

## ON THE QUESTION OF SUPPRESSING INTERNAL COUNTERREVOLUTION

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

15 March 1933

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

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

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

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

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Yung, Chang Kuo<sup>^</sup>tao

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

8480  
CSO: 4005

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

Order No 18 of the Central Executive Committee, Provisional Central Government

14 April 1933

[Text] In the current period of bitter struggle in the civil war, the workers of the Soviet Government have been unable to pay out wages according to individual labor, so that people's families have no economic assistance. This spirit of bitter sacrifice on the part of workers in the Soviet Government deserves praise. The situation everywhere tells us that there are many poverty-stricken workers-peasant elements who are active and have work ability» but since they are the main workers in their families' production and have been bound by family labor and cannot come to work in the government, so that the governments in some areas lack such good work personnel and have chosen some not very active people, who are lacking in work ability<sub>4</sub> for government work. The reason is that only these people are not the main laborers in family production and are not bound by the family labor, and accordingly they have been selected for government work. In this way, the standard for selecting personnel has departed from revolutionary activism and work ability and only depends on the family being at leisure,, a circumstance which is impermissible. There is another, even worse impermissible circumstance; in some localities at election time the good elements, because of the press of their family livelihood, are unwilling to be elected, and so bad elements come out, rich peasants and vagabonds, and thus bore into the soviet organs. This is going on in some localities. As. to people from good class origins, active in the revolution and capable in their work> they have taken on government work, but because of family labor problems, which are unresolvable they cannot work with an easy mind, a situation which is extremely widespread (particularly at the district and township levels).

the central executive committee, on the basis of the above circumstances, and in order to make the soviet government into an active and able government, able to lead the broad masses of the people, under circumstances of bitter struggle, to win a revolutionary victory, has resolved:

For all workers in the soviet governments at all levels, who want to participate but whose families truly have no labor force or not enough, after it is so determined, the local government must mobilize the masses to do their families' farming for them or help their families do it, (families whose labor force is sufficient are excluded), to the extent that their family livelihood will not fall short of what it would be if they themselves were present and working. For a concrete method, Point 4 of the Red Army "Good Treatment" points may be used ("For those with no labor force, people shall be sent to help with all planting, irrigation, and harvesting work; for those with insufficient labor force, supplemental assistance according to their needs shall be given.")- These people's domestic worries should be alleviated so that they can do their government work with their minds at ease. The use of this aid measure is aimed at bringing large numbers of the people with good class background, revolutionary activism and good work ability into the soviet governments at all levels and strengthening the governments' work abilities. This is made known with the expectation that governments at all levels will comply and implement it. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-<sup>^</sup>-tao

14 April 1933

"Collected Communist Documents, (1)

Issued by Department No 4, Han-ch'ang Headquarters, Chairman of Military Affairs Committee, July 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

PROCLAMATION OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT AND THE MILITARY AFFAIRS  
COMMISSION OF THE WORKER-PEASANT RED ARMY

15 April 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

On 1 May we shall solemnly convey our revolutionary greetings to the toiling masses of all China, to the workers and peasants and urban poor groaning under the blood-stained leadership of the KMT, to the fighters who were oppressed into opposing the Chinese workers and peasants, to the revolutionary students and youth participating in the anti-imperialist struggle, and to the hundreds and thousands of revolutionary prisoners incarcerated and oppressed in KMT prisons!

The continuing attacks of Japanese imperialism, the unprecedented buildup of a crisis threatening the total dismemberment of China, and the profundity of the crisis of the whole people impels us to make a further declaration to all people fighting for the interests of China and to the toiling masses. The characteristic of the present situation is the totally unchecked rush of the Japanese imperialists into Peking and Hankow. At the same time the British imperialists are attacking in Sinkiang and are preparing, through their puppets in Tibet and elsewhere, to occupy western China. In the secret talks now being held by the Japanese and the KMT, Chiang Kai-shek has made yet another deal with the imperialist bandits. The secretariat of the Central Political Committee of the KMT, with powers to represent the Nanking government and Chiang Kai-shek, are holding secret talks with the Japanese representative Yoshizawa in Shanghai. Chiang Kai-shek—the executioner of the Chinese workers and peasants and the chief criminal who in 1929 asked the Japanese to occupy Shantung and in 1932 secretly massacred the defenders of Shanghai—has now abandoned the northern front and is once again promoting the traitor Yang Yu-tin who opened the road for the Japanese invasion of Jehol. When Chiang Kai-shek went to the north, he waged no war against Japanese imperialism, but recognized the handiwork of his friend, the traitor Chang Hsueh-liang.

The southwest government and the Fukien warlords alike .have failed to oppose Japan or any other imperialists; their recent propaganda about "opposing Japan in the Korth" has been nothing but falsehoods designed to deceive the masses. They are really intent upon expanding their own lands and attacking the Soviets and the Red Army.

Why does Chiang Kai^shek want to return to Kiangsi? Why has he abandoned the northern armies, leaving them empty-handed against the Japanese artillery and aircraft? Why have the KMT and their government concentrated large numbers of units, all their aircraft and military equipment to oppose the workers and peasants of Kiangsi? Because they are now bargaining with Japan and all the imperialists to make China into their private possession and betray it utterly. Because they hope that the Japanese and the other imperialists will allow them to become puppet rulers of a few provinces, as they did in the case of "Manchukuo. '\* Because they want to massacre the Chinese masses in order to support imperialism and the rule of the Chinese landlord bourgeoisie.

In order to cover up their surrender and treason, the KMT have fabricated the myth that Japanese imperialism is helping the Red Army with money and ammunition, spreading the slander that the Chinese Soviet Government is holding talks with warlords. This base and shameless rumor has already been shattered by many ironclad facts.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are the only mass political power and armed force opposing all imperialist invasions, and in repeated heroic combats, the Chinese Soviet Red Army has been shown to be constant in its stance to all imperialists; we are inseparably connected with the Japanese workers and peasants because they too are carrying on a heroic struggle in opposition to Japanese imperialism, and they too have been plundered, oppressed and massacred by the ruling class. But the Japanese imperialists and warlords are our common enemy.

We are engaged in a struggle for the interests of the toiling masses of all China and for Chinese independence, unification and territorial integrity. At present we must wage war against Japan and the other imperialists, and we will overthrow anyone who opposes that war.

We have complete faith that the struggle of the Chinese workers-peasant fighters and the heroic defense of the Red Army will be able to prevent imperialism) Chiang Kai-shek and the bankrupt KMT from realizing their plan to dismember China;

In the last 3 months the workers and peasants of Kiangsi and their Red Army have smashed more than nine enemy divisions. In several battles they captured more than 30,000 men and weapons along with large amounts of military supplies and innumerable, weapons.. About 10,000 troops from the KMT armies have already joined th\_e Kiangsi Red Army of their own free will.

The Red Army in Hunan, Hupeh, Honan and Szechwan have also been growing rapidly. From the proclamations of the commander of the 52nd division and the commander and staff of the 59th Division, recently captured in Kiangsi, it can be clearly seen how profound the disintegration of the KMT army is; they denounce the KMT and Chiang Kai-shek, express penitence for their own past crimes in opposing the Chinese workers and peasants and ask the fighters and officers of the White armies to stop their attacks on the Soviet areas, turn the guns around and attack the KMT traitors who are selling out our motherland. In view of the recent great victories of the Red Army and the waverings of their front-line troops, as well as the hatred of the masses of the entire country, the traitorous Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Ching-wei how hope, by means of such arbitrary propaganda as "exterminating the communists is resisting the Japanese" and "no discussion of resisting the Japanese until the communists are wiped out" to hinder the revolutionization of the broad masses of fighters and to cover up their own treason and surrender. But such deceit and threats cannot succeed. Quite the opposite; they only serve to further expose their wickedness.

In view of the current situation and our victory it behooves us once again to transmit the proposal we made in January to smash the slander of the KMT regarding hindrance by the Red Army and the workers and peasants in the Soviets of an effective resistance to the Japanese. We believe that if only we can actively oppose the invasion of the Japanese imperialists as we proposed before, it will immediately be possible, and accordingly we once again declare our proposal to the entire nation. Under the following conditions the Chinese Red Army is prepared to conclude a wartime agreement with any armed units to oppose the Japanese imperialist attack:

1. That it immediately stop the attacks on the Chinese Soviet areas;
2. That it immediately guarantee the democratic rights of the masses (assembly, association, speech, publication, and demonstration, and the release of political prisoners);
3. That it immediately arm the masses and form armed militia units to guard China and win China's independence, unification and territorial integrity. Every worker, peasant and fighter can understand that without the above conditions a victorious war against the imperialists is impossible. The KMT policy is bankrupt. It is leading to the dismemberment of China and the further enslavement of China's masses, and it continues to increase the suffering, hunger and massacre of the masses.

We call on all workers and fighters among the broad masses of the people, in the army and the militia to intensify their work to make them accept our policy of national revolution. We call upon all toiling masses to support us in defending China and the power of the people.

Chairman of the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic,  
Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
Chairman of the Military Affairs Committee of the Chinese Worker-Peasant  
Red Army



[ Preliminary. Prepared for the Maoist Internationalist Movement's Web site, located at <http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/> ]

15 April 1933

"Historical Materials on the Ups and Downs of the Intra-Party Conflict in the Chinese Communist Party" by **Hsiao** .Tso-liang; Washington University, 1967

**A "Struggle"** Shanghai, No 40, 21 April 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

## LETTER TO RESPONSIBLE PERSONS IN SOVIETS AT ALL LEVELS ON THE SUMMER PLANTING 22

April 1933

{Text} To presidiums of the provincial county and district Soviets, heads of land departments, chairmen of township Soviets and all representatives:

The spring planting is over. Although good results have been obtained in some places, the results have been extremely bad in others. A grave circumstance is that the government presidiums have neglected the spring planting, the land departments have shirked it, and especially in the means of mobilization we have become divorced from the masses. Now it is already time for summer planting, and soon it will be time for the autumn harvest; if you fail again to make an effort and do not immediately change from your errors of the spring planting and assume a spirit of struggle to approach the summer planting, then the plan to increase harvest by 20 percent in the interest of the masses and of the revolutionary war will be most gravely affected. Accordingly, the central land department has printed an outline of the summer planting movement ("How To Lead the Summer Planting Movement," published by Red China) to distribute to you. In this outline, the critical significance of the summer planting, its aims, its central tasks and the means of mobilizing the masses for it are pointed out. In particular the concrete examples of Juir\*chin and Wu-yang district are singled out--there they carried out a true "organized mobilization" and stimulated the peasant masses to an unprecedentedly high level of labor enthusiasm, achieving great results in the spring planting. When you receive this outline, you should immediately convene all necessary meetings (the chairman of the county soviet and the head of the land department should convene a meeting of district chairmen and heads of land departments, the district soviet and its land department should hold a meeting of township soviet chairmen and chairmen of poor peasant associations, the township soviets should convene meetings of their respective assemblies, poor peasants and women's congresses, Red Guards and Young Pioneers and the youth groups and village masses) to explain the main points of the outline and discuss the ways of carrying it out in the locality. The summer planting struggle of the revolution should immediately be spread to all red farm villages. The provincial soviet need not convene meetings of the county Soviets, but it should provide concrete and active leadership

on the basis of this outline. At least once a month the province should investigate the work of its counties and the county of its districts. The district should oversee its townships twice a month. The central land department should during May send people to all the counties for preliminary investigation of your achievements in summer planting. Performance of the tasks of summer planting depends primarily on your correct and energetic leadership. Comrades, all struggle for an all-around victory in summer planting!

