrades, the election will soon be held. To spread the effect of the Soviet and the election among the masses, Soviet personnel must first understand it clearly. Only then will the election this year be successful. Only then will we mobilize unanimously and struggle for the building of a powerful Soviet of worker-peasant democratic dictatorship!

(3) There are the favorable conditions in the election this year.

We are at the most critical point of the revolution and war, while the effect of the Soviet and its election is momentous. Can the task be accomplished in the election this year? Our answer is, Yes, because we have many favorable conditions. First, although the scale of the fifth enemy "encirclement and suppression" is very large, we already have initial successes. In the past 2 months, we won three successive big battles. We captured Lien-deleted and defeated the 19th Route Army in the first battle. We took Wu-chiang and routed the 80th Division in the second battle. We laid siege to Yen-p'ing and repelled enemy reenforcements in the third battle. Over 6,000 weapons were captured. We will hold the election during the great victories of the Red Army.

Second, the election this year will cover a wider area because we have greatly expanded the Soviet territory by smashing the fourth "encirclement and suppression." We will hold elections this year in 10 soviet provinces--Kiangsi, Fukien, Kwangtung-Kiangsi, Fukien-Kiangsi, Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi, Hunan-Kiangsi, Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi, Hupeh-Honan-Anhwei, Hunan-Hupeh-deleted and Szechwan. The scale of the election will be bigger.

Third, in many Soviet provinces, the rural urban class struggles are more intensive this year than last year. Many achievements have been made in the land investigation movement, the enforcement of the labor law, culture and education and economic construction. Especially in the land investigation movement, many hidden landlords and rich peasants have been uncovered and their right to vote deprived. Undesirables concerned in the Soviet organs

have been purged in large groups. All these constitute the foundation for a more successful election this year.

Fourth, we possess experiences of past elections, especially last year, which are valuable lessons for the election this year. We must continue with the good achievements of past elections and bring them to a greater light, but we must avoid and discard the defects and errors and guard against their repetition. The Central Government has made a correct summary in its directive and clarified the achievements and the errors of past elections. The comrades must study them carefully, and each and every Soviet work comrade must do likewise and explain them clearly to the voting masses. Only when the lessons of the past are correctly understood will the election this time become even more successful.

(4) How to guide the election this year.

Comrades, as we know that the election this year is at the time when the imperialist Kuomintang divides up China and carries out the fifth "encirclement and suppression," the political task of the election has been greatly increased. Because we also know the great revolutionary effect of the Soviet, while the election will be held under many favorable conditions, we must properly guide the election and strive for its complete success with a mighty effort. In regard to the principle and methods of election, the Central Government has made them very clear in the Election Law and Election Directive, and I will not repeat them item by item. Today, I wish only to bring several important issues to the comrades' attention. These are the propaganda and agitation of the election, basic election, voter registration, work reporting, election units, candidates' lists, voters' mass meeting and the duties of the election committee. Let me present a simple explanation of these issues, because they are extremely important and require the attention of each and every comrade.

The first issue concerns the propaganda of the election. For the election this year, we must perform the most extensive propaganda in the 3 weeks before the election, explaining the relationship between smashing the fifth "encirclement and suppression" and resisting the imperialist division of China and the election this year, the revolutionary functions of the Soviet, and the fact that the election is held on the foundation of victory. Then the masses will regard the election as something vital, participate in it with full confidence and elect many advanced elements to the Soviet. Those elected will undertake the affairs of the state with courage. Such propaganda and agitation are the prerequisites of a successful election. Without them, the masses will not understand the current political situation, the functions of the Soviet and the foundation of victory of the election. Then, they will not enthusiastically participate in the election, nor will the elected increase their courage. The propaganda for the first election last year was relatively good. Therefore, the achievement was also relatively good. The propaganda for the second election was inferior. Therefore, the achievement was also inferior. This year, the election propaganda must surpass that of the first election last year in order to encourage the greater majority of the masses to participate in it.

Second, the urban and rural congresses are the basic organizations of the Soviet. Therefore, their election is the Soviet's basic election. The urban and rural soviets are the level closest to the masses. All decrees and policies of the higher level soviet and all tasks of expanding the Red Army, land investigation movement, the labor law, economic construction and cultural construction must go through them before practical implementation. The election of the urban and rural soviets is, therefore, the most basic and important election. Moreover, a successful all-Soviet congress will require good representatives from the provincial soviet congresses. A successful provincial soviet congress will require good representatives from the county soviet congresses. A successful county soviet congress will require good representatives from the district and town soviet congresses.

What is required for a successful district soviet congress? It will require good representatives from the township soviet congresses. The election of the town and township soviets is linked with the entire Soviet election of the district, county, province and nation. That is why the election of the town and township soviets is the most basic and most vital. Comrades, a Red Army patriots' memorial tower is being erected along the side of our meeting ground. The tower has a 15-foot rock foundation. To build a strong tower, we must begin with a strong foundation. To build a strong Soviet, we must also begin with a strong foundation, which is the urban and rural soviet congresses.

Third, to build firm urban and rural soviets, not only must we make the most propaganda to get the greater majority of the masses to come to the election meetings, but we must be sure that all the voters coming to the meetings are genuine workers, peasants and others entitled to vote and that no person who has been deprived of his voting right infiltrates the meetings and that no person who should have his voting right deprived misrepresents himself as a worker or peasant. This task is called voter registration. The strict demarcation between those with and those without the voting right is the basic starting point of the Soviet political power and the most important item in the Soviet constitution and election law. Look. Isn't the tower foundation made of stones? The tower is, therefore, firm. If some dirt and manure are mixed in it, the tower will not be so firm. If we want to build a firm Soviet, we must start by guarding against any landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist stealing the voting right.

Fourth, the election unit last year was too big. This year, it is reduced. Article 11 of the Election Law provides that the workers will hold a separate election meeting, the peasants will use the village as the unit and the urban poor will elect according to the neighborhoods. This change has a close connection with the complete success of the election, because when the election unit is small, it will not only enable most or all of the voters to come to the election meeting, but make it easier for the voters to select among the candidates, improve the quality and quantity of the voters' proposals and facilitate the exercise of the recall rights in the future. Therefore, the comrades must refrain from making the election unit any larger.

Fifth, in regard to the work reports to the voters by the town and township soviets, the Central Internal Affairs Department has drafted an outline. The district soviet must guide the township soviets to call mass meetings in the various villages and make reports, according to the outline. In the election last year, many areas did not follow the report system. This year, it must be followed, because, by reporting to the masses, government work will have a chance to undergo mass inspection, and the enthusiasm of the voters will reach a higher pitch. The governments of the district level and above must make work reports when the lower level governments hold their congresses.

Sixth, in regard to the list of candidates, its proper preparation is an important link for the success of the election. As stated in the directive of the Central, the opinions of the masses on the candidates must be collected before the election and published, so that the voters will be able to give full consideration to the candidates. Primary attention must be given to the components of the candidates' list. Not only the proper numbers of workers and peasants must be elected according to the Election Law, but at least 25 percent of the elected must be laboring women, in accordance with the Election Directive. Next, attention must be given to the candidates' political manifestations. All those guilty of corruption, decadence and negative slowdown and all those compromising with the landlords, rich peasants and capitalists must not be elected. All those elected must be positive in their work and correct in their concept. Next, suitable attention must be given to the work capacity. Those whose ability is too inferior must not be elected into the government. Then, among the current Soviet work personnel, such as delegates, committee members and chairmen, all those who are guilty of grave mistakes such as corruption and decadence, negative slowdown, bureaucraticism and sheltering landlords, rich peasants and capitalists and have not reformed, must not be reelected. But those comrades who are positive in work and correct in concept may be reelected without question. It is entirely wrong to think that election means electing new people for all the posts and discarding all the existing personnel.

The seventh point concerns the election mass meeting. Election itself requires only 1 day, but its preparation will take weeks, because the many important tasks discussed above must have several weeks for their preparation. It is absolutely necessary, therefore, to make the preparations in advance. We must not put it off day-after-day and only become busy 2 or 3 days before the election. Now the 18 northern counties have scheduled 1 September to 5 October as the period for urban and rural elections. The various districts must schedule the election in the last 10 days and devote the several weeks before 25 September to the work of election propaganda, voter registration, work reports and candidates' lists before full success can be achieved on election day. The 18 southern counties may hold the election a month later, at the end of October, and devote the months of September and October to preparation. Next, on election day, the voters must be mobilized to attend the meeting. This year, we must be able to get the greatest majority of the voters to come to the election meeting and succeed in completing the election

at one meeting. We must avoid having to call a second meeting because of the lack of a quorum for the first meeting. Still next, when the list of candidates is proposed at the election meeting for discussion and voting, the masses must be activated to express their opinions, similar to the enthusiastic criticisms at the election meeting in Hsing-kuo last year. The masses must not be forced to pass the list of candidates if they do not approve of any one of them. Should there be any evil elements making trouble and forcing the masses to pass the candidates' list prepared by them, they must be severely punished upon discovery. Lastly, after the election, the proposals of the masses must be discussed and their opinions collected and presented to the Soviet to serve as the administrative policy of the new government.