Chairman of the Provisional Central Government, Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao Representative of the  
People's Land Committee Hu Hai

22 April 1933

°"Red China," No 74, 29 April 1933

\*"Outline for the Summer Planting Movement"

8480

CSO: 4005

## DIRECTIVE ON THE SETTING UP OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY MINISTRY

Directive No 10 of People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

28 April 1933

[Text] To increase production in all trades in the soviet areas, to expand internal and external trade, to develop the national economy in the soviet areas and to smash the enemy's economic blockade, all of these are of the first significance amid the current acute development of the civil war. Accordingly the central Executive Committee has published its 19th order and has added a Ministry of National Economy to the central government and National Economy Departments at the provincial and county levels. Governments at all levels must reform their past errors of neglecting economic construction and must quickly launch the attack on the economic front. Since the imperialist KMT carried out its fourth encirclement campaign against the Soviets and the Red Army, and at the same time carried out a cruel economic blockade, owing to the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviets and the active attack of the Red Army and the masses, we have already gained an extremely great victory, but governments at all levels must understand that our war with the imperialist KMT is a protracted and bitter struggle, and even if we entirely smash the fourth encirclement campaign and win initial victories in one or several provinces, we shall still need to devote an immense amount of effort to it. Winning a victory in economic construction, so as to improve the liveli<sup>h</sup>ood of the worker<sup>^</sup>peasant masses, to whip up an even greater revolutionary fervor among the masses, and also to protect the needs of the Red Army in coordination with the entire war mobilization, all this has decisive significance for the victorious struggle. Based on the above principles, governments at all levels, must grasp several central tasks of current economic construction, such as the development of industrial and agricul<sup>^</sup>tural production, grain redistribution, expansion of cooperatives, the setting up of an external trade office and the development of state<sup>^</sup>owned enterprises, and make them an actuality. To carry on these activities, the people<sup>l</sup>'s committee has determined that the National Economy Departments at all levels shall carry out a provisional organizational guideline in which is specified the setting up of the most important organs of the National Economy Department, the planning office and the investigation and

statistical office. In addition, it is specified that before the various special administrative organs—agricultural department, industrial department, communications department, internal and external trade department—have been set up—, their functions shall be performed wholly or in part by the Department of National Economy. When the governments at all levels receive this directive and guideline, they must immediately set up the various organs as specified. Some functions that were performed formerly under the control of the finance departments such as the office of grain redistribution, the cooperatives, the external trade office, etc., shall be relegated to the control of the Department of National Economy. The State Printing Plant which formerly was under the control of the Department of Education is also provisionally relegated to the Department of National Economy. The Labor Reform Institutions, which were formerly under the control of the Department of Justice and the provincial and county judicial departments, shall now have their manufacture and instructional sections relegated to the control of the Department of National Economy. But the Communications Administration under the control of the Ministry of Interior shall only have its Transport Department relegated to the Department of National Economy, while its post, telegraphic and highway functions shall remain unchanged under its control. The former provincial and county food departments shall be absorbed into the food section of the office of national economy. Within the Department of National Economy at the various levels, people's economy committees shall be set up as planning and reconstruction organs. The setting up of the organs of the national economy department at the provincial and county levels, and the duties of the personnel must quickly be reported to the central ministry of national economy.

As to the regional authorities' programs for concrete leadership, these must be drawn up by an early date, and it is expected that the Ministry of National Economy will examine and approve them for execution. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Vice-chairmen .Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

28 April 1933

°"Red China," NQ 77, 8 May 1933

8480

CSO; 4005

## ON LIMITING SPECIAL DELIVERY LETTERS

Order No 8 of the People's Committee

11 May 1933

[Text] In order to limit special delivery letters, the People's Committee of the Interior Department of the Central Government issued an order that: "Public and private letters which do not have a serious time sensitivity may not be sent special delivery." Recent investigations of certain party organs and Red units have continued to turn up many cases of frivolous use of special delivery, as the case in the 5th subdistrict where a comrade had lost a fountain pen and sent a special delivery letter to investigate, also requesting his correspondent to answer by special delivery; and the comrade in the military department of the I-huang county soviet who asked for repayment of a private debt from a comrade in the Fukien military district, also by special delivery letter. A letter from a Ta-hsi~pa district committee member to a Huang^po district committee representative asking him to send him money was also sent special delivery. This sort of frivolous use of special delivery hinders the work of the post office, hinders the true emergency work of special delivery, and especially hinders the delivery of military intelligence, wastes public funds; this sort of situation will not be allowed to continue. The People's Committee once again sternly circulates its order to all organs and all units to quickly forbid these practices among their personnel and it also lays down limitations as follows;

1. Special delivery letters of military organs are limited to reporting emergency information on the enemy and delivering urgent orders and communications. No other messages may be sent special delivery. They must bear the chop of the competent commander on the letter,

2. Among party departments., governments and mass organizations, they are limited as follows;

- a. Hsien level organizations may send special delivery letters, but those at the district and township levels may not.

b. The contents of special delivery letters must be strictly time sensitive, that is, the nature of the letter must be such that if it does not arrive in an extremely short time there will be an extremely bad effect upon all types of work.

c. Special delivery letters shall be stamped on the outside by the party secretary for party departments, and the chairman for the governments (department heads may do so in the central government and chairmen or committee chairmen may do so for mass organizations).

3. The Security Office shall have the responsibility for investigation, and if it discovers disobedience to the above regulations, it shall change the letter in question to an ordinary letter and in addition shall report the sender to the cognizant apparatus at the next higher level for fitting punishment.

We hope that organs at all levels and military units will strictly observe the above regulations and not again fail to adhere to them. It is so ordered.

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

11 May 1933  
°"Red China," No 90, 2 July 1933

8480  
CSO: 4005

## DECLARATION ON THE KMT SELL-OUT OF PEKING AND TIENTSIN

30 May 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

After Manchuria, Jehol and Shanghai were written off by the KMT Nanking Government with Chiang Kai^shek as its chief criminal, now Peking, Tientsin and Chahar have also been sold out by these running dogs of imperialism. Retreat from Peking and Tientsin of all armed units and the abandoning of them to the Japanese imperialists, the preconditions for the "peace talks" have now been thoroughly been carried out by the KMT Nanking government. The content of the so-called "peace talks" is:

1. The Chinese armies are to retreat south of Peking-Tientsin, and south of Ch'ang-ch'eng shall be designated a buffer zone (i.e., a so-called "neutral zone"),
2. The Chinese side recognizes "Manchukuo" and "Mengkukuo,"
3. All militia activity and the development of all antiHtfanchukuo forces shall be stopped and the militia and all anti-Japanese forces shall be disarmed at an opportune time,
4. The Chinese side .undertakes to stop all anti^Japanese activity.

The "peace talks" have already succeeded. In Peking, the representatives of Japanese imperialism, the top Chinese traitors such as Huang Ju and Ho Ying^k'an and the British Imperialist mediator (Lambertson) are now celebrating their victory at a banquet. Outside Peking, in Manchuria, Jehol, Chahar and Peking-Tientsin, the Japanese imperialists are continuing to use their artillery and aircraft to bombard and massacre the anti-Japanese militia, revolutionary fighters, and thousands upon thousands of peaceful inhabitants, in order to bring about "peace and order" of the colonial slaves under the rule of Japanese Imperialism.



Masses of all China! Mongolia and Peking-Tientsin have finally been sold out by the landlord bourgeois KMT. This is the content of the KMT's "protracted resistance," and the true nature of the KMT's "resisting and negotiating at the same time." This is the KMT 'central government's "fixed policy." The evil KMT with Chiang Kai^shek as its head criminal has thus shamelessly and brazenly offered up Manchuria and Peking-Tientsin with their tens of millions of square li of territory and their tens of millions of people, to Japanese imperialism. And it is even now preparing to recompense the British imperialists for their mediation with the vast regions of Tibet, Sikang and Sinkiang!

Masses of all China! We are the champion of the Chinese people and we will absolutely not permit the Japanese imperialists and all the other imperialists to invade a single inch of our territory; we will not allow the imperialists' running dogs the KMT to thus shamelessly and brazenly sell out China! We shall assuredly unite, arm ourselves and expand the national revolutionary war. With the force of the masses, 400 million strong, we will bring down imperialism and the imperialists' running dogs the KMT warlords, and first among them the KMT Nanking Government with Chiang Kai-shek as its chief criminal; only by a bloody struggle by the people of all China can we regain the land we have already lost and gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people!

The Central Government and Revolutionary Military Affairs Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic have repeatedly proposed to the armed units who are attacking the soviet areas throughout China to draw up a wartime cooperation agreement under the following three conditions in order to oppose the invasion of Japanese imperialism:

1. Immediately stop the attacks on the Soviet areas;
2. Immediately guarantee the people<sup>1</sup>? democratic rights;
3. Immediately arm the masses and set up armed militia to protect China and to win China's independence, unification and territorial integrity.

But the KMT's answer to this call of the Chinese Soviet Government has been to make new surrenders and betrayals to the Japanese imperialism, to force the anti^Japanese fighters in the Northeast to retreat, to disarm the militia in the Northeast, and so suppress all anti^Japanese and anti-imperialist movements of, the masses of all China,-to organize new forces to attack our soviet areas, and to send large numbers of aircraft to bomb the toiling masses and the peaceful inhabitants within-the soviet areas.

Now every peasant, every worker, every fighter, every student and every revolutionary can see with his own eyes who are the traitors, who are the running dogs of imperialism! If the KMT is not overthrown, China can only

perish, and the Chinese masses will sink Into eternal slavery to imperialism! The Central Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic calls upon the masses of all China, the militia in the northeast, the anti-Japanese fighters in the northeast, all Chinese revolutionary students and intellectuals, independent tradesmen and all revolutionaries to join together and arm themselves, to reject all repression and massacre by imperialist police and KMT gendarmes, to struggle against Japanese imperialism's attack on China, to oppose the KMT government's sellout of China and to win liberation for the Chinese people. The Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic is now engaged in a bloody war to completely smash the fourth encirclement campaign of imperialism and the KMT against the Soviet areas, Is setting up extensive Chinese revolutionary bases and creating an iron Worker-Peasant Red Army a million strong. It is preparing to collect its forces on the Yangtze to wage warfare directly against all Imperialists. The Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic and its Worker-Peasant Red Army have already proved to the masses of all China in a protracted anti-imperialist and anti-KMT war, that only it is the anti-imperialist anti-KMT masses' own political power and only it can. lead the masses of all China to overthrow Japanese imperialism and all imperialism and to overthrow the KMT government headed by Chiang Kai-shek which sold out China and all traitorous KMT warlords.

Masses of all China! Unite, arm yourselves, and together with the Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic expand the national revolutionary war and struggle to win back the lost territory in the Northeast, to defend China and to win complete liberation for the Chinese people.

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

30 May 1933

"Red China," No 83, 4 June 1933

"Struggle," Shanghai, No 44, 10 June 1933

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

8480

CSO; 4005

## CARRY OUT AN EXTENSIVE AND PROFOUND LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

Directive No 11 of People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

1 June 1933

{Text] There are now a large number of districts in the various soviet areas and especially in the central soviet area which have not thoroughly resolved the land question. In the central, soviet, these areas make up almost 80 percent of the area, with a population of more than 2 million, such as Jui-chin (excluding the Wu-yang district), Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Hsin-feng, Yu-tu (excluding Hsin P'o district), Lo-an, I-huang, Kuang-ch'ang, Shih-sh'eng, Chien-ning, Li-ch'uan, Ning-hua, Ch'ang-t'ing, and Wu-p'ing--in all 15 entire counties. Large parts of Po-sheng, Sheng-li and Yung-feng and parts of Kung-lueh, Wan-t'al, Shang-hang, Yung-ting and Hsin-ch'uan, as well as the districts of Chun-ts'un and Huang-t'ang in Hsing-kuo, all are places, which have not thoroughly resolved the land question. The peasant masses in these areas have not been extensively mobilized, and the remnants of feudal power have not been finally overcome; and in the soviet organs the mass organizations and the local armed units there are still a good many alien class elements engaging in hidden activity, and there are still a good many secret counterrevolutionary organizations in the localities engaging in activities subversive to the revolution. For this reason, wartime mobilization and cultural and economic construction in these areas have fallen behind those in the progressive areas (almost all of Hsing-kuo, part of Sheng-li, Kan-hsien, Wan-t'ai, Kung-lueh, Yung-feng and Shang-hang; Huang-p'o and An-fu districts in Po-sheng; Hu-yang district in Jui-chin, and Hsi'an district in Yung'ing). The carrying out of a universal and profound land investigation movement in these extensive areas, the development of an extremely high level of class struggle among the more than 2 million masses, and the final assault on and thorough destruction of feudal power are tasks which in the various Soviets will not brook a moment's delay. As for the concrete details of the carrying out of the land investigation movement, the People's Committee has determined as follows:

1. The governmental chairmen at the various levels are charged with using the greatest attention in leading the entire land investigation movement.
2. The land departments, the worker-peasant investigation departments., the judicial departments and the state political security offices and their agents at all levels are charged with devoting all their energies to directing the movement and thoroughly resolving land problems, reforming local Soviets and wiping out counterrevolution in the countryside. The people's committees of the central land department, the worker-peasant investigation department, the judicial committees, the state political security office, must devote their whole energy to directing the various subordinate organs in the thorough performance of the task.
3. The people's committee of the central financial department is charged with directing financial departments at various levels in attacking feudal and semi-feudal power by fining landlords and exacting contributions from rich peasants, and at the same time increasing state revenues. The central people's military committee is charged with directing the military departments at the various levels in the land investigation movement, overhauling and expanding the local armed organizations, and mobilizing the masses to serve in the Red Army. The central people's economic committee is charged with directing the economic committees at the various levels in carrying out recovery and development of agricultural and handicraft production, the development of cooperatives and the distribution of products and commodities within the development of the land investigation movement. The central education people's committee is charged with directing the education committees at the various levels in supplying all sorts of simple and colloquial textbooks and booklets to all cadres and masses investigating land in order to develop the land investigation movement and expanding mass cultura.l education as the land investigation movement expands.
- A. Governments at the provincial and county levels should summon cadres from the areas being investigated and from all progressive and relatively progressive areas to run brief land ^investigation movement training classes. The county Soviets should convene a meeting of the district soviet responsible persons every month and the district soviet should convene a meeting of the township soviet chairmen and poor peasant association chairmen every 10 days to investigate the experience of land investigation.
5. Meetings of main responsible persons in the Soviets at the district level and above in eight counties of Jui-^chin, Hui-ch'ang, Po-sheng, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Shih-cVeng, Ning-hua and Gli'ang^tiing and meetings of poor peasant associations and. electoral congresses in eight counties should be held at the central government to stimulate the land investigation movement in them.

6. In the course of the movement the class line should be persistently adhered to, taking the proletariat in the countryside as the leader and relying upon the poor peasants, resolutely uniting with the middle peasants to stage resolute attacks against feudal and semi-feudal power and ferret out all landlords and rich peasants masquerading as middle peasants or poor peasants, to confiscate all land and property of the landlord class and confiscate the land and excess draft animals, farm implements and dwellings of the rich peasants, and distribute them to workers, poor and middle peasants who previously did not receive enough land or received none at all; the rich peasants should be given relatively poor land to work.

7. In the land investigation movement thorough attention should be paid to mobilizing the majority of the masses to arise and struggle with the remnants of feudalism. First, by means of extensive propaganda and agitation, a thorough investigation of people of landlord and rich-peasant origin should be made, and their land and property should be confiscated. This should be done with the agreement and participation of as large a majority as possible, and the confiscated property should all, with the exception of money, "be given out to the poorest of the masses. Special attention should be paid to giving it out to poor Red Army dependents and a larger share of it should be given out to the masses in the villages from whence the property came.

8. The poor peasants association is an extremely important mass organization in the land investigation movement, and the district and township Soviets should strive to lead the poor peasants association in purging bad elements from within it and attracting large numbers of active elements to join it. The worker team within the poor peasant association should be the active leader of the poor peasant association.

9. In the land investigation movement, energetic attention should be concentrated on all backward districts, townships and villages, and especially in the most backward of them. In developing the land investigation movement in backward districts and townships and particularly in large villages attention should be paid to mobilizing the impoverished masses to arise of themselves and struggle against the landlords and rich peasants of the village. The utmost effort should be directed toward avoiding all incorrect activity involving struggles in areas with a single lineage.

10. In the land investigation movement all secret counterrevolutionary organs and activities should be purged and rumor-mongering and subversion by landlords and rich peasants should be prevented and exposed.

11. In the course of the movement the local Soviets should be reformed and all alien class elements and other bad elements should be cleaned out of them and large numbers of revolutionary activist elements should be attracted into the Soviets.

12. All people in the Soviets at all levels who directly or indirectly hinder the land investigation movement should receive severe or the severest punishment.

Only by persistently implementing the above decisions can we broadly and profoundly develop class struggle in the countryside and whip up the activism of the broadest range of the masses, thoroughly destroy all feudal and semi-feudal power in the countryside and complete the task of the land investigation movement. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse^tung

Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

1 June 1933

<sup>8</sup>"Red China," No 87, 20 June 1933

\* (Guide to the Land Investigation Movement) , ("Directive of the Central Government on Land Investigation Movement"), issued by the Central Government, 1933

\*Collected Red Counterrevolutionary Documents, Vol. 3, "Directive of the Central Government on Land Investigation Movement," 1935

8480

CSO: 4005

MEETING OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF SOVIETS OF THE DISTRICT AND ABOVE AND  
CONGRESS OF POOR-PEASANTS\* LEAGUES OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

Announcement of the Central Government

1 June 1933

i -'\*.--?.'• ^3?

[Text] Presidiums of the county and district Soviets and chairmen of the township Soviets of the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu» Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing:

As the land issue remains an extremely serious one in many areas where the struggle is lagging behind, for the purpose of launching an extensive and intensive land investigation movement, thereby thoroughly solving the land issue, eliminating the counterrevolution, and reforming the Soviets and mass organizations, the Central Government has decided to call a "Meeting of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above of the Eight Counties" and a "Congress of Poor Peasants<sup>1</sup> Leagues of the Eight Counties."

1. Meeting of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above

(1) Location of the meeting: Yeh-p'ing, Yun-chi district, Jui-chin.

(2) Time: Arrival of all participants 16 June; meeting opens 17 June; closes 20 June.

(3) Participants:

District level: Chairman, chief of land department, chief of workers-peasant procurators<sup>1</sup> department, and special representative of security bureau.

County level: Chairman, chief of land department, chief of worker-peasant procurators/ department\* and special representative of security bureau.

(4) The duties of the participants will be temporarily performed by others acting on their behalf.

C5) The participants designated above may not be absent under any excuse

(6) The participants must prepare and bring to the meeting the following reports (details omitted).

To obtain the material for the reports, the district soviet, upon receipt of this announcement, must immediately call a meeting of the township chairmen and poor peasants<sup>1</sup> league chairmen of the entire district and collect the material. The county soviet has no need to call a meeting of the district Soviets; it only needs to collect the material from the various departments and mass organizations of the county level. The provincial soviet must collect material from the various departments and mass organizations of the provincial level. All participants must bring the above-listed reports to the meeting. Failure to do so will be taken as a work slowdown. The reports must be truthful, without fabrication. Those making false reports because of the desire to save "face" will be punished upon discovery.

(7) The travel expenses of the participants will be issued by the finance department of the various levels. Meals during the period of meeting will be provided by the Central Government.

(8) The participants will bring their bowls, chopsticks, and bedclothes. 2.  
Congress of Poor Peasants' Leagues of the Eight Counties

(1) Location of the congress: Yeh-p'ing, Yun-chi District, Jui-chin.

(2) Time: Arrival of all participants 24 June; meeting opens 25 June; closes 1 July.

(3) Participants: One delegate elected from the poor peasants' league of every township; two delegates where the league membership exceeds 300.

(4) Election of delegates and travel:

(i) Upon receipt of this announcement, the district soviet must immediately call a meeting of the chairmen of the township Soviets and poor peasants<sup>1</sup> leagues of the entire district and explain to them the great revolutionary significance of the congress called by the Central Government this time and the methods of electing delegates, and propagandizing to the masses.

(ii) The township and poor peasants' league chairmen must promptly return to their townships, call a poor.peasants<sup>1</sup> league membership meeting, explain the significance of the congress convened by the Central Government this time, and proceed with the election of delegates.

(iii) In regard to the qualifications of the delegates, they must be poor peasants or farm laborers who have been consistently waging a firm struggle against the landowners and rich peasants and who are positive in



their activities. If the chairman or manager of the poor peasants' league has such qualifications, he may be elected; if not, then the delegate must be elected from among the members. The delegate must be elected at the membership meeting; he must not be appointed. No negative element or deviationist may be elected.

(iv) The delegates of the various townships, after being elected, will gather at the district soviet. The district soviet acting chairman will hold a meeting, organize the delegation, appoint the best among the delegates as the delegation chairman, explain the significance of the congress, and issue them travel expenses. The delegation chairman will lead the delegation to go forth and arrive at Jui-chin on 24 June.

(5) The delegates must bring with them a simple report, giving the following information: (i) population of their particular township; (ii) number and components of the poor peasants' league; (iii) when it was organized; (iv) whether there are village poor peasants' leagues; (v) how many subdivisions.

(6) Travel expenses of the delegates will be issued by the district soviet; meals during the period of meeting will be provided by the Central Government.

(7) The delegates will bring their own bowls, chopsticks, and bed-clothes.

(8) In regard to propaganda after the departure of the delegates for the congress, the township soviet must select five active elements among the township congress or poor peasants' league to form a "land investigation movement propaganda team." After the poor-peasants' league delegates have left for the congress, the propaganda team will proceed separately to the villages and hamlets, call mass meetings, and explain to the masses that the Central Government, for the purpose of launching a mass movement to investigate land and the classes, is holding the Congress of the Poor Peasants' Leagues of the Eight Counties, that the township has elected so and so to attend the congress, that all districts and townships of the county are sending delegates, that the masses must be prepared and pay attention to the landowners and rich peasants who misrepresented themselves as middle or poor peasants and received land allocations, that a vigorous investigation will begin when the delegate returns from the congress, and that the feudal power must be completely eliminated before the Impoverished masses can gain their maximum interest. They must also explain that land investigation is not land redivision, that the masses must perform the investigation themselves and uncover the landowner and rich peasant elements misrepresenting themselves as middle or poor peasants, that only when they are uncovered and knocked down will the impoverished masses gain liberation, and that our farm laborers and poor peasants must ally with all true middle peasants and the soviet will fully protect the interests of the middle peasants. Such propaganda is to inform the masses that the congress of the poor peasants'

leagues attended by the delegates of all districts and townships, including their own township, is for the purpose of launching a mass movement to investigate the classes in the 900 or more hsiangs of the eight counties, and to create a strong atmosphere of class investigation before the delegates' return. Village and hamlet mass meetings may- be held after sundown, and the township chairman must be responsible for their guidance.