Eighth, the tasks discussed above require a special organ for their handling. This is the election committee of the town and district soviets. According to Article 46 of the Election Law, the election committee is formed by the representatives of the government and the various mass organizations and approved by the county soviet. It is responsible for all the work of the election. Most of the election committees last year did not produce any effect, and the election was directed by government personnel only. Therefore, the election was not carefully guided in many areas. There were also instances of undesirables in the government manipulating the election. To avoid such shortcomings, election committees must be organized this year, to be formed by the government and mass organizations.

Comrades, I said much. I have discussed the significance of election and the important points of election work. As for what I have not touched upon --that the county soviet must guide all the district soviet congresses of the county with plans, that the provincial soviet must guide all the county soviet congresses of the province with plans, that the Central must guide all the provincial soviet congresses with plans, and individual items concerning the election--detailed instructions are given in the Election Law and the Election Directive, which I shall not reiterate here. In regard to the important points discussed by me here, I hope the comrades will repeat them to the comrades of the county and district soviets and bring them up at the presidium meetings for detailed discussion. Comrades, this year's election is not an ordinary one. It is an election with great historical significance, a sharp class struggle. We must handle it with our full attention. Besides the many tasks connected with the election itself, we must seize the opportunity and launch the land investigation and class investigation struggles and the Soviet prosecution movement.

Only through class investigation and the prosecution movement will we uncover those stealing the voting right, purge the undesirables infiltrating the Soviet and make the election this time more successful. This is especially true with the 18 southern counties, because there are still 2 more months for us to proceed with the land investigation movement. In addition, in areas where the administrative divisions have not been defined, they must be promptly. By so doing, we firmly believe that this year's election will be a complete success. Currently, the proletariat and oppressed nations of the whole

world are hoping for the success of China's soviet movement. And the toiling masses of the entire nation are looking for the Soviet banner. They understand that only the Soviet can save China. In these few days, the delegates of various nations are holding an anti-imperialist war rally in Shanghai. They, likewise, eagerly hope for the success of China's soviet. Comrades, we must respond to all such eager hopes. How do we do so? We will respond to them with the success of the election of all the soviet areas, with our Second All-Soviet Congress.

Our slogans are

Strive for the complete success of the election!

Smash the fifth enemy "encirclement and suppression"!

Resist imperialist division of China!

Long live Soviet China!

RED CHINA, No 108, 6 September 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION TO THE TOILING WORKER-PEASANT MASSES OF THE WORLD

6 September 1933

[Text] Dear Brothers, Sisters, Comrades, Friends!

We are China's workers, peasants, urban and rural poor and revolutionary soldiers and intellectuals. We are unwilling to remain forever the slaves of imperialism and domestic landlords and capitalists. We are creating our own new life of freedom. We are in the process of leading the 450 million people of China to wage a struggle of liberation. On one-sixth of China's soil (in many areas in the provinces of Kiangsi, Fukien, Hupeh, Hunan, Szechwan, Anhwei, Honan and Shensi), we have, by our own effort, begun to create the one and only true people's political power--the Soviet political power and the one and only true people's army--the Worker-Peasant Red Army. China's Soviet government and Red Army struggle for the fundamental improvement of the political and economic conditions of China's toiling worker-peasant masses. China's Soviet government and Red Army wish to attain this point right from the beginning--to let the workers, peasants, poor people and revolutionary soldiers and intellectuals do what they want to do freely and decide on their own destiny. We want to enable those who are without food, clothing, housing and jobs; who are illiterate and live as beasts of burden to have food, clothing, housing and jobs; be able to read and to live human lives. In order to achieve this, the Soviet government has given them land, houses and jobs; opened many free schools, literacy classes, libraries and clubs for the adults and children; and started many free hospitals and sanatoriums for the sick and the old.

Yet, the small group of parasites controlling China--foreign imperialists and Chinese warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, capitalists, usurers--are always unwilling for us to live a human life.

Precisely because we have begun to create our own new life of freedom, because we only work 8 hours a day at higher wages, because those of us with little or no land now have land and because our women have gained liberation, Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and all the Kuomintang beasts revile us as "Red bandits" and "communists bandits" and continually launch "encirclement and suppression" against us.

When Japanese imperialism wildly slaughtered our compatriots and occupied China's Northeast and northern territory province by province, and when American, British and French imperialists actively divided China, we declared to the people and troops of the entire nation, time and again: The imperialists want to divide up China completely. All the people of China must rise up as a man to defend the nation!

We have openly proposed over and over to all the troops--any troops, as long as they support our three simple conditions--they may sign battle agreements with us, in order to arm ourselves and resist Japan and other imperialists, defend our national existence and strive for national liberation. The necessary conditions to truly organize and arm the people for the sacred national defense against Japan and other imperialists are: (1) immediately cease attacks on Soviet areas; (2) give the people the minimum democratic rights --the freedoms of speech, publication, meeting, association, demonstration and strike; and (3) permit the people to organize and arm the anti-Japanese volunteer army.

Chiang Kai-shek, Wang Ching-wei and all the Kuomintang traitors always reply to us in the same way: Intensify and expand the cruel attack of the Soviet areas!

The Kuomintang has now begun its sixth "encirclement and suppression" against our free Soviet China! For this "encirclement and suppression," just around our central Soviet area alone (Kiangsi, Fukien, Hunan and Kwangtung), over 442,000 Nanking and Kwangtung troops are assembled. These troops are equipped with new model superior weapons, including artillery, tanks, planes and poison gas.

Where did the Kuomintang warlords and politicians acquire so many new weapons and large sums of money for their troops? They acquired them from the American, British, Japanese, French and German imperialists.

These imperialists utilize the weapons manufactured by you and the money extracted from you to destroy the people of China who are struggling for their own national and social liberation!

You and we still remember clearly that, not long ago, the troops of England, America and Japan shelled our Canton Commune and Ch'ang-sha Soviet, and the planes of French bombed our Lung-chou Soviet in Kwangsi!

In the Kuomintang's sixth "encirclement and suppression," the role of the imperialists is clearly revealed. Besides the 50-million dollars of so-called "cotton and wheat loans" and the 40-million dollars of so-called "aviation loans" to the Nanking government, American imperialism gave the Nanking troops 150 military planes and artillery, tanks, machine guns, chemical poisons and ammunition loaded in several dozen ships and sent several hundred pilots and all kinds of military and technical experts. The British ambassador to China (Lampson) personally went on an inspection trip to

Szechwan and gave Liu Hsiang 20 million English pounds to attack our Red 4th Army there. Though the British, American and Japanese imperialists vigorously compete against one another in the division of China, they take unanimous action against soviet China. They order their own running dogs--the warlords of the Nanking, Kwangtung and northern factions--to conduct a common "encirclement and suppression" of the liberated people of our Soviet areas. The German fascist government sent 70 military experts (including the former National Defense Chief (Sai-k'o-t'o)) to Nanking. Chiang Kai-shek organized them into a special unit in the Nan-ch'ang General Headquarters, in order to direct the combat activities against the Red Army. The so-called "Technical Committee" sent by the League of Nations to Nanking precisely at this time actually is to help Chiang Kai-shek plan and attack China's Soviet and the Red Army.

Brothers, Sisters, Comrades, Friends!

Look! The pilots and the military and technical experts of the so-called "democratic" America and other nations are, under the direction of Germany's fascist generals and China's Kuomintang warlords, carrying out the cruelest air and chemical warfare with American, British, French and German planes, poison gas, tanks and artillery in the territory of the Soviet China and slaughtering large numbers of workers, peasants, soldiers, poor people and intellectuals, in order to eliminate the free Chinese Soviet Republic and Worker-Peasant Red Army

Brothers, Sisters, Comrades, Friends!

In order to defend their own Soviet Republic, thousands and tens of thousands of men and women, old and young, did not hesitate to use their own flesh and blood, brains and lives to repel courageously the five successive "encirclement and suppressions" of the Kuomintang, superior in number and weaponry. Today, this young Chinese Soviet Republic faces a grave crisis.

At this critical point, we request you

To help us resist the executioners who want us to relive the dark inhuman life and slaughter us!

To make us relive the dark life of slavery of the past, the international imperialists are determined to drown China's soviet revolution in a sea of blood. The British, American, Japanese and French imperialist bandits are concentrating warships, airplanes and marines around Soviet China and all its large cities and coastal ports. They want to massacre us first before proceeding with a new imperialist world war, causing gigantic sacrifices and misery to mankind in the whole world!

The Central Executive Committee, the supreme organ of the Soviet Republic of China, solemnly appeals to you to join us in a courageous mass struggle:

Resist imperialist intervention in the Soviet China!

Resist imperialist division of China! Resist imperialist preparation of a new imperialist world war while massacring the people of China!

Resist the massacre of the toiling people of Soviet China by the imperialists with poison gas, planes, tanks and artillery! Oppose the shipping of all arms to China! Demand the immediate recall of American pilots and military experts and German generals and staff!

Demand the immediate withdrawal of American, British, Japanese, French and Italian navies, infantry and air force;

Long live the international sympathy of the proletariat and oppressed people of the whole world!

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

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary
Military Affairs Committee of the Soviet
Republic of China and Commander in Chief
of the Worker-Peasant Red Army

6 September 1933, Jui-chin, Kiangsi

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

(The introduction to "Soviet China" was written by Wang Ming. In it, Wang Ming quoted the entire text of this article with the following prefix: "...We wish to reprint in the introduction the Declaration of the Central Government of the Soviet Republic of China to the Toiling Worker-Peasant Masses of the World which we received from China 3 days ago. The text of the said declaration is as follows ...)

6080
CSO: 4005

ON EDUCATION WORK

Directive No 17 of Central People's Committee

15 September 1933

[Text] Culture and education occupy an important position in the entire soviet movement and constitute an indispensable force in the current mobilization against the fifth enemy "encirclement and suppression." Intensifying education to raise the political and cultural levels of the broad masses, enhance their class awareness and train revolutionary successors is one of our major tasks.

The education work at present apparently lags behind other soviet work and still cannot truly keep pace with the need of the successful development of the revolutionary war. It is due to the many errors and defects in the work of the Education Department so far, the neglect of education by some soviet organs and responsible comrades, the failure to understand the importance of education in the current domestic war, and even the opportunist viewpoint that it is impossible to pursue education in an environment of war. This situation must not be allowed to continue.

The biggest defect of education so far is the lack of a clear policy. Though the issue was mentioned in Directive No 1 of the Central Education Department, it was inadequate and not completely correct. The Education Department has so far, as shown in its work and documents, neglected to build a popular free education system. It has not properly linked popular education with social education and developed them. Instead of placing the task of communist education in the forefront, it limits education to the realm of the bourgeois democratic tasks of opposing feudalism and superstition. Meanwhile, it must also be pointed out that the lack of planning to wipe out illiteracy, an extremely important cultural-educational task, and the "leftwing" opportunist error on the issue of utilizing bourgeois intellectuals are, so far, the big defects of the work of the Education Department.

While mobilizing for the current revolutionary war, we must establish a free popular education system, create revolutionary successors according to the communist spirit and spread Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theories. We must completely eliminate in the shortest possible time the most vicious legacy left by the evil gentry and landlord bourgeoisie--illiteracy. We

must set up Lenin teachers' schools and all types of cadre training schools, cultivate a powerful educators' army that can popularize education and give full attention to and organize the development of social education work such as worker-peasant drama associations, blue-shirt leagues, clubs, libraries and reading rooms. These constitute the education policy and central task at the present time.

Besides training large groups of worker-peasant education work cadres, we must utilize those bourgeois intellectuals and experts who are willing to serve the Soviet.

Whenever possible, we must educate and give preferential treatment to elementary school teachers. At the very least, we must give government funds to the elementary school students for their books and stationary and meals to the elementary school teachers.

The People's Committee is in complete agreement with the Central Education Department's suggestion to hold a culture and education rally with the League Central Bureau in October. Without doubt, such a rally will be extremely important in the future of the culture and education of the Soviet areas. For its complete success, the Central Education Department is charged with the responsibility of making full preparations.

The People's Committee believes that the education work assistance movement recently initiated by the League Central Bureau will serve as an effective surprise attack on the culture-education front of the Soviet areas and help to expedite the elimination of the backward situation of education.

For the prompt and thorough change in education work and the successful completion of the central task of education at the present time, we must ruthlessly struggle against the neglect of education and all the incorrect concepts in education work. Only under such an ideological struggle will the culture-education construction of the Soviet areas urgently needed by the war be truly developed. It is so ordered.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central
Executive Committee of the Soviet Re-
public of China

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

15 September 1933

° "Directive No 17 of the Central People's Committee of the Soviet Republic of China" (mimeographed), 15 September 1933.

6080
CSO: 4005

PROVISIONAL AGRICULTURAL TAX LAW

17 September 1933 (passed)

[Text] Article 1. In regard to the criteria of the graduated agricultural tax, the tax rates, after the peasants have received their land allocations, are determined according to the amount of harvest of major crops of the entire household per year, the actual harvest of each person from his land allocation and the number of persons in the household who have received land allocations. The tax rates on the rich peasants must be higher than the poor and middle peasants.

Article 2. The Agricultural Tax Rate Table is formulated and promulgated by the People's Committee.

Article 3. Taxes are only levied on major products (grain, wheat), not on supplementary products. Where there are two grain or wheat crops a year, however, taxes are levied twice.

Article 4. Tea hills, mu-tzu [2606 2737] wooded hills and vegetables gardens, which are considered producing major products in the same category as rice and wheat fields and so allocated, must also be taxed.

Article 5. Red Army families (limited to the soldier himself, his parents, wife and those brothers and sisters who are without labor) are tax exempt, according to the Red Army Preferential Treatment Regulations, but the exemption is limited to those enlisting before harvesting.

Article 6. The provisions on tax exempt workers are as follows:

1. Farm laborers and land manual laborers, their wives (or husbands) and children are tax exempt.
2. Aquatic manual laborers and their wives (or husbands) are tax exempt.
3. Store clerks, handicraftsmen, ship workers and other industrial workers who have received land allocations are tax exempt.

4. The above categories of tax-exempt workers are limited to those working continuously for 2 years or more. Those who have not worked continuously for 2 years are not tax exempt.

Article 7. In case of natural disasters or enemy destruction, or in case of families orphaned, widowed, crippled, or otherwise losing their labor force, the tax may be reduced or exempted according to the situation.

Article 8. Taxes on the personnel of the Soviet government themselves and their parents and wives are levied at half the rate. In regard to those who are workers and tax exempt, but whose family members are not tax exempt according to the provisions of Article 6, the taxes on the family members are reduced to half. The reduction, however, is limited to those joining government work before harvesting.

Article 9. Tax is exempt on additional agricultural income due to improved seed or improved cultivation.

Article 10. Tax exemptions on agricultural products harvested from reclaimed land are granted according to the number of years the land remained uncultivated and the class classifications of the taxpayers as shown in the following table.

<u>No of years of tax exemption</u>			
<u>No of years uncultivated</u>	<u>Reclaimed by middle or poor peasants</u>	<u>Reclaimed by rich peasants</u>	<u>Reclaimed by landlords</u>
1 or more	2	1	none
2 or more	3	2	1
3 or more	5	3	2

Article 11. This tax law becomes effective 18 September 1933. Upon the promulgation of this tax law, the provisions on agricultural taxes in the Revised Provisional Tax Law promulgated 15 July 1932 are abolished.

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

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

18 September 1933

Poor and Middle Peasants' Land Tax Rate Table

(Appendix)

Actual dry grain obtained per person

No or persons rec'ing land in house-hold	1 or more than	2 or more than	3 or more than	4 or more than	5 or more than	6 or more than	7 or more than	8 or more than	9 or more than	10 or more than	11 or more than	12 or more than	13 or more than	14 or more than	15 or more than
1	exempt	exempt	3.8	5.0	6.0	7.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16.0
2	exempt	exempt	3.9	5.1	6.1	7.1	8.1	9.1	10.1	11.1	12.1	13.1	14.1	15.1	16.1
3	exempt	1.5	4.0	5.2	6.2	7.2	8.2	9.2	10.2	11.2	12.2	13.2	14.2	15.2	16.2
4	exempt	1.7	4.1	5.3	6.3	7.3	8.3	9.3	10.3	11.3	12.3	13.3	14.3	15.3	16.3
5	exempt	1.9	4.2	5.4	6.4	7.4	8.4	9.4	10.4	11.4	12.4	13.4	14.4	15.4	16.4
6	exempt	2.1	4.3	5.5	6.5	7.5	8.5	9.5	10.5	11.5	12.5	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5
7	exempt	2.3	4.4	5.6	6.6	7.6	8.6	9.6	10.6	11.6	12.6	13.6	14.6	15.6	16.6
8	exempt	2.5	4.6	5.8	6.8	7.8	8.8	9.8	10.8	11.8	12.8	13.8	14.8	15.8	16.8
9	exempt	2.7	4.8	6.0	7.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16.0	17.0
10	exempt	2.9	5.0	6.2	7.2	8.2	9.2	10.2	11.2	12.2	13.2	14.2	15.2	16.2	17.2
11	exempt	3.1	5.2	6.4	7.4	8.4	9.4	10.4	11.4	12.4	13.4	14.4	15.4	16.4	17.4
12	exempt	3.3	5.4	6.6	7.6	8.6	9.6	10.6	11.6	12.6	13.6	14.6	15.6	16.6	17.6
13	exempt	3.5	5.6	6.8	7.8	8.8	9.8	10.8	11.8	12.8	13.8	14.8	15.8	16.8	17.8
14	exempt	3.7	5.8	7.0	8.0	9.0	10.0	11.0	12.0	13.0	14.0	15.0	16.0	17.0	18.0
15	exempt	3.9	6.0	7.2	8.2	9.2	10.2	11.2	12.2	13.2	14.2	15.2	16.2	17.2	18.2

Tax rates on higher receipts by analogy.