Responsible comrades of the county, district, and township Soviets of the eight counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing: Attention must be given the following points for the complete success of the two meetings: (i) The participants must all bring with them truthful reports. (ii) All the poor peasants' league delegates must be positive revolutionary elements, not negative compromising elements, (iii) All those required to attend must attend and arrive promptly on the specified day. (iv) General propaganda on the land investigation movement must be performed in all the hsiangs. You must devote a great effort to these four points. If they are not followed, the meetings will not be completely successful, and you must share the blame. It is so announced.

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

1 June 1933

<sup>0</sup> "RED CHINA," No 85, 14 June 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

APPEAL TO THE MASSES OF JUT-CHIN, HUI-CH'ANG, PO-SHENG, AND SHIH-CH'ENG  
COUNTIES FOR **50,000** TAN OF GRAIN TO SELL TO THE RED ARMY

June 1933

--

[Text] (1) During the fourth revolutionary war, after Chiang Kai-shek's White army in the North suffered several tragic defeats and the Red Army won several great victories, the Kuomintang warlords are mustering their remnant troops and preparing a new attack. Meanwhile, Kwangtung's warlord Ch'en Chi-t'ang, Fukien's warlord Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and Hunan's warlord Ho Chien are starting out together and moving their troops against the soviet areas. The Red Army is fighting bloody battles against the enemies and aiming at smashing the enemy encirclement campaign. In another aspect, the Kuomintang conspired with Japanese imperialism to occupy Peking and Tientsin, and the Red Army is preparing to confront imperialism directly and knock down the imperialist Kuomintang at the same time. However, in the Red Army at this time, a serious grain problem has arisen. Some of the Red Army troops live on rice congee, and some of the Central Government organs must also have half of their meals in congee. The price of rice is high, and it cannot be bought. It is truly a difficult problem. In addition, a part of the extremely impoverished masses, especially the families of Red Army soldiers, have nothing to eat. The situation is very serious.

(2) Is there no grain in the soviet areas? No, the soviet areas have considerable amounts of grain. Leaving aside Kung-lueh and Wan-t'ai, where grain is abundant, and taking, for instance, the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Po-sheng, and Shih-ch'eng, we find that there is a surplus every year. Though the harvest last year was inferior, there was still a large surplus. Why is it that the Red Army cannot buy grain in these areas? Primarily, it is due to the manipulation of the rich peasants and unscrupulous merchants. They hide the grain, or raise the price much above the market, and deliberately make it difficult for the Red Army. Next, the people with more grain still fail to understand the difficulties of the Red Army and want to wait for higher prices in the future. Even those who have an average amount of grain do not understand the difficulties of the Red Army; therefore, they have not saved a part of their grain to sell to the Red Army. With these two reasons, grain has become unavailable on

the market. Comrades, you do not understand the difficulties of the Red Army because the Soviets of the various areas have never explained them to you. Now the Central Government wishes to purchase 50,000 tan of grain from the counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang» Po-shehg, and Shih-ch'eng to supply the Red Army at the front. It wishes to place the responsibility on the county, district, and township Soviets and the 1 million people of the four counties. The distribution is 16,000 tan from Jui-chin, 15,000 tan from Hui-ch'ang, 12,000 tan from Po-sheng, and 10,000 tan from Shih-ch'eng. However, this time it is not borrowing, but purchasing. According to our grain borrowing experiences of the past, the masses voluntarily loaned much grain to the Red Army, and many of them even returned to us the grain borrowing notes. It indicated the tremendous revolutionary fervor of the masses. It indicated that the masses regarded the life of the Red Army as their own and, the moment they heard of the need, they lent their grain. But comrades, the Red Army has exhausted the grain borrowed in the past and the Central Government now wishes to buy grain. The amount is 50,000 tan, at market price. It is to be delivered in batches during the month of June. In regard to the method, those with surplus grain will surrender the surplus and an additional amount saved by them. Those without surplus will save some grain and surrender it. Only those who do not have enough to eat and must depend on their relatives and friends for help do not have to sell to the government. Comrades, we all hope that the Red Army will win. Now that the Red Army fighting on the front does not have enough to eat, can we set our mind at ease? We must all eat more sundry grain and vegetables and save a part of the grain to sell to the Red Army. As many dribblets become a river, we believe that it should not be hard for the million population of the four counties to save 40,000 or 50,000 tan of grain. Comrades, as long as the Red Army on the front has enough to eat and wins battles, even if our masses in the rear eat a little less, it will be glorious and joyful!

(3) Another aspect of the grain problem also requires the attention of our broad masses. It is the problem of the grain shortage of the extremely impoverished masses. The majority of us must not allow them, especially the families of the Red Army soldiers, to go hungry. Their difficulty must be solved by us all. The method of solution is mutual help among the masses, first by selling grain at reduced prices, and next by borrowing in summer and repaying in the fall. For the interest of the class, we must not consider ourselves only and ignore the others. Those townships with more grain must help those with less grain. Those villages with more grain must help those with less grain. In a village, those households with more grain must help those with less grain. Besides selling 50,000 tan of grain to the Red Army, we must help the extremely impoverished masses. Only thus are true class friendship and true class mutual help!

Arise, all 1 million of the masses of the four counties!

Sell 50,000 tan of grain to the Red Army!

Help the impoverished masses by "price reduction" and "grain loans!"

Do not let the Red Army live on congeel

Do not let the impoverished masses go hungry<sup>1</sup>

Help the Red Army break down the fourth enemy encirclement campaign with grain!

Long live the victory of the Red Army!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government  
Hsian Ying, Vice Chairman Chang Kuo-tao, Vice  
Chairman

<sup>0</sup> "RED CHINA," No 83, 4 June 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE NEGATING THE TREASONABLE AGREEMENT SIGNED BY KUOMINTANG

10 June 1933

" J - "i^

[Text] Revolutionary People of the Whole Nation!

On 31 May the Kuomintang government signed a North China cease-fire agreement with Japanese imperialism. By this agreement, the vast area of North China and tens of millions of people are sold to imperialism, but it is only a part of the treasonable secret treaty published by the Kuomintang. Though Wang Ching-wei and other traitorous ringleaders shamelessly claim that the agreement is only limited to military affairs and involves no politics, actually, what is even more serious is the unpublished large-scale treasonable secret treaty of the Kuomintang government. According to information obtained by this government, the contents of the secret treaty are roughly as follows: (1) The Chinese army will retreat to the south of Peking and Tientsin and the area south of the Great Wall is designated as a buffer zone. (2) China recognizes "Manchukuo" and "the Nation of Mongolia." (3) All activities of the Volunteer Army will be stopped and the Volunteer Army and all troops resisting Japan will be disarmed according to the circumstances. (4) China guarantees the cessation of all anti-Japan movements. The Soviet Provisional Central Government, representing the people of the whole of China, absolutely refuses to recognize the secret treaty and the North China cease-fire agreement, because they completely sell out the vast land of Manchuria, Mongolia, and North China and the national interest to Japanese imperialism and, doubtlessly, the Kuomintang will likewise concede to the demands of British and American imperialism, sell out the territory and rights of Tibet, Hsi-k'ang, and the Yangtze and Pearl river valleys, and follow its traitorous line of "equal opportunity" and "sharing of interests." The Soviet Provisional Central Government of China appeals to the people of the entire China to rise together and resist the treasonable secret treaty and treasonable agreement of the Kuomintang and, by means of revolutionary struggles, including work strikes, school strikes^ market strikes, mass demonstrations, and the people's own armed forces, oppose and block the implementation of any article of the secret treaty and agreement. The people of the entire nation must realize that, if the secret treaty and agreement are not resisted, the 400 million people will become forever the slaves of imperialism. They must realize that only by arming themselves,

knocking down the traitorous Kuomintang government, fighting imperialism directly, and ousting Japan and all imperialists before they can liberate themselves and avert the fate of slavery. The Soviet Provisional Central Government declares that it is prepared to devote all its strengths, its spiritual, material, and armed strengths, to help the people of the entire nation resist Japanese imperialism and the traitorous Kuomintang, and it reiterates to all the armed units of the Kuomintang government that, under the condition of (1) immediate cessation of attacks on the soviet areas; (2) guarantee of the people's freedoms of assembly, association, speech, and publication; and (3) Immediate arming of the people and creation of a volunteer army, the Soviet Central Government is willing to form a combat agreement with any armed unit of the Kuomintang and fight Japanese imperialism. Meanwhile, the Soviet Central Government wishes to point out that, while loudly clamoring against Japan and the cease-fire agreement, the traitorous Kuomintang warlords such as Feng Yu-hsiang, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, and Ch'en Chi-t'ang are only trying to hoodwink the people. Actually, some of them have already joined Chiang Kai-shek for a desperate attack on the Red Army and the soviet, while others have become running dogs of Japanese imperialism. Their vociferous clamor against Japan and the cease-fire agreement is only a means for them to deceive the people and proceed with their treachery. Besides associating with imperialism to suppress the revolutionary people and revolutionary soldiers and vigorously attacking the soviet areas and the Red Army, they have no other goal. Revolutionary people and revolutionary soldiers of the entire nation: Only the union of the people's own armed strength and the anti-Japanese soldiers with the people will we implement a true national revolutionary war and knock down Japan and all imperialists, and overthrowing the traitorous Kuomintang is the prerequisite to the victory of this war. The Soviet Central Government of China appeals to the people of the whole nation and the revolutionary soldiers to rally under the banner of the soviet, unite with the Red Army, jointly overthrow the regime of the Kuomintang, the traitorous ringleader, defend the independence and territorial integrity of China, and strive for the thorough liberation of the nation!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Soviet Provisional  
Central Government of China  
Hsiang Y.ing, Vice Chairman  
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman

10 June 1933

'RED CHINA," No 84, 11 June 1933  
0 tii

6080  
CSO: 4005

## ON SOLVING THE GRAIN PROBLEM OF THE MASSES

Order No 42 of Central People's Committee

16 June 1933

\_: .:\,,,^ 1933

[Text] Recently, grain supply has been short, and the price of rice rises every day. In some individual areas, rice is not available even with money. Therefore, some of the people have no rice to eat, but live on vegetables and sundry grains, or even tree leaves and grass roots. This has truly become a serious situation. The reason is the hoarding by the rich peasants and the manipulation by the merchants; they deliberately make it difficult for the toiling worker-peasant masses. The people with a grain surplus still follow the old concept of each one for himself, wait for higher prices before selling, and are completely indifferent to the hunger of the toiling worker-peasant masses. This is entirely because they do not understand the momentous significance of class mutual help. The people who have no surplus have not saved a part of their grain to sell to the toiling masses who are short of grain, especially the families of the Red Army soldiers, or to lend the grain to them according to the method of borrowing in the summer and repaying in the fall. It is still more than a month before the new grain comes to the market. During this long period, large volumes of grain are needed to relieve the people and the Red Army families. To solve this problem, we want the governments of all levels to devote their full effort to the following work:

1. The government of the provincial level must promptly call all types of meetings, conduct enthusiastic and detailed discussions and, according to the actual situations of the counties, formulate its particular, systematic, and concrete plans for discussion and implementation by the lower level.
2. The county government must, according to the resolutions of the provincial soviet and the experiences of fending grain and saving grain to sell to the Red Army, call district and township delegates' meetings. (Such meetings may be held in two locations if the distances are too great and the delegates too numerous). Such meetings must include the chairman and the delegates of the poor peasants<sup>1</sup> league, labor union, and women's organization



on the township level, and class mutual help must be explained to the delegates and active elements, so that they will make extensive and enthusiastic propaganda and stimulation when they return, to their own districts and townships. By so doing, we will activate the masses and raise their spirit of class friendship and mutual help to solve the-current grain difficulty. In areas suffering the greatest grain difficulty, we may use huang-chin, huang-ch'iu vegetable, t'ung-hao, hemp leaves, creeper bean, and bracken as food supplements.