° "Provisional Agricultural Tax Law," published by the Central People's Finance Committee Department, 18 September 1933.

* "Collection of Red Bandit Reactionary Documents," Vol 4, 1935.

CORRECT COMMANDISM IN SELLING BONDS

Letter From the Central Government to the Governments of All Levels

23 September 1933

[Text] Provincial Soviets of Kiangsi, Fukien, Fukien-Kiangsi and Kwangtung-Kiangsi, County Soviet of Jui-chin and Soviet Governments of All Levels:

Because of the issuance of the economic construction bonds, great achievements have been made within a short time. In all areas where the means of mobilization is good, the broad masses enthusiastically arose to support the bonds, such as Yun-chi District in Jui-chin and Ts'ai-ch'i and Hung-fang districts in Fukien, which are all good examples. In many other areas, nevertheless, there has been the grave error of commandist allocation. The People's Committee has issued Directive No 16, an announcement, and propaganda outline pointing out that full mobilization is the guarantee of bond selling and severely opposing commandism. In its letter of instruction to the bond committees of all levels, the Central People's Finance Committee extended the time limit for bond selling to December. The number of bonds to be sold is determined according to the local situation to avoid coercive allocation and afford the local areas ample time for mobilization and selling. Since the issuance of such instructional documents, methods of selling bonds in all areas is changing.

The change, nevertheless, is extremely inadequate. Many areas are still practicing coercive allocation. The most serious instance occurred in Lo-fang District in Yu-tu, where a middle peasant and the district soviet chairman committed suicide due to the coercive allocation of bonds. The 400 or more people who fled their homes in Hsiao-ch'i District in Kwangtung-Kiangsi were also connected with coercive allocation. These were shameful incidents which should never have occurred. Yet, they did. Upon hearing the news, the Central sent men to investigate and will severely punish the Yu-tu county soviet. When this letter is received, the provincial soviets must immediately instruct the county soviets to inspect the mobilization method of bond selling in the districts and townships. They must warn the soviet personnel with the example of Yu-tu, immediately launch a campaign of intense self-criticism, concentrate the firepower against coercive commandism

in all work and never resort to it whether in expanding the Red Army, the land investigation movement, the election movement, the sale of bonds, or the development of cooperatives. Yu-tu's commandist error has occurred seriously in its work in all aspects, but more apparent in the sale of bonds. The lessons of Lo-fang and Hsiao-ch'i districts also serve as the gravest warnings to the soviets of all levels.

In order to complete the sale of bonds successfully, attention must be given to the time and amount. In the competition agreements of the various areas, many of them have set mid-October as the deadline. It is too short. They must follow the 15 September instruction of the People's Finance Committee and appropriately extend the time limit. In areas where the harvest or bond selling is late, it may be extended to mid-December for the final completion of sale, in order to afford them sufficient time for mobilization work. They must not, however, follow the example of Hui-ch'ang and other areas that put bond selling aside, wait for an extension, become slack on the performance of the work and try to reach the goal by coercive allocation in December. This is absolutely not permitted. In regard to the amount, it depends entirely on the practical local situation and the extent of the mass positivity. There may be increases and reductions. There must be no mechanical allocation. The county and district soviets must increase or decrease the amounts of bonds according to the different situations of the various counties and district, in order to adapt to the local conditions. They must not issue the bonds all at one time and consider their tasks as ended, thus forcing the lower level to the path of coercive allocation. This bureaucratic pattern must be immediately rectified.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central
Executive Committee of the Soviet Re-
public of China

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

23 September 1933

° "RED CHINA" No. 113, 27 September 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 49 OF THE PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE OF THE CENTRAL GOVERNMENT OF THE
SOVIET REPUBLIC OF CHINA

10 October 1933

[Text] (1) The decision of this committee on 10 October 1933 on certain issues in the land struggle is hereby published.

(2) All the class classifications prior to 10 October 1933 in the various areas which are incompatible with this decision must be revised accordingly. In regard to those who, due to the change in their class classifications, should have their land and assets handled differently. Concerning the land, houses, woods, ponds and gardens belonging to the middle peasants, poor peasants, poor people and workers which have been divided, a means must be found to return them to the original owners. As for assets other than land, houses, woods, ponds and gardens, they should be returned to the original owners only when possible (for instance, if there are still landlord assets in the local area which can be confiscated). Concerning the land, houses, woods, ponds, gardens, draft animals and farm tools to which the rich peasants are entitled, and the assets to which the capitalists are entitled, they are returned to the original owners only when possible.

(3) In regard to the cases decided by the judicial organs of the various areas prior to 10 October 1933, where the judgments have been carried out, they will not be changed. Where they have not been carried out, or are in the process of being carried out, they must be revised according to this decision.

(4) In regard to the class classifications or the disposal of land and assets according to such class classifications prior to and after 10 October 1933 which are compatible with this decision and not erroneous, no one may request a change.

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

10 October 1933

- ° "Decision of the Central Government concerning Certain Issues in the Land Struggle" (mimeographed), Central Government People's Committee, 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

DECISION ON CERTAIN ISSUES IN THE LAND STRUGGLE

Passed by the People's Committee

10 October 1933

[Text] In the struggle of land division and land investigation, many practical issues arose. Such issues were a result of lack of provision in previous documents, ambiguity in the provisions, or incorrect interpretation on the part of soviet personnel. To rectify and prevent errors, the People's Committee, besides approving the principles of analyzing the landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and workers in "How To Analyze the Classes," hereby makes the following decision:

1. Labor and Incidental Labor

Under ordinary conditions, if one member in the family spent one-third of his time a year on major work, it is called labor. If it was less than one-third of his time, or if it was not devoted to major work, even though it involved one-third of his time, it is called incidental labor.

Attention must be given to the following:

- (1) The rich peasants performed their own labor, and the landlords performed either no, or only incidental, labor. Labor is, therefore, the major criterion to distinguish rich peasants and landlords.
- (2) One person is the criterion to determine labor for a household. Where there were several members in a household, if one of them labored, the household is considered as performing labor. Some people feel that only when two members, or the entire household, performed labor can the household be considered as performing labor. This is not correct.
- (3) The criterion to determine the time spent on labor is one-third of the year, i.e., 4 months. Performing major labor for 4 full months, or less than 4 full months, is the dividing line between labor and incidental labor (the dividing line between rich peasants and landlords). It is erroneous for some people to consider performing major labor for 6 months out of the year as incidental labor.

(4) Major labor indicates labor in the major tasks of production, such as plowing, planting, harvesting and other important production labor. However, labor is not limited to agricultural production. Firewood chopping, portorage and other important tasks are all considered major labor.

(5) Non-major labor refers to all kinds of supplementary labor, occupying a secondary position in production, such as assisting in weeding, assisting in vegetable planting, looking after draft animals, etc.

(6) Labor is the main criterion used to distinguish the rich peasants and landlords. Those who only hired permanent help to cultivate the land, did not exploit by land rents or loan interests, were responsible for directing their own production, but did not personally perform major labor are still considered landlords and will not receive land allocations.

(7) The time element for the landlord classification is computed backward from the time of the uprising. Those who lived as landlords for 3 years or more are considered landlords. Many errors have occurred on the issue of labor and incidental labor in the land investigation movement. Major labor was called incidental labor and people were misclassified as landlords. Or, incidental labor was mistaken for major labor and the people misclassified as rich peasants. This came from the lack of a clear criterion between landlords and rich peasants. According to the above provisions, such errors can be avoided.

The above provisions, nevertheless, are only "under ordinary conditions." Under special conditions, different handling is required. If one member of a household exploited by collecting large sums of land rent or loan interest, such as collecting 100 tan or more of land rent or lending 1,000 yuan or more in large currency, and the members in the household were not numerous nor the expenses high, even if someone in the household performed 4 or more months of major labor in a year, it is still considered a landlord household, not a rich peasant household. On the other hand, if the members in the household were numerous and the expenses high, even if there was 100 tan of land rent or 1,000 yuan of loans, if someone in the household performed major labor, it is not a landlord household, but a rich peasant household. There are cases, too, of households being considered landlords according to their exploitation situation, but not landlords according to their living condition. For instance, an individual who was once a rich or middle peasant, but who, a few years before the uprising, suddenly lost his labor force due to illness or death and had to rent out all his land or hire people to cultivate for him. His entire household lived as a landlord household, it is improper to consider him a landlord. He must be classified according to his original status. Or, an individual who was nominally a landlord but whose land actually belonged to someone else, whose income from exploitation was small, who performed incidental labor, and who lived a life even inferior to the peasants, must be considered a rich peasant and allocated poorer land. In extreme cases, with the consent of the masses, they may be allocated land of similar quality as the peasants. Finally, those who were peasants in the past, but suddenly became wealthy due to special opportunities 2 years

before the uprising and turned into landlords may, with the consent of the masses, be allocated inferior land the same as the rich peasants, while their own land must be confiscated, because they were peasants 2 years ago.