3. The district and township governments must thoroughly implement the resolutions of the province and county on this issue, and guide the townships with more grain to help those with less grain. The villages with more grain must help those with less grain, and the households with more grain must help those with less grain, so that the soviet masses, under the significance of class mutual help, will break down the manipulation of the rich peasants and rice merchants and solve the difficulty of shortage between the green crops and the yellow harvest.

It is hoped that the governments of all levels, upon receipt of this order, will strive to perform the task without neglect. It is so ordered.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman  
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman  
Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairman  
Lin Po-ch'u, Chief of National Economy Department

16 June 1933

<sup>0</sup> Order No 42, Central People's Committee, Soviet Republic of China—on Solving the Grain Problem of the Masses (mimeographed)

6080

CSO: 4005

REPORT AT THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT RALLY OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS OF  
SOVIETS OF THE CH'U LEVEL AND ABOVE OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

18-19 June 1933

<sup>1</sup> 1,

[Text] I. The Land Investigation Movement Is the Momentous Central Task of a Vast Area

As shown by all past experiences, only when the land issue is correctly solved and the flame of the rural class struggle raised to the maximum height under the firm class slogans will the broad peasant masses become activated and, under the leadership of the proletariat, join the revolutionary war and the soviet constructions of all aspects, build a firm revolutionary base, add a greater strength to the soviet movement, and strive for larger developments and victories.

According to the experiences of the progress of the land revolution, the development of the rural class struggle has its corresponding stages. The land struggle includes (1) the stage of confiscating and distributing land, (2) the stage of land investigation, and (3) the stage of land construction. According to the three stages of the land struggle, three types of areas exist in any soviet region: (1) area of intensive struggle, (2) area where the struggle lags behind, and (3) newly developed area.

In the newly developed areas, the land struggle is still in the stage of confiscation and distribution. The central issue here is to overthrow the political power of the landlord class by force, build a revolutionary provisional political regime (the revolutionary committee), local worker-peasant militia, and revolutionary mass organizations, confiscate the land and assets of the landlord class and the land of the rich, peasants, distribute the land to the farm laborers and poor and middle peasants, allocate the inferior land to the rich peasants, cancel the debts and burn the land deeds and loan agreements. The struggle in this stage includes the entire period from the time when the revolution and the counterrevolution begin to join in battle to the time of the disposal of the land and assets of the counterrevolutionaries after the revolution has overcome the counterrevolution.

In areas where the struggle is intensive; a consolidated soviet political regime has been established, -the local militia and the revolutionary mass organizations have been extensively developed, the feudal and semi-feudal forces of the "landlords and rich, peasants have been completely subjugated, the land has been thoroughly distributed, and the struggle of the peasant masses on the land issue has progressed to the stage of land improvement and production development. Therefore, the central issue here is land construction.

In areas where the struggle has dropped behind, the development stage is situated between the two stages discussed above. The period of provisional political power has progressed to the period of formal political power, but not yet completely consolidated. The counterrevolutionary struggles of the landlords and rich peasants have been defeated by the revolutionary masses in the first period. From that time on, many among them, with one shake of the body, took down their counterrevolutionary masks and donned the revolutionary masks, also supporting the revolution and land division and calling themselves impoverished peasants entitled to land allocation. They were very active and relied on their historical superiorities, "articulate and literate." Therefore, they stole the fruits of the land revolution during the first period. The innumerable facts prove that they usurped the provisional political power, infiltrated the local militia, manipulated the revolutionary organizations, and acquired more and better land than the impoverished peasants. By the time of the second period, as a result of supervision of the higher level government and the development of the mass struggle, the revolutionary committee was reorganized into the soviet, and the mass organizations and local militia were also initially reformed and developed. A part of the spurious revolutionary elements were purged. In many areas, the land was divided a second time, or even a third or fourth time. A part of the land stolen by the landlords and rich peasants was repossessed. Nevertheless, many class deviationists still remain hidden in the soviet mass organizations and local militia where they "hang out the red belt and address each other as comrades," where they create rumors and hold secret meetings, and where they revile the masses as "leftwing opportunism," "hitting the local tyrants indiscriminately," and "using the public to repay a private grudge." Or, they "are most enthusiastic in expressing their opinions at meetings but do nothing afterward." When the struggle is violent, they organize counterrevolutionary secret organizations, such as the Kuomintang, the Social Democratic Party, the AB League, the New Communist Party, and all types of things, for the purpose of sabotaging the revolution and injuring the positive revolutionary elements. In general, the landlord and rich peasant class uses all kinds of means to suppress the mass struggle, protect their privileges in political power and in land and property, and defend their remnant feudal force. In such areas, the revolutionary masses and the landowners and rich peasants are waging a severe struggle, except that, unlike the open struggle between the Red and White banners in the first period, it is a struggle between the revolutionary peasant masses and the landlord and rich peasant elements covered

by false masks. Such, struggle has its special difficulties. The hidden counterrevolutionaries are unlike the open' counterrevolutionaries whom the peasant masses can see at one glance. With the many types of deep-rooted rural feudal relations such, as the national relations, it is not an easy matter to raise the class awareness of the peasant masses and make them realize the necessity of the final destruction of the feudal remnants. Therefore, it is necessary for the Communist Party and the Soviet Government to explain patiently to the peasants, perform much arduous work, and follow the correct class line and mass work method. Here, the central issue is land investigation and class investigation. If this issue is not solved, the revolutionary positivity of the peasant masses cannot be developed to its maximum, the remnant feudal forces cannot be completely destroyed, the soviet cannot obtain its maximum consolidation, and such important tasks as expanding the Red Army, raising funds for it, enlarging the local militia, undertaking land and economic constructions, and developing culture and education, cannot attain the maximum success. Therefore, the land investigation movement is the most central and most important task of these areas.

Take the central soviet areas as an example: The struggle is relatively behind in a large part of such areas. The land issue has not been solved in the entire 13 counties of Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Hsin-feng, Lo-an, I-huang, Kuang-ch'ang, Shih-ch'eng, Chien-ning, Li-ch'uan, Ning-hua, Ch'ang-t'ing, and Wu-p'ing, the greater portion of the counties of Jui-chin, Yu-tu, Po-sheng, Sheng-li, and Yung-feng, a portion of the counties of Kung-lueh, Wan-t'ai, Kan-hsien, Shang-hang, Yung-ting, and Hsin-ch'uan, and even the districts of Chun-ts'un and Huang-t'ang in Hsing-kuo,

The peasant masses of such areas have not been most extensively activated, and the feudal forces have not been finally overcome. Many class deviationists are hidden and active in the soviet political regime, mass organizations, and local militia, and many counterrevolutionary secret organizations pursue surreptitious activities in all areas to sabotage the revolution. For this reason, the war mobilization and economic and cultural construction of such areas lag far behind the advanced areas (almost the entire county of Hsing-kuo; a part of Sheng-li, Kan-hsien, Wan-t'ai, Kung-lueh, Yung-feng, and Shang-hang; Huang-p'o District of Po'sheng, Wu-yang District of Jui-chin, Hsin-p'o District of Yu-tu, and Ch'i-nan District of Yung-ting). These backward areas constitute almost 80 percent of the central region and their masses number 2 million or more. To launch a general and intensive land investigation movement in such vast areas, ignite the flame of the class struggle among the 2 million masses for a final battle with the feudal forces, and knock them down completely constitute the urgent task of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government.

## II. The First Step of the Land Investigation Movement—Large-scale Organizational Mobilization

How do we proceed with the land investigation movement? First of all, it requires organizational mobilization. As indicated by the experiences in

leading mass struggles in soviet areas, only when the Communist Party, the soviet, and the mass organizations take concerted action under party guidance will we attain success in all .our struggle tasks. The land investigation movement is a cruel and violent class struggle, a great revolutionary mass movement, the fundamental improvement of the mass organization work of the party and the soviet, and the most important link in the current work. Only when the entire party and the entire soviet lahor union mobilize all their forces to join this movement will we activate, launch, and complete it. In regard to the mobilisation of the party, the Central Bureau has already issued a correct directive. In regard to the mobilization of the soviet, the past error of considering the land investigation the exclusive function of the land department must first be rectified. Hot only the finance, military affairs, national economy, and education departments considered themselves unrelated to the movement, but the worker-peasant procurators<sup>1</sup> department, the judicial department, and the political security bureau also thought that they did not have much to do with it, and even the presidiums paid no attention to it. This is completely wrong. We must understand that no part of the soviet may divorce itself from the movement. First, the government presidiums of all levels must devote their maximum attention to leading the movement. Next, the land, worker-peasant procurators', and judicial departments and the national security bureaus of all levels and their special representatives must serve as the main leading and work units in the movement. To thoroughly solve the land issue in the movement, reform the soviet of the township, district, and county, and purge the rural counterrevolution, the above-named government units must exert their maximum effort. The finance department must attack the remnant feudal forces by fining the landlords and assessing donations from the rich peasants while increasing the state revenue. The military affairs department must give attention to the rectification and expansion of the local militia in the land investigation movement and mobilize the positive elements among the masses to join the Red Army. The national economy department must give attention to the recovery and development of agricultural and handicraft production, the growth of the cooperative, and the balancing of production and consumption in the development of the land investigation movement. The education department is not without its duties. It must, for the purpose of deploying the land investigation movement, supply some simple and popular texts and pamphlets to the land investigation cadres and the masses. With the development of the movement, it must promote the culture and education of the masses. As the largest majority of labor union members in the soviet areas are in the rural village and closely linked with the land, and as the land investigation movement is a great and violent class struggle, the proletariat must serve as the staunchest leader. Therefore, be they agricultural, handicraft, or other labor unions, they must, under the leadership of the National General Labor "Union Executive Bureau, mobilize their best cadres and all rural members to participate in the land investigation movement. The most important thing is to produce a motivating and encouraging effect in the poor peasants\* leagues and make firm proposals on land investigation, class investigation, and government reform. In general, the land investigation movement is not a commonplace trivial task, and it cannot be thoroughly completed in a month, or even 6 months. Therefore, the party, the league, the government, and the labor union must coordinate for a large-scale mobilization.

Here we will discuss the issue of educating-the cadres. First, a meeting of lower level responsible persons :;must.be called and.full explanations of the several major issues in the land investigation movement given them. So far, most of the soviet personnel of the-various levels do not realize that the land investigation movement is an urgent task; they.do.not know how to distinguish the class classifications; they fail to understand the lines and methods of winning the masses and launching the struggles. Therefore, they have not been able to launch-the movement. Next, such education must also be conducted on the' cadres transferred from the local lower level and from all advanced areas. Short-term land investigation movement training classes must be held. The provincial and county governments must hold such training classes many times for the land investigation movement, lasting 1 to 2 weeks, and teaching specially the several major issues in the movement. The land department, worker-peasant procurators' department, and political security bureau of the provincial, county, and district governments must each organize a group of work personnel (most of those of the district will remain on their jobs) and give them full education on land investigation work. Thirdly, one type of education is conducted in action. In other words, the provincial and county governments must send men out to inspect the work, and the district level must call a meeting of its own land investigation work personnel and township soviet and poor peasants' league chairmen every 5 to 7 days and inspect their work, because just the first two methods of education alone will not produce the maximum result.

### III. Launch the Land Investigation Movement according to the Development Situation of the Rural Class Struggle

We mentioned in the first chapter that there are three types of areas in the soviet regions:

- (1) Areas of intensive struggle;
- (2) Areas where the struggle lags behind;
- (3) Newly developed areas.

Not just in the provinces, but some outlying counties have the same situation. Yung-feng, for instance, has all three types of areas existing at the same time. In the majority of the outlying counties, there exist the relatively backward and the newly developed areas. As for the interior, generally the counties are entirely backward, but relatively advanced are also found. Most of the districts in Hui-ch'ang, for instance, are backward, but Hsi-chiang District is relatively advanced. The situation in Jui-chin is different. Wu-yang District may be considered an area of intensive struggle; T'ao-huang, Huang-po, Sha-hsin, Jui-lin, Chiu-pao, Yun-chi, Tu-t'ou, and Ch'eng-shih, a total of eight districts are relatively advanced; the remaining six districts are lagging behind. Nevertheless, regardless of which district in which county, as long as its soviet has been established and it has gone through the stage of land confiscation and division, usually relatively advanced and relatively backward villages are found.

Is there the situation of unbalanced development in a village? It exists in many areas. In many areas, the small villages (small hamlets) are advanced and the large villages (large hamlets) are backward. In other areas, due to the difference in historical background, one may find that some individual large villages are advanced, while some individual small villages are backward. Such a situation determines our work direction. When launching the land investigation-movement in each of the counties, districts, townships, and even villages, we must concentrate our maximum attention on the backward portions and devote our maximum effort to them. Equal treatment and equal effort are incorrect. It is even more incorrect to shift the work direction to the areas which are easy to develop and ignore the difficult areas because of the difficulties of winning the masses and launching the struggle in the Backward areas on ground that "it is impossible to fight one's way in." In regard to the steps of the work, when it comes to a township, naturally we must start with the villages and hamlets which are easy to activate, but the center of our work plan must still remain with the backward villages and hamlets. To eliminate the specially backward situation of a certain village or hamlet (temporarily "impossible to fight one's way in"), it is perfectly proper to start with the villages and hamlets which are easy to handle, thereby influencing the backward villages or hamlets, and activating immediately thereafter their struggles. But when it comes to a county or district, it is different. When planning the land investigation movement of a county or district, we must vigorously attack the backward districts and townships to begin with and devote our secondary effort to the relatively advanced ch'us and hsiangs,

The situation of unbalanced development produces another method, i.e., mobilizing the cadres from the advanced areas to lead the land investigation movement in the backward areas. While it is important to mobilize the cadres from Hsing-kuo and other most advanced areas to the backward areas, it is just as urgent to mobilize those of relatively advanced areas to the backward areas. All advanced and relatively advanced areas must take the responsibility of guiding the backward areas, and all backward areas must emulate the advanced areas. Only thus will the land investigation movement be rapidly deployed.

Chapter I    °    "RED CHINA," No 86, 17 June 1933

          A    "Red Flag Weekly," No 49, 31 August 1933

Chapter II   °    "RED CHINA," No 87, 20. June 1933

          \*    "Struggle" (Shanghai), No 51<sub>s</sub> 14 August 1933

Chapter III °    "RED CHINA," No 88, 23 June 1933

          \*    "Struggle" (Shanghai):, No 52, 30 August 1933

6080

CSO: 4005

CONCLUSIONS OF THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT RALLY OF RESPONSIBLE PERSONS  
OF SOVIETS OF THE DISTRICT LEVEL AND ABOVE OF THE EIGHT COUNTIES

21 June 1933

;/, j^,,C Ki.?.'

[Text] After hearing the report of Comrade Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Government, on the land investigation movement and 5 days of detailed discussions, the Land Investigation Movement Rally of Responsible Persons of Soviets of the District Level and Above of the Counties of Jui-chin, Hui-ch'ang, Yu-tu, Sheng-li, Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Ning-hua, and Ch'ang-t'ing called by the Central Government from 17 to 21 June 1933, has profoundly understood the importance of the movement. It feels that, in the great victories of the soviet movement, as the tens of millions of the masses in the soviet areas have established their own political power, confiscated the land of the landlord class for distribution to the peasant masses, and restricted the exploitation of the workers by the capitalists, and as the broad masses have aroused their positivity in the revolutionary victories, great achievements in the revolutionary war and the soviet construction have been made, innumerable enemy attacks repelled, the soviet areas expanded, and the vigorous development of the soviet movement promoted. All these have been a result of the correct leadership of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government and the positive support of such leadership shown by the broad masses. However, it does not mean that no serious problem exists in the soviet areas. Precisely because of the vigorous development of the soviet movement that the class enemies within and without the soviet areas are insanely waging their desperate struggle and resistance. Outside the soviet areas, the enemies resort to military attacks. Inside., they follow another pattern. The landlords, rich peasants, and class-deviatlbnists eonceal their true counterrevolutionary nature and utilize the opportunities in many soviet areas Where the land issue has not bean completely solved. Many among them still possess certain economic bases, such as the" many landowner elements whose land and assets have not been completely confiscated and the many :rich peasant elements who have been allocated good land. Many of them also have infiltrated the soviet organs, mass organizations, and the local militia. They abuse the prestige of the soviet, suppress the development of the mass struggle, deceive, bribe, and threaten a part of the masses, spread rumors, organize secret



societies, falsely accuse and injure the positive work personnel of the soviet, and pursue all types of conspiratorial and disorderly activities. Such a situation is actually discovered frequently in many areas of the central soviet regions. -The Rally of the Eight Counties feels that this is a serious problem. To destroy finally the remnant feudal forces, thoroughly solve the land issue, and consolidate the-soviet political power, an extensive and intensive land investigation movement must be launched. The Rally of the Eight Counties feels that the land investigation movement is actually a cruel and violent class struggle, a great mass revolutionary movement, and the most important link in the current work. Therefore, the land investigation movement requires a large-scale organizational mobilization, firm implementation of the class line, and patient and complete mass work. The Rally unanimously supports the order of the Central Government on the land investigation movement and fully subscribes to the following conclusions.

#### I. Organizational Mobilization

1. All units of the government must take concerted actions. Not only the land, worker-peasant procurators', and judicial departments, and the political security bureau must shoulder the main responsibility of the land investigation movement, but the finance, military affairs, national economy, and education departments must also perform all items of necessary work in the movement, while the government- chairman and the presidium must serve as the leaders of the entire movement. To feel that it is only the function of the land department is wrong.

2. The county, district, and township levels must all organize land investigation committees, under the governments of the various levels and in charge of the general leadership responsibilities of the movement. In addition to the responsible persons of the government, the committee members must also include the personnel of mass organizations.

3. The county soviet must immediately formulate a countywide land investigation movement plan for July. Thereafter, the land investigation movement plan for the following month must be formulated at the end of each month.

4. The district soviet must call a meeting of the chairmen of township Soviets and poor peasants' leagues and formulate a plan for the work of the first 7 days. Thereafter, there must be plan formulation and work inspection every 7 days. Nevertheless, for those townships which are too far away, the parties concerned may attend the meetings at the district soviet every 14 days. For those townships which are not too far away, the parties concerned must attend the meetings every 7 days, in order to promote the rapid development of the land investigation movement.

5. In regard to the mobilization pattern of the township level, attention must be given to the following: (1) the township congress, (2) the labor

union, (3) the poor peasants<sup>1</sup> league, (4) the women's congress, (5) the Red Guard and Young Pioneers, (6) other revolutionary organizations, and (7) village and hamlet mass meetings. Only through such organs, organizations, and mass meetings will the maximum strengths be mobilized into the land investigation movement. Any method, tending to reduce the sphere, seeking convenience without regard to the majority of the masses, is incorrect.

6. The county soviet must hold a land investigation movement training class which will include one person from every township and continue for 10 days. Then a second training class must be held, also including one person from every township. The most positive elements among the township soviet congress, poor peasants<sup>1</sup> league, and labor union will be selected for training and afterward returned to their original townships to lead the movement. However, those from the advanced districts and townships must be sent to the backward districts and townships to work. There must be two classes every month during the 3 months of July, August, and September.

The provincial soviet must select the positive elements from the advanced counties and districts to hold a land investigation movement training class and send the graduates to lead the movement in the backward counties and districts.

7. For the success of the land investigation movement, the organization of the government departments must be immediately made sound, mainly by eliminating double-duty and the habit of frequent transfers and adding the required work personnel.

8. The township level must organize a confiscation division committee, elected by the poor peasants<sup>1</sup> league and serving under the township soviet, and in charge of confiscating the land and assets of the landlords and rich peasants.

## II. Implementation of the Correct Class Line in the Land Investigation Movement

1. Relying on the poor peasants, allying with the middle peasants, and enabling the farm laborers to produce a leadership effect in order to completely eliminate the landlord class, block the rich peasants from stealing the land benefits of the revolution, and weaken their economic hold constitute the correct class line and struggle strategy which must be firmly followed in the land investigation movement. In regard to allying with the middle peasants, it must be started from respecting the interests of the middle peasants. Without the consent of the parties concerned, the land of the middle peasants (including the well-to-do middle peasants) must not be divided. At the beginning of the land investigation, the policy of allying with and respecting the interests of the middle peasants must be generally propagandized. In the process of land investigation, the borderline cases between middle and rich peasants must be determined carefully, without any mistake. In dividing the confiscated land and assets,

attention must be given to the middle peasants and the individual impoverished elements among them must not be left out. In regard to enabling the farm laborers to produce a leadership effect, mainly it is by urging them to join the poor peasants' league and form a farm laborers' cell, in order to rally the positive poor peasant elements through them, develop the poor peasants' league, and hasten the progress of the land investigation movement. When dividing the confiscated land and assets, the farm laborers must be given priority.

2. Correctly analyzing the class classifications from the actual social relations is an important part of implementing the class line. The errors on this issue committed in the past must be promptly rectified. All actual class classification problems must be solved according to the criteria set forth in "How To Analyze the Classes." The criteria must be widely explained among the masses, primarily the cadres.