The special situations discussed above have been overlooked in some areas in the land investigation movement.

2. Well-to-do Middle Peasants

Well-to-do middle peasants who engaged in some minor exploitation of others are a part of the middle peasants. Their income from exploitation must not have exceeded 15 percent of the total household annual receipt. Under certain conditions, though the exploitation income exceeded 15 percent of the total annual income, if it did not exceed 30 percent and if the masses do not oppose them, the parties concerned are still considered well-to-do middle peasants. Under the soviet political power, the interests of the well-to-do middle peasants receive the same protection as middle peasants in general.

Attention must be given to the following

- (1) The well-to-do middle peasants are a part of the middle peasants. The difference is that they engaged in some minor exploitation of others while the middle peasants did not.
- (2) The difference between the well-to-do middle peasants and the rich peasants is that the exploitation income of the former did not exceed 15 percent of the total household annual income while that of the latter exceeded 15 percent. This demarcation is required to determine the class classifications.
- (3) The minor exploitation by the well-to-do middle peasants refers to such acts as hiring shepherd boys, part-time help, or monthly help, lending out small amounts of money, collecting small amounts on loans or school rent, or renting out small parcels of land, provided the income from such exploitations did not constitute an important part of the livelihood of the household, i.e., not more than 15 percent, and that the important source of its livelihood was the labor of its members.
- (4) Those whose amount of exploitation was the same as the rich peasants close to the time of the uprising, but the time of such exploitation did not exceed 2 years, are still considered well-to-do middle peasants.
- (5) When we say that, under certain conditions, although the exploitation income exceeded 15 percent of the total household annual income, if it did not exceed 30 percent, and if the masses do not oppose them, the parties concerned are still considered well-to-do middle peasants, the "certain conditions" indicate that, although the exploitation amount exceeded 15 percent, the members of the household were numerous, its labor force small

and its living condition not luxurious. In the event of flood, drought, famine, illness or death, they might even find themselves in difficulty. Under the above conditions, the parties concerned must not be considered rich peasants, but middle peasants, provided the exploitation amount did not exceed 30 percent of the total household annual income. Where such conditions did not exist, those whose exploitation income exceeded 15 percent of their total household annual income are considered rich peasants, not well-to-do middle peasants. The determination on the presence or absence of the conditions is by the public opinion of the local masses. The well-to-do middle peasants constitute a considerable portion of the rural population. In the land investigation movement in many areas, they have been handled as rich peasants, which is incorrect. Most of the incidents of encroaching upon the middle peasants which occurred in various areas involved the well-to-do middle peasants. This must be immediately rectified.

Examples:

(1) A household of six members in which two of them performed labor owned 50 tan of land, actually producing 35 tan of grain (total value 140 yuan, at 4 yuan per tan current price), completely farmed by the household. They had a 5-room house, a cow and a pond which produced 12 yuan large currency. Their annual income from sundry grain production and hog raising was approximately 100 yuan. They loaned out 3 tan of raw grain at 50 percent interest, collecting 1.5 tan a year (value 6 yuan) for 4 years. They loaned out money in the sum of 100 yuan large currency (equivalent to 1,800 mao small currency), at 25 percent interest, collecting 25 yuan a year for 5 years. Decision: The household depended on its own labor as the main source of its livelihood and its own production brought in 250 yuan or more. Although it exploited others by collecting interests, its annual interest income was only 29 yuan, which was under 15 percent of its total income. After expenses, it had a surplus and it lived fairly well. Nevertheless, as the amount of exploitation was not great, it is considered a well-to-do middle peasant, not a rich peasant, household.

(2) A household of 5 members where 1-1/2 members performed labor had 25 tan of land, actually producing 17 tan of grain. It leased in 75 tan of land, actually producing 42 tan of grain and paying 25 tan in rent for 10 years. Its annual income from sundry grain production and hog raising was 50 yuan. It hired a shepherd boy for 3 years. It loaned out 60 yuan large currency, at 30 percent interest, collecting 18 yuan per year for 4 years. It had a 5-room house and one cow. It had one parcel of wooded hill producing 30 tan of mu-t'ao a year. Decision: The household depended mainly on its own labor for its livelihood. Its annual exploitation of others was very small, only over 20 yuan (combining employment of the shepherd boy and loans), while it was exploited by others in form of 25 tan of land rent. After expenses, there was hardly any surplus. Therefore, it is considered an ordinary middle peasant, not a well-to-do middle peasant, household.

3. The Time and Amount of Exploitation Practiced by the Rich Peasants

If a person, besides participating in production, relied on exploitation as a part, or a large part, of the source of livelihood of his household for 3 successive years immediately prior to the uprising, and if the exploitation amount exceeded 15 percent of the total annual income of the entire household, he is called a rich peasant. Under certain conditions, though the exploitation amount exceeded 15 percent of the total income, if it did not exceed 30 percent, and if the masses do not oppose him, the party concerned is not a rich peasant, but a well-to-do middle peasant.

Attention must be given to the following

(1) The time of the uprising is the starting point to compute the time of exploitation by counting backward, and no other time may be used as the starting point for computation. Some people reckon old accounts and take the interrupted exploitation of many years ago as the basis to determine the class classification. This is incorrect.

(2) Three successive years of exploitation constitute the time criterion to determine a rich peasant classification. If the exploitation time did not exceed 3 years, or if it totaled 3 years but was intermittent (not continuous), although the exploitation amount was the same as the rich peasants in the same period, the party concerned is still considered well-to-do middle peasant.

(3) The exploitation amount must have exceeded 15 percent of the total annual household income before the party concerned is classified as a rich peasant. If the exploitation amount was below 15 percent, although there was continuity of 3 years or more, the party concerned is not considered a rich peasant, but a well-to-do middle peasant.

(4) The total annual household income indicates the total of a person's receipts from his own production and his exploitation of others. If a certain household produced by its own effort 400 yuan and received 100 yuan by exploitation, the 500 yuan total was the total income. As the exploitation income constituted 20 percent of the total income, the party concerned is a rich peasant.

(5) The "certain conditions" indicate cases where the family members were numerous, the labor force small and its living condition not luxurious, or, where it encountered difficulties due to natural disasters or human calamities. Under such conditions, although the exploitation amount exceeded 15 percent, if it did not exceed 30 percent, and if the masses do not oppose it, it is considered a well-to-do middle peasant household. Here, the opinion of the masses is extremely important, and consideration of such cases must be extremely careful. The well-to-do middle peasants must not be mistaken for rich peasants, causing the dissatisfaction of the middle

peasants, nor must the rich peasants be mistaken as well-to-do middle peasants, causing the dissatisfaction of the poor peasants. Therefore, careful consideration and the consent of the masses are required.

There have been many disputes on the issues of time and amount in the land investigation movement, because of the lack of a clear distinction between the rich peasants and the well-to-do middle peasants, so far. The well-to-do middle peasants are sometimes handled as rich peasants, or vice versa. There have been frequent disputes. Now, with the provision on their demarcation, such disputes can be avoided.

Examples:

(1) A household of 11 members in which 2 of them performed labor owned 160 tan of land, actually producing 120 tan of grain (worth 480 yuan). They had 2 parcels of tea hills, producing 30 yuan large currency annually. They had a pond, producing 15 yuan large currency annually. Their income from sundry grain production and hog raising was approximately 150 yuan per year. They hired one permanent helper for 7 years, until the time of the revolution, thus exploiting approximately 70 yuan of surplus labor a year. They loaned 250 yuan large currency, at 30 percent interest, collecting 75 yuan a year, for 5 years, until the time of the revolution. A son of the household who is a scholar, wrote petitions and handled litigation and relied on his superiority to take advantage of others. Decision: While this household had two members performing labor, they hired permanent help and loaned out much money. Their exploitation income exceeded 15 percent of the total annual household income. Although the members were numerous, the household had much surplus money after expenses. Therefore, they are a rich peasant household and entitled to inferior land. The evil gentry in the household is not entitled to any land.

(2) A household of three members in which one of them was able to perform major labor for 4 months in the year had 60 tan of land, farmed 30 tan, actually producing 18 tan of grain, and rented out 30 tan, collecting 12 tan of grain as rent for 5 years. It regularly hired part-time help for 20 days a year. It had one cow and could earn 2 tan of grain a year from it. It loaned out 120 yuan large currency, at 30 percent interest, collecting 36 yuan a year, for 3 years. Decision: The exploitation income of this household exceeded the receipts from its own production. Nevertheless, as one member performed 4 months of major labor, it is considered a rich peasant household and entitled to inferior land.

4. Reactionary Rich Peasants

The rich peasants who were guilty of serious counterrevolutionary conduct around the time of the uprising, especially after the uprising, are called reactionary rich peasants. The land and assets of such reactionary rich peasants and of their family members who participated in such counterrevolutionary conduct must be confiscated.

The above provision is applicable to reactionary capitalists.

Attention must be given the following

(1) Only the rich peasants guilty of "serious counterrevolutionary conduct" are called reactionary rich peasants. Reactionary rich peasants lead the Civil League during the uprising to massacre the workers and peasants: resisted the revolutionary government, especially leading others to organize counterrevolutionary groups or organs after the uprising or performed serious counterrevolutionary activities individually, including assassination, serving as an enemy spy, volunteering as a guide to the White army, fleeing to the White area in aid of the Kuomintang, actively sabotaging the land investigation movement and economic construction, etc. In regard to those who are rich peasants and who were guilty of serious counterrevolutionary conduct, after verification, their land and assets are confiscated. As for those rich peasants who were guilty of counterrevolutionary conduct but who were not leaders or performed no important activities, their land and assets must not be confiscated.

(2) In regard to the family members of the reactionary rich peasants, only the land and assets of those who participated in the serious counterrevolutionary conduct are confiscated, but the land and assets of other members are not confiscated.

(3) Those who temporarily went to the White areas for the purpose of making a living are not considered reactionary rich peasants, and their assets must not be confiscated. However, in regard to those who went to the White areas because they did not wish to reside in the Soviet areas and remained in the White areas for 1 full year or more, although they are not reactionary rich peasants, their assets must be confiscated.

(4) The above provisions are applicable in defining and handling the reactionary capitalists. In many areas in the past, the land and assets of many rich peasants who were not guilty of serious counterrevolutionary conduct including the land and assets of their family members who did not participate in any counterrevolutionary conduct were confiscated. This was erroneous. The source of the error was Article 3 of Kiangsi's Land Confiscation and Distribution Law: "In regard to the rich peasants who joined counterrevolutionary organizations (such as the AB League, the Social Democratic Party, etc.), the entire household is confiscated," without distinction of principal or accessory, participant or non-participant. In regard to family members, the second half of the same article states: "In regard to family members who did not join any counterrevolutionary organization, were not guilty of any counterrevolutionary conduct and have severed relations with the counterrevolutionaries in the family, when they are not opposed by the masses, their land may be returned to them." Nevertheless, because all the assets of the family have been confiscated, to return a portion afterward is still not the correct answer. Therefore, the article in question must be revised according to these provisions. In some areas in the past, the sphere of reactionary capitalists was expanded, and certain stores which should not have been confiscated were confiscated. This was also wrong.

Example:

A household of nine members where one member performed labor and another incidental labor had 160 tan of land, farmed 80 tan and actually produced 45 tan of grain, and rented out 80 tan of land and collecting 40 tan of rent for 10 years. They had five parcels of hills, producing 70 yuan large currency a year. They had one permanent helper. They owed 425 yuan large currency, at 25 percent interest, for 3 years. They loaned out 380 yuan large currency, at 30 percent interest, for 5 years. One member served as a company commander of the Ching-wei League for 2 years and fought the Red Guard five times. Another was a member of the AB League for 6 months, but not in an important position, and confessed to the government. Other members of the family had no apparent reactionary conduct. Decision: The classification of this household is rich peasant. The one member who performed serious counterrevolutionary work is a reactionary rich peasant, and his assets must be confiscated. The assets of other members must not be confiscated. In regard to the member who joined the AB League, as he did not have an important position and he had confessed, nor must his assets be confiscated.

5. Rich Peasant Donations

Under the policy of weakening, the rich peasants, during the period of the domestic war, besides such basic means as allocating inferior land to them, confiscating their surplus buildings, plow animals and farm tools and levying higher taxes, to demand unscheduled donations from them is proper. Nevertheless, the amount of donation must not exceed 40 percent of a rich peasant's cash on hand. The number of times of donations must also be limited.

(1) Recently, there have been two tendencies in regard to rich peasant donations. One is to shelter the rich peasants and not ask them for donations. Another is to take all their cash as a donation, which is no different from fines imposed on the landlords. Both are incorrect and the latter is a tendency to eliminate the rich peasants and may even affect the middle peasants. The limit has now been set at 40 percent. All areas may, according to the rich peasants' payment of donations in the past and their current family situation, ask them to donate a suitable portion of their cash.

(2) Donations are of a temporary nature, different from the regular land tax. The number of times of donations therefore, must be limited. The rich peasants must not be asked to donate over and over again, without limit.

(3) The authority to ask for donations from the rich peasants is limited to the state financial organs. No other organ may ask them for donations.

6. The Land, Buildings, Plow Animals and Farm Tools to Which the Rich Peasants Are Entitled

After the land, buildings, plow animals and farm tools have been decided as assets to which the rich peasants are entitled, the rich peasants, provided they observe the laws of the Soviet, have the right of disposal, and no one may interfere. Only for the purpose of facilitating production and with the consent of the rich peasants, may the workers, peasants and poor people exchange buildings with the rich peasants.

(1) Recently in some areas, there have been incidents of workers, peasants and poor people exchanging their own land, building, plow animals and farm tools for those to which the rich peasants are entitled, or even for clothes and fertilizer. This is wrong, because there must be a limit to "weakening the rich peasants." The "weakening" policy of allocating relatively inferior land, confiscating surplus buildings, plow animals and farm tools, levying higher taxes and demanding a part of their cash as donations has been enforced. Anything beyond such limit is a tendency to destroy the rich peasants, which is improper in the current stage of the revolution. Only for the purpose of facilitating production and with the consent of the rich peasants may buildings be exchanged.

(2) After the correct solution of the land issue, when the inferior land allocated to a rich peasant has been improved into good land, no one may ask for its exchange.

(3) The plow animals, farm tools and buildings acquired by the rich peasants after the arising, although there may be a surplus, must not be confiscated again or exchanged.

7. Rich Peasants' Volunteer Labor

The rich peasants must perform more volunteer labor than the workers, peasants and poor people for the state and the locality, but such volunteer labor must be so limited as not to interfere with their production.

There must be a distinction between compelling the rich peasants to perform volunteer labor and compelling the landlords to do so. All the ablebodies among the landlords must be organized into the labor team for training and participation in the state and local labor work, thus reforming their class essence in the process of labor and eliminating the landlord class. The rich peasants must perform more volunteer labor than the workers, peasants and poor people, but they must not be ordered to perform unlimited volunteer labor similar to the landlord so as to hinder their production. Therefore, where the rich peasants and the landlords are organized into one labor team, in the busy farming season, when the rich peasants have no surplus labor power nor the means to compensate for the lack, it is wrong to make them perform long-term volunteer labor severed from production. Where production is not hindered, where the rich peasants have surplus labor power, or where there are means of compensating for the lack, this provision does not apply.

8. Bankrupt Landlords

Landlords who lost all, or the greater part, of their land or assets used for exploitation before the uprising, but who still performed no labor, relying on fraud, plunder, or the help of relatives and friends for their main source of income are called bankrupt landlords. The bankrupt landlords are still a part of the landlord class and may not be allocated land.

However, those landlords who, after bankruptcy, relied on their own labor for the main source of their income for 1 year or more must have their classification changed. They have the right to land allocations.

Those landlords who, after bankruptcy, relied on their own labor for one-third of their annual living expenses may be treated as rich peasants.

Calling partially bankrupt landlords bankrupt landlords is incorrect, because they still possessed a part of their assets to be used for exploitation. Only the amount of their exploitation income had changed.

Calling bankrupt those landlords who performed major labor for 1 full year or more after bankruptcy is even more incorrect, because, after having performed major labor for 1 full year (before the uprising), an individual changed from a landlord to a worker, poor man, or peasant.

To treat those landlords who performed partial labor after bankruptcy still as landlords is also incorrect, because, if such labor was sufficient to supply one-third of their annual living expenses, they should be treated as rich peasants.

9. Poor People

Except the workers, peasants, independent producers and those following freelance occupations, all those depending on their labor to pursue one or more occupations, relying mainly on their own labor to make a living, or operating their own business with a small capital for the minimum living, are called poor people. The unemployed poor in the villages and small towns must be allocated land. The urban poor having no houses must be allocated the houses of the landlords.

The urban poor constitute a large portion of the population. A part of them are also found in the rural villages and small towns. Their occupations are complex. The occupation of some individuals changes with the season and is indefinite. Their life is very difficult. Their income often cannot meet expenses.