3. The goal of land investigation is "class investigation," not land redivision. The idea that land investigation requires "staking" is incorrect. Only after the conclusion of the cruel struggle of class investigation and when the majority of the masses demand the redivision of certain individual parcels will redivision be permitted. Such strict distinction is not only for the purpose of stabilizing the land ownership of the peasants, so that they will not be alarmed over the "uncertain land division," but also for the success of the "class investigation" struggle when we must concentrate our entire force (especially allying with the middle peasants) against the resistance of the landlords and rich peasants. At this time, there must not be any dissension in the peasants' own ranks.

4. All possible clan and local disputes must be avoided, and all forces united to deploy the struggle against the landlords and rich peasants. Therefore, activating the impoverished masses of the particular village and the particular clan to clarify the landlords and rich peasants of the said village and the said clan is an important strategy of the land investigation movement. Similarly, the struggle to break down superstition (though proper) must be subordinated to the "class investigation" struggle.

#### III Mass Work

First of all, we must rectify the neglect of winning the majority of the masses in many areas and the bureaucratic and commandist work pattern. We must understand that only by patient and arduous work to activate and win the masses will we gain the support of the majority, bring out their maximum positivity, and attain the goal of the complete destruction of the feudal remnants. Such mass work is the only guarantee to the implementation of the class line and must be manifested in the following practical actions in the land investigation movement.

1. The start of the land investigation movement must be widely propagandized in all the villages and hamlets, and the necessity of the movement

explained to the masses. Land investigation is class investigation, not land redivision; class investigation is not an encroachment on the middle peasants. It is especially important to-explain the distinctions among the landlords, rich, peasants, and middle:peasants to the masses. Village and hamlet mass meetings must be held more than once. The most backward villages and hamlets, especially,- must hold more meetings, so that our land investigation movement propaganda will reach every member of the revolutionary masses. To attain this goal, we must first explain the movement clearly to the positive elements of the township congress, labor union, poor peasants' league, laboring women's congress, and other mass organizations and generally and intensively propagandize to the broad masses through them.

2. After collecting the reports on the classifications of the landlords and rich peasants, the actual investigation must not be performed by only the few persons of the land investigation committee. The positive elements of the township congress, poor peasants' league, and labor union must be activated to investigate from all sides, uncover and prove to the masses the many complex exploitations and evil activities of the landlords and rich peasants, and disprove the erroneous reports involving the middle peasants.

3. After the poor peasants' league has passed on the classifications of the investigated landowners and rich peasants, they must be passed on by the township soviet and approved by the district soviet. During the process, attention must be given to all the interference and resistance of the landlord and rich peasant elements hidden in the poor peasants' league and the soviet. In regard to them, they must be severely attacked. Meanwhile, attention must be given to the erroneous classification of the middle peasants. Before confiscation, mass meetings must be held in the village and hamlet of the party concerned and the consent of the masses obtained after detailed explanation. In the past, for the sake of convenience, many areas overlooked such procedure at mass meetings and caused the dissatisfaction of the masses, or even serious clan or local disputes. Such error must not be repeated hereafter.

4. In regard to the confiscated property, except cash or its equivalent (such as gold and silver jewelry) which must be surrendered to the finance department, all items must be distributed to the impoverished masses. The erroneous practice of delivering all confiscated property to the government found in many areas in the past must be thoroughly rectified. When distributing property, a larger portion must be given to the masses in the village where it is located, in order to win their satisfaction. The grain confiscated at the time of fall harvesting or not long thereafter may, with the consent of the masses, be temporarily stored for distribution to the impoverished masses in the following spring and summer. However, when the masses demand distribution, it must be immediately distributed. In regard to the confiscated land, besides reserving the public enterprise field and the Red Army public field, it must all be distributed to those who

have been allocated no, or inadequate, land. The distribution of property and land must be prompt; there must not be a long delay after confiscation. Mass meetings must be held when distributing land and property and lists posted so that everyone will be informed.

5. Winning the backward villages and hamlets, especially the large villages, is the important task of many areas. Therefore, attention must be given the following points: (1) The impoverished masses of the particular village must be activated and its landlords and rich peasants clearly investigated. (2) Many mass meetings to "discuss the classes" must be held, (3) The positive elements must be located and trained properly, even if there is only one of them; the local masses must "be contacted through them in order to develop the poor peasants' league and launch the local class struggle. (4) In areas where the situation is specially serious, the reactionary elements blocking the struggle must first be arrested, tried at public trial mass meetings, and, with the approval of the masses, executed by shooting, and the mass struggle immediately launched thereafter. (5) In areas where there have been clan wars, "unity agreements" must be signed at the meetings of representatives of the two clans, which must mutually admit their past errors and agree to replace the clan war with the class struggle. All the foregoing are the necessary methods to win the backward villages and hamlets, especially the large villages. Here, we must oppose the capitulation of the large villages out of fear, the commandist method of severance from the masses, the opportunist laissez-faire toward the reactionary elements, and the clan, border, and local disputes. Only thus will we win over the revolutionary masses of all the backward villages and eliminate the feudal remnants in such villages.

6. The poor peasants' league is an organization which produces a great effect in the land investigation movement. In some areas where the league is in name only, without substance, it must be organized immediately. In areas where it has been organized, its positive elements must be immediately rallied, its backward elements won over, and the class deviationists and other evil elements which have infiltrated it firmly purged. Dissolving and reorganizing the entire league must be avoided as much as possible. Such a commandist method of dissolving the league just because a meeting cannot be convened after one or two attempts is completely incorrect. Superior propaganda and stimulation must be used to attract the positive elements to the meetings. Even when only a minority comes, a meeting must be held, in order to develop the membership. The league must include all the rural worker masses who are willing to join, and a worker cell must be formed in the league to produce a motivating and leadership effect. The middle peasants must not join the poor peasants' league, but they may be invited to the meetings as observers, especially when passing on the class classifications. The three-member managers' committee of the poor peasants' league must be changed to a five-member committee, a chairman elected among them, and small groups formed below them, consisting of 5 to 15 persons according to their residences. In regard to poor peasants' league meetings, when the land investigation movement is tense, a meeting may be held once every few days; after the conclusion of the movement, meetings may be held

according to the regular schedule. Nevertheless, when it comes to frequent meetings, consideration must be given to the feelings of the membership masses, and any coercion is detrimental. — Before each meeting, the township soviet chairman must direct the poor peasants' league committee to make full preparations of the agenda. Unprepared meetings are the worst habit. During the land investigation movement, the district soviet must call a meeting of the poor peasants' league chairmen every 7 or 14 days to discuss such issues as how to make sound the organization of the league and how to lead the struggle. When necessary, a provisional districtwide poor peasants' league congress may be called.

#### IV, Reform of the Soviet

1. Reforming the unsound soviet organs in the land investigation movement and turning them into soviets representing the interests of the workers and peasants and possessing full working capacities constitute an important task at the present time.

2. Reforming the local soviet organ includes two aspects: Purging the undesirable elements and attracting the positive revolutionary elements. On purging the undesirable elements, the worker-peasant procurators' departments of the county and district must shoulder the main responsibility. In regard to the method, with the development of the "class investigation" struggle, a prosecution committee is organized on the township level to embark upon prosecution. The township prosecution committee must include two members of the labor union, five of the poor peasants' league, two of the women's congress, one of the youth league light riders' team, and one from the Young Pioneers. The committee elects two chairmen among themselves and serves directly under the worker-peasant procurators' department. The target of prosecution consists mainly of the class deviationists infiltrating the township congress and elements which are completely severed from the worker-peasant interests and have capitulated to or compromised with the landlords and rich peasants. The method of prosecution is as follows: First, the names and crimes of such elements are listed and posted for the opinions of the masses of the entire township. Next, after collecting the opinions of the masses, the committee reaches a conclusion. Thirdly, the conclusion is submitted to the township soviet congress for discussion and for approval of dismissal. Fourthly, after reporting to the district soviet worker-peasant procurators' department and with the approval of the district soviet presidium, the dismissals are announced to the masses of the entire township in the name of the worker-peasant procurators' department. In the prosecution movement, the shock troops of the worker-peasant procurators' department, the correspondents, and the accusation box must be put in full action. Those with the most serious crimes must also be tried at mass trials and delivered to the judicial department for handling according to law. The significance of prosecution and public trial is that, while purging the undesirables in the soviet, the broad masses receive an education so that they will understand the necessity of purging the undesirables from the soviet and supervise and support the soviet. As

a result, no such undesirable elements will continue to be found in the soviet. Prosecutions and public trials must not be expanded to include, as in the past, those who are not very positive or those who have only made minor errors. In regard to such elements, mainly we must win them over by criticism and stimulation. Before a public trial, full propaganda must be made to the masses, explaining the crimes of the culprit, in order to prevent him from deceiving a part of the backward elements and causing trouble at the meeting ground before the trial. In areas where there are clan, house boundary, or village boundary disputes, public trials must not be held lightly. Only when all such nonclass struggles are cleared away and the masses find it necessary will a public trial be held.

The prosecution of the undesirables in the district and county Soviets must, under the guidance of the worker-peasant procurators' department of the same level, be performed by means of a prosecution committee organized by representatives elected by the mass organizations and the medium and lower level work comrades (from section chiefs down to cooks) of the same level. The procedure and contents of prosecution are roughly the same as those of the township discussed above. In regard to the soviet prosecution movement launched along with the development of the land investigation movement, the higher level government presidium and worker-peasant procurators' department must guide the lower level with plans, inspect its work from time to time, promptly correct the errors, and collect the concrete experiences for the education of the lower level government presidiums, worker-peasant procurators' departments, and their prosecution committees.

3. In regard to attracting the positive elements into the soviet, the township level must first call a voters' mass meeting to elect the bravest and staunchest elements in the land investigation struggle to the township congress and fill the vacancies of the purged undesirables. Advance preparations must be made for such elections. Several to a dozen or more substitute representatives may be elected, and it is especially necessary in areas where many new positive elements are emerging, in order to gradually replace the backward representatives who are not completely satisfactory. The next point is to absorb large groups of new positive elements into the various committees under the jurisdiction of the township soviet, such as the land construction, forestry, water conservation, and education committees, in order to make such committees truly stabilized and functioning. The third point is to make it possible for the majority of the positive elements in the land investigation struggle to be elected into the township soviet in the general election of the entire soviet area in the fall this year.

On the district level, in the Soviets where there are only a few undesirables in the district executive committee, the functions of the purged members may be taken over by the good elements, and the positive elements in the township Soviets must be promoted to the district soviet. In individual areas where the undesirables constitute a large portion of the district executive committee, the county soviet must send men to hold a districtwide provisional congress during the land investigation movement and reelect the district soviet.

In regard to the substitute personnel of the county level, there are the methods of replacing the bad with the good in county executive committee and selecting and promoting the good elements in the district and township Soviets to work on the county level.

## V. Elimination of the Counterrevolution

1. The government organs of all levels and the entire system of the state political security bureau must pay serious attention to all the activities of the counterrevolutionary organizations of the hidden landlords and rich peasants and the individual elements of all areas and fundamentally eliminate them in the land investigation movement. The political security bureau of the provincial, county, and district levels and its special representatives must especially mobilize all their strengths to perform the work of eliminating the counterrevolution, and the error of overlooking counterrevolutionary activities in many areas in the past must be rectified.