Poor people operating their own business with a small capital are peddlers.

Physicians, teachers, lawyers, news reporters, authors and artists who did not exploit others are people who follow free-lance occupations.

10. Intellectuals

(1) The intellectuals, by themselves, do not constitute a class. Their class classifications are determined according to the class they belong to.

(2) Provided they observe the laws of the Soviet, all landlord and bourgeois intellectuals must be fully utilized for service to the Soviet.

(3) Intellectuals who performed non-exploiting work, such as teachers, editors, news reporters, service personnel, authors and artists, are mental laborers. They must receive the protection of the laws of the Soviet.

(1) The unconditional rejection of intellectuals in many areas recently is incorrect. Utilizing the landlord and bourgeois intellectuals to serve the Soviet is beneficial to the Soviet revolutionary policy. During the time when they serve the Soviet, means must be found to solve their living problems.

(2) The class classification of an intellectual is determined by the class to which he belongs. For instance, an intellectual with a landlord background is a landlord. One with a rich peasant background is a rich peasant. One with a middle peasant background is a middle peasant. It is incorrect to regard the intellectuals as a class by themselves. It is even more incorrect to consider peasant children who have attended school (the so-called "graduates") as undesirables.

(3) It is also wrong to regard the work of teachers as non-labor.

11. Lumpen Proletariats

Workers, peasants and others who, immediately before the uprising, lost their jobs or land as a result of oppression and exploitation by the landlords and bourgeoisie and relied on improper means for the main source of their livelihood continuously for 3 years or more are called lumpen proletariat (customarily known as vagrants).

The policy of the Soviet on the lumpen proletariat is to win the masses and oppose the leaders and those who depended on the exploiting class and actively participated in the counterrevolution. The main means to win the lumpen proletariat masses is to make them return to production, to allocate land and jobs to them similar to the revolutionary people in general, and to give them voting rights. Nevertheless, in order to receive land allocations, they must live in the rural village and have the ability to farm.

Attention must be given to the following

(1) The "improper means as the main source of livelihood" indicate such improper occupations as stealing, robbing, swindling, begging, gambling and prostitution. It is incorrect to refer to all those who were employed or semi-employed but spent a part of their time on improper occupations (not as the main source of their livelihood) as vagrants. It is even more incorrect to refer to the workers, peasants and poor people who once had undesirable habits (such as visiting prostitutes, gambling, smoking opium, etc.) as vagrants.

(2) In some areas, the lumpen proletariat leaders (vagrant chiefs) who actively participated in the counterrevolution are not only not punished, but allocated land. This is wrong. Other areas refuse the demand of the general lumpen proletariat for land allocations. This is also wrong.

12. Professional Religionists

All those who followed the occupation of religious superstition for 3 full years (immediately before the uprising), including ministers, Catholic fathers, monks, Taoist priests, vegetarians, geomancers, fortune-tellers and diviners, are professional religionists. Professional religionists have no voting right and may not receive land allocations.

All those who followed the occupation of religious superstition but did not depend on it as the main source of their livelihood, and all those who depended on it as the main source of their livelihood for less than 3 years, must not be called professional religionists. They must be treated according to their proper classifications. They must not be all deprived of their voting right or withheld land allocations. In other words, all those practicing religious superstition as a sideline, or as their main occupation for less than 3 years, who were mainly workers, peasants, or poor people, they must retain their voting rights and those residing in the rural village must receive land allocations. This provision naturally applies to their family members as well as themselves. It is incorrect to refer to monks, Taoist priests, geomancers and fortune-tellers as vagrants.

13. Red Army Soldiers With Landlord or Rich Peasant Background and Land Allocation

Under the condition of firmly waging war in the interest of the workers and peasants, Red Army members of landlord or rich peasant background, they, whether officers or soldiers and their family members have the right to receive land allocations.

(1) Article 1 of the Regulations on the Preferential Treatment of Red Army Members states: "In regard to all the Red Army soldiers whose families reside in Soviet areas, the soldiers themselves and their family members must all receive equal allocations of land, houses, woods and ponds similar

to the local impoverished peasants." Here, all Red Army soldiers are included. Nevertheless, recently, some areas only looked into the social background, without regard of the political manifestations and repossessed the land already allocated to Red Army soldiers. This was incorrect.

(2) "Family members of Red Army soldiers" include the father, mother, wife, sons, daughters and younger brothers and sisters under 16 years of age. No one else may enjoy this privilege.

(3) In regard to Red Army soldiers of landlord or rich peasant background, if they are expelled from the army, their land may be repossessed.

14. Workers Who Belong to Rich Peasant or Landlord Families

Where a worker belongs to a rich peasant or landlord family, the classification of the worker himself and his wife is unchanged. Whether he should receive land allocation depends on whether he is in the village or the city and handled accordingly. Other members of his family are handled as landlord or rich peasants.

(1) In a landlord or rich peasant family, anyone selling his labor for 1 full year or more immediately prior to the uprising is recognized as a worker. He and his wife are treated as workers. His part of the family assets is not confiscated. If he and his wife reside in the village, they will receive land allocations, but no such allocation will be made if they reside in the city. Where the individual himself resides in the city while his wife resides in the village, he will not be allocated land, while his wife will be. Other members of the family are handled as landlord or rich peasants and may not enjoy the rights of workers. Should there be members of other classifications in the family, they are handled according to such classifications. (For instance, if someone in the family residing in the village relied on rent collection and loans as the main source of his livelihood for 3 full years or more, he is a landlord. Someone who had been selling his labor for 1 full year or more is a worker. Someone who had been operating his small handicraft store in a township for 1 full year or more is an independent producer. Their classifications are determined according to the source of their livelihood within a certain period of time, and their treatment under the soviet laws is determined according to their classifications).

(2) The rural workers, independent producers, elementary school teachers and physicians who owned small parcels of land and rented them out because they had to go elsewhere to make a living, being unable to do so in their home village, but did not rely on the rental income as the main source of their livelihood, will receive land allocations similar to the peasants in general. They must not be regarded as landlords.

15. The Class Classification of Landlords, Rich Peasants, or Capitalists Marrying Workers and Peasants

- (1) The act of marriage does not change the class classification.
- (2) The class classifications of landlord, rich peasants, or capitalists marrying workers, peasants, or poor people are determined by whether the marriage occurred before or after the uprising, the original class classifications and the living conditions after marriage.
- (3) In regard to those who married before the uprising: Women of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist families who married workers, peasants, or poor people and performed labor for 1 full year or more are recognized as peasants or poor people. Those who did not perform labor, or who performed labor for less than a full year, will retain their original classification without change. Women of worker, peasant, or poor people families who married landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists are only classified as landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists if they lived the same kind of life as the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists for 5 full years. If they did not live the same kind of life as the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists, but lived the life of workers, peasants, or poor people (relying on their own labor as the main source of their livelihood), or if they lived the same kind of life as the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists for less than 5 years, their original classifications are unchanged.
- (4) In regard to those who married after the uprising: The classifications of women of worker, peasant, or poor people families marrying landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists are unchanged. In case of women of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist families marrying workers, peasants, or poor people, they must have performed labor for 5 full years before they are recognized as workers, peasants, or poor people. If they performed no labor, or performed labor for less than 5 full years, their original classifications will remain unchanged.
- (5) Regardless of the time of marriage and the classifications of the parents, the classification of the children follows that of the father.
- (6) The enjoyment of land and public rights depends on the classification.
- (7) Women of landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist families marrying workers, peasants, or poor people may not be organized into the labor team. Where the cash dowry was under 50 yuan, they may not be fined or assessed donations.
- (8) In case of worker, peasant, or poor people daughters sold as child-brides to landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists, or in case of worker, peasant, or poor people families acquiring a husband into the family for their daughter from the landlord, rich peasant, or capitalist families, or vice versa, prior to the uprising, the provisions contained in (1) to (7) above are applicable to the classification and treatment of the children sold and the husbands acquired.

(9) Where, before the uprising, the workers, peasants, or poor people gave their sons to the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists as heirs, or vice versa, regardless of the age of the children at the time of transfer, the classification of those children under 10 years of age will remain unchanged. From age 10 on, where the sons of workers, peasants, or poor people were given to the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists, if such children lived the same kind of life as their foster parents for 5 full years, their classifications are the same as the foster parents. If their way of living was not the same as their foster parents, but the same as their natural parents, their original classifications are not changed. Where the sons of landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists were given to workers, peasants, or poor people as heirs, if they lived the same kind of life as their foster parents for 3 full years, their classifications are the same as the foster parents. If their way of living was not the same as their foster parents, but the same as their natural parents, their original classifications are unchanged.

"Labor" in the foregoing provisions includes household labor.

16. Landlords and Rich Peasants Who Were Also Merchants

(1) In case of landlords who were also merchants, their land and their buildings and assets adjacent to the land are confiscated. Their business and their stores, residences and assets adjacent to the business are not confiscated.

(2) In case of rich peasants who were also merchants, their land and their buildings and assets adjacent to the land are handled according to the rich peasant classification. Their business and their stores, residences and assets adjacent to the business are not confiscated.

(3) The fines and donations of landlords and rich peasants who were also merchants are limited to the landlord and rich peasant portion of their assets, and must not include the business portion.

(4) Merchants are not organized into the labor team.

17. Managing the Public Hall

Managing the public hall was a kind of exploitation, but managing by the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists must be distinguished from managing by the workers, peasants, or poor people.

Managing the public hall refers to managing the land and assets of all kinds of ancestral halls, temples, or associations. Undoubtedly, managing the public hall was a kind of exploitation, especially in case of the landlords and rich peasants who provided public halls and concentrated large amounts of land and assets, making it one of the main forms of exploitation. The fact that a few individuals controlled a public hall and collected large sums of exploitation is a factor in determining the class classification of the managers. Nevertheless, the fact that some small public halls were managed by the worker, peasant, or poor people masses by rotation, and the amount of

exploitation was very small will not serve as a factor in determining the class classification of the managers. It is incorrect to regard all those who managed the public hall as landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists.

18. The Living Problem of Some Work Personnel

Where the work personnel of the soviet organs or other revolutionary organizations have not been allocated land and experience difficulty in their livelihood, they and the members of their families may be allocated a suitable amount of land, or have their difficulties solved by some other means.

In regard to the livelihood of the Soviet work personnel in general who have been allocated land, the Central Government has issued an order to solve their difficulties (by activating the masses to cultivate their land). The provision here refers to the personnel who have not been allocated land. Family members include father, mother, wife, sons, daughters and younger brothers and sisters under 16 years of age.

19. Public Enterprise Land

In regard to land division in new areas and redivision of land uncovered in the old areas, a suitable amount of land must be reserved for public enterprises such as bridges, ferries, tea pavilions and agricultural experimental farms.

In regard to the funds to maintain the public enterprises, such as bridge repair, ferry boat repair, wages for the boatmen and tea pavilion repair and installation, a suitable amount of land must be reserved and the masses activated to cultivate it. In addition, the country, district and township soviets must reserve some land in a suitable location near the government organs for agricultural experimental farms. (The county soviet may reserve 50 to 150 tan, the district soviet 15 to 25 tan, and the township soviet 5 to 10 tan.) Before the agricultural experimental farm is started, the land may be leased to the peasants for cultivation at a nominal rental.

20. Debts

(1) Where landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists loaned money or articles to the workers, peasants, or poor people before the uprising, except for goods received from the stores, the principal and interest are both cancelled. Where workers, peasants, or poor people deposited money or articles with the landlords, rich peasants, or capitalists, the principal and interest must be paid according to the actual figures.

(2) Those who relied exclusively or mostly on exploitation by high interest loans for the main source of the livelihood of the household are called usurers. The usurers are handled in the same manner as landlords.

(3) Provided the Provisional Loan Law promulgated by the Central Government is not violated, debts incurred after the uprising must be repaid.

Those who were guilty of exploitation by high interest loans (in all areas controlled by the Kuomintang, whether urban or rural, the great majority of the debts are exploitation by high interest loans) but who did not rely exclusively or mostly on such loans for the main source of the livelihood of the household cannot be called usurers and the policy of total confiscation does not apply. They must be handled individually according to their classifications. It is incorrect to classify all those guilty of exploitation by high interest loans as "usurers." In regard to those who loaned and borrowed money at the same time, their "credit" and "debit" must be offset and the nature and extent of the balance studied. Then, by adding such balance to his other exploitations, his classification is determined.

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

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

10 October 1933

° "Central Government Decision on Certain Issues in the Land Struggle"
(mimeographed), 10 October 1933

* "Collection of Red Bandit Reactionary Documents," Vol 3, 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

RESOLUTION ON THE REPROMULGATION OF THE LABOR LAW

15 October 1933

[Text] According to experience gained after 18 months of implementing the Labor Law promulgated 1 December 1931, some provisions of the Labor Law were out of keeping with actual conditions in the Soviet Area and the Law did not provide for measures to accommodate the middle and poor peasants and handicraft workers who employ auxiliary labor. As a result, there were difficulties in enforcing the Law. Moreover, the Law did not provide for many other practical matters. Yet, these matters urgently needed to be included in the provisions of the Law. With a view to improving the interests of the workers, consolidating the worker-peasant alliance and developing the economy of the Soviet Area, the Central Executive Committee organized in April 1933 a Labor Law Drafting Committee to redraft a labor law. For the past 5 months, through discussions of a new draft labor law by worker-peasant masses in various places, numerous opinions were mustered. In accordance with the draft labor law and the opinions gathered from various places, the Central Executive Committee examined the draft and made amendments. Now it is especially resolved that

- (1) The articles of the Labor Law be adopted, promulgated and put into effect as from 15 October 1933.
- (2) After the new Labor Law is promulgated, the Labor Law that went into effect 1 December 1931 be declared null and void. All other decrees concerning the labor problem that contradict the provisions of the new Labor Law shall also be without legal force.
- (5) Detailed formalities to enforce the provisions of the new Labor Law be promulgated by order of the People's Council and the Central Department of the People's Commissioner of Labor.
- (4) Any amendments to this Labor Law be made by order of the Central Executive Committee.
- (5) This Labor Law take effect within the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

(6) All persons who violate the provisions of this Labor Law be punished in accordance with the provisions of the Regulations Governing Punishments for Violating the Labor Law promulgated by the Central Executive Committee 15 October 1933.

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

Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

15 October 1933

o

*

7682

CSO: 4005

LABOR LAW OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

15 October 1933

[Text] Chapter I. General Principles

Article 1. This Labor Law is applicable to all hired workers and binding on all enterprises, organs, business establishments (no matter whether state-owned, owned collectively by several organizations, privately-owned, or people who hire workers to work in their households) and individuals who use the labor of others and remunerate them with goods or money.

(Note 1) Middle peasants, poor peasants, small boat owners, small handicraft workers and handicraft producers' cooperatives who employ auxiliary labor force may, with the concurrence of the workers and their labor unions, be exempt from the restrictions of certain provisions of this Labor Law. Special decrees governing them shall be drawn up separately by the Central Executive Committee.

(Note 2) In the event of something special happening (as when there is a shortage of labor force in famine or disaster prevention or in war), the Central People's Council may, with the concurrence of the All-China Federation of Labor, promulgate special decrees to dispense with the application of this Law within a certain time limit.

Workers and labor unions have the right to press for revocation of the above two exceptions or for shortening of the time limit.

Article 2. This Law is not applicable to officers and men in active service of the Army, Navy and Air Force of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 3. With regard to agricultural workers, seasonal laborers, rural handicraft workers, coolies, domestic servants and other workers with extraordinary working conditions, in addition to those provisions of this Law which are applicable to them, the Central Executive Committee shall, in accordance with the working conditions of these workers, separately formulate supplementary decrees to provide special protection to these workers.

Article 4. All formal or informal collective agreements and labor contracts shall be considered invalid in case that their terms are worse than those prescribed in this Law.

Chapter II. Procedure of Employing and Obtaining the Labor of Others

Article 5. All individuals residing within the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic and all enterprises, organs and business establishments who wish to obtain the labor of others through employing them and putting them to work, apart from the exceptions stipulated in Article 10 of this Law, shall apply to an organ (labor office) affiliated to the Department of Labor for recommendations. In the event that such offices have not been established by the Department of Labor of the local government, they should apply to the labor union for recommendations.

Article 6. All persons looking for work should go and register at a labor office affiliated with the Department of Labor, entering their names in the register of unemployed workers. In the event that labor offices have not been established by the department of labor of the local government, they should go and register at the local labor union.

Article 7. The recruiting of workers and staff through private placement agencies or employment agencies or commissioning foremen to recruit them and the private hiring of workers by compradors or any individuals shall be prohibited without distinction. Requiring people to pay money or goods as a reward for finding employment for them or deducting money from their wages for such a purpose shall also be prohibited.

Article 8. All enterprises, organs, business establishments and private employers who want to take workers into employment shall apply to labor offices for recommendations according to the following procedure:

(a) A list containing the various qualifications of the labor force needed shall be drawn up and submitted together with the applications for recommendations in the name of the management of that enterprise or organ or the private employer or his agent to the labor office of the competent authorities.

(b) If, among those people registered with the labor office, some have qualifications required in the preceding clause, they will be recommended for the jobs in accordance with the bylaws of the labor office.

(c) No matter whether he rejects or accepts the people allocated the jobs, the employer shall notify the labor office of the competent authorities in accordance with the regulations laid down by the Department of Labor.

Article 9. The employer shall assume full responsibility in the event of any of the following things happening.