2. Eliminating the counterrevolution in the land investigation movement is mainly by guiding the masses to submit information in conjunction with the class investigation mass struggle, following the thread of the counterrevolution, and arresting the counterrevolutionary elements. During the period of the land investigation movement, the special representatives of the district security bureau have the authority to make arrests. After pretrial questioning by the special representatives, the culprits are delivered for trial at the district judicial department. In case of important culprits, mobile courts must be organized in the hsiang and village of their residences for public trial in the presence of the masses and on-site execution with their approval. This will stimulate the hatred and vigilance against the counterrevolution. The practice of arresting the culprits and delivering them to the county soviet followed in some areas in the past, thereby ignoring the wrath of the masses against the counterrevolution and failing to take the opportunity to educate the masses to exercise continuous vigilance against the counterrevolution, is undesirable. To attain the goal of eliminating the counterrevolution, the techniques of detection, arrest, trial, and imprisonment must be greatly improved.

## VI. Attacking the Landlords and Rich Peasants With Fines and Donations

To fundamentally eliminate all the economic bases of the landlords class and weaken the economic hold of the rich peasants, it is very necessary to attack them by means of imposing fines on the landlords and assessing donations from the rich peasants. In view of the fact that the majority, or the greater majority, of the landlords and rich peasants of many areas in the eight counties have not been uncovered, we should be able to raise 800,000 yuan in the months of July, August, and September. The county and district finance departments must devote their maximum effort to this matter. The main method is to direct the township soviet to mobilize the farm laborers' unions, poor peasants' leagues, and other mass organizations, which will make surveys of the assets of the landlords and rich peasants,



decide on toe suitable amounts, of -fines or donations, and strongly urge them to pay. Here, 'the middle peasants must^not.oe involved.. As. for the rich peasants and landlords, a distinction must tie made/ In other words, the landlords must he eliminated, while the rich peasants are weakened.

## VII. The Relationship Among the Land Investigation Movement, War Mobilization, and Economic and Cultural Construction

1. In the success of the land investigation movement, it is entirely feasible to raise 80,000 Red Army troops in the eight counties. It will not take long either. It is only necessary to launch an extensive and intensive land investigation movement in July, August, and September. When the broadest masses of the eight counties are all activated, it is entirely feasible to mobilize 80,000 new soldiers to the frontline from the eight counties in 6 to 10 months. Therefore, the task hinges mainly on the development and intensification of the land investigation movement. If our effort is not devoted to the land investigation movement, but only to the expansion of the Red Army, then we will not succeed, because it was the fundamental reason for the inadequate achievement of the eight counties in the past when expanding the Red Army. We must have a profound understanding of this point.

2. In the success of the land investigation movement, one of the important tasks at the present time is for the eight counties to generally develop cooperatives, mainly those of consumer goods, grain balancing, necessary production tools (mainly farm tools), and loans to the impoverished masses, in order to resist the cruel exploitation of the broad masses by the speculative merchants and develop the economy of the entire soviet area against the enemy blockade. The great organizational strengths of the soviet and the masses and large sums of capital are needed to wage this battle on the economic front rapidly and extensively. Therefore, a suggestion has been made to the Central Government to issue 3 million yuan of public bonds to be paid in grain, in order to perform the work promptly. The completion of this work likewise hinges on the success of the land investigation movement. If a great effort is not devoted to the land investigation movement and the great majority activated to join the economic construction, it will be impossible to fulfill the task.

3. Fall harvesting and fall cultivation, the two major undertakings, are close at hand. They constitute the fundamental crux of the peopled living and the revolutionary war. Therefore, -we must, in the land investigation movement, strive for their complete success this year.

4. The extensive development of the culture and education movement also can only be realized in the success of the land investigation movement. In regard to instances such as one club per 1,000 population, one elementary school per 500 population, one night school per 100 population, and the great majority of those 16 years of age and above enrolled in the literacy classes, when the great majority of the masses have become positive, it is not difficult at all to accomplish. Currently, Hsing-kuo has almost generally reached such a standard. It is an excellent example.

#### VIII. Enemy Attack

In the enemies' fourth, "encirclement and suppression" of our central soviet areas, though our courageous Red Army has basically defeated Chiang Kai-shek's main force on the northern front, the enemies are still attacking us. While their disintegration intensifies day by day and they have innumerable other difficulties, they never forget to attack us. Currently, the enemies in Kwangtung have advanced to Hsun-wu and An-yuan, and those in Fukien still maintain a strong position in Shang-hang, Lien-ch'eng, and Ch'ing-liu. These constitute a great threat to the eight counties and their vicinities. To eliminate fundamentally such enemy forces and expel their remnant troops, besides the courageous Red Army, we must mainly rely on a broad mass warfare, and there is still the urgent fighting task of the land investigation movement. In face of the enemies pressing in on us, not only must we not relax on the land investigation movement, but we must double our effort to deploy it. We must, in the movement, strive to make positive and arm millions of the masses, eliminate the remnant forces of the landlords and rich peasants serving as the enemies' fifth columnists, and build an ironclad soviet. Then, our victory over the enemies will be fully assured.

#### IX. Supporting the Second All-Soviet Congress With the Success of the Land Investigation Movement

The land investigation movement must be thoroughly completed before the Second All-Soviet Congress on 11 December. Therefore, the work in July, August, and September must be intensified. An inspection mass meeting of the land investigation movement of the eight counties must be held in October. When the Central sends men to the various counties for mobile inspection in August, concrete achievements must be manifested. To hasten the progress of the movement, the eight counties have voluntarily formed land investigation movement competition agreements and are struggling for their full performance.

#### V. Severely Punishing Those Sabotaging and Resisting the Land Investigation Movement

In the cruel struggle of the land investigation movement, the class deviationists and other most evil elements infiltrating the soviet will inevitably sabotage or resist it. Such elements must be severely punished according to the order of the Central Government on the land investigation movement. At the rally this time, which is under the direct leadership of the Central Government, when all those attending the rally unanimously supported the policy of the Central Government on the movement and enthusiastically discussed the work, land department chief Huang Yen-p'an of Ho-k'ou ch'ü, Ning-hua, actually expressed his fundamental opposition to the movement. He was severely criticized and attacked by the small group meeting and the rally. But from beginning to end, he refused to admit his mistake. The rally felt that he took the standpoint of the class enemies to resist the land investigation struggle of the broad masses and completely

desecrated the functions of the soviet. ,It:suggested to the'. Central Government to dismiss him from his post as land department chief and deliver him to the Ning-hua county soviet to have his activities supervised. Only when such-most evil elements are purged will the revolutionary ranks be rectified, the sabotage and resistance of all class enemies overcome, and the great revolutionary task of the land investigation movement completed.

<sup>0</sup> "RED CHINA," No 89, 29 June 1933

\* "Guide to the Land Investigation Movement," published by the Central Government, 19 33

6080

CSO: 4005

## HOW TO DIFFERENTIATE THE CLASSES

June 1933

[Text] 1. What Is a Landlord?

A landlord is a person who possesses land (regardless - of the amount), performs no, or only incidental, labor, and relies solely on exploitation for his living.

The pattern of exploitation practiced by the landlords is mainly the exploitation of peasants by means of land rent (including school rent). In addition, they may lend money, hire help, or engage in industry or commerce. But collecting land rent from the peasants is the main form of their exploitation. Managing the public hall is also one form of land rent exploitation. The exploitation by the small landlords among them is more cruel. Though some landlords have gone bankrupt, they still perform no labor after bankruptcy, but depend on fraud, plunder, and the help of their relatives and friends; therefore, they are still considered landlords.

The warlords, bureaucrats, local tyrants, and evil gentry are the political representatives of the landlord class and they are especially vicious among the landlords.

The landlord class is the main enemy of the revolution. The policy of the soviet on the landlord is to confiscate all their property and eliminate the landlord class.

All those helping landlords, collect rent and manage the household and relying on the landlords<sup>1</sup> exploitation of the peasants for a living must be included in the same category as landlords.

Those who rely solely, or mostly, on high, interest loans for their living are called usurers. Though they are not landlords, usury is a feudal exploitation, and all the assets of the usurers must be confiscated and the usurers eliminated.

## 2. What Is a Rich Peasant?

Generally, the "rich peasants possess-land, but there are also those who possess a part of the land and rent a part from others, or who possess no land, but rent - all their land from others (the latter two categories are of a minority). The rich peasants generally own relatively superior production tools and liquid capital and perform their own labor. Nevertheless, they usually rely on exploitation for a part, or the greater part in some cases, of their living.

The rich peasants<sup>1</sup> pattern of exploitation is mainly exploiting hired labor (hiring permanent help). In addition, they may rent a part of their land to others and practice exploitation by collecting rent. Or, they lend money on the side, or engage in business or small industry. Most of them also manage the public hall. Some of China's rich peasants perform their own labor, without hiring help, but exploit the peasants by means of land rents and loan interests. Rich peasants regularly practice exploitation, it being the major practice for many of them.

The policy of the soviet on the rich peasants is to confiscate their land and only the surplus part of their draft animals, farm tools, and buildings, and allocate land of relatively inferior quality to them.

## 3. What Is a Middle Peasant?

Many of the middle peasants possess land; some possess a part of the land and rent a part from others; some have no land at all, but rent all their land from others. All of them have a fair amount of tools and rely entirely, or mostly, on their own labor. Generally they do not exploit others, and many of them are exploited through land rents and loan interests. The middle peasants, in general, do not sell their labor. Some of them (including the well-to-do middle peasants) practice partial exploitation, but it is not regular or major. All those are middle peasants.

The policy of the soviet on the middle peasants is to ally firmly with them. Without their consent, their land cannot be divided. Those without adequate land must receive allocations the same as the poor peasants and farm laborers.

## 4. What Is a Poor Peasant?

Some of the poor peasants possess a little land and odd tools, while others have no land at all and only a few odd tools. Generally, they must rent land from others to cultivate and are exploited through the payment of land rents, loan interests, and hiring out (generally the poor peasants must sell a portion of their labor). All those in this category are poor peasants.

In land distribution, the poor peasants must receive the same benefits as the middle peasants and farm laborers. Their existing land and tools are not confiscated.

## 5. What is a Worker? .

A worker (including farm laborers) is someone who has no land or tools, or a very small amount of land and a few tools, and depends completely, or mainly, on selling his labor-for a living.

In the land revolution, the rural workers must receive the same land allocations as the poor and middle peasants, and the very small amount of land and tools owned by some of them must not be confiscated. As for some households which have someone working in the city, that particular person is considered a worker. If his family in the village rents land out or lends money, but does not rely on the rent as the main source of its living., his land is not confiscated, and he will receive land allocation the same as the peasants in general. But if his family relies on collecting rent or making loans as the main source of its living, his land is confiscated, but his wife and children will receive land allocations, while he, himself, will not receive land allocation as he is in the city.

<sup>0</sup> "RED CHINA," No 89, 29 June 1933

\* "Guide to the Land Investigation Movement," published by the Central Government, 1933

\* "Collection of Reactionary Communist Documents," Vol 3, 1935

6080

CSO: 4005

## ON PROMOTING GRAIN COOPERATIVES

Announcement No 21 of the Central People's Committee

4 July 1933

[Text] The central soviet areas were originally large rice producing areas, but there is the situation of partial summer famine this year. Some of the worker-peasant masses do not have enough rice and they suffer great difficulties. This deserves our serious attention. The reason is because the imperialist Kuomintang's reactionary regime, in its desperate struggle, resorts not only to all political and military measures, but also the policy of economic blockade. As a result, the supply of industrial products is reduced and prices are high. To obtain the necessary industrial articles, the masses are forced to sell their new grain at a very cheap price. Thus, the unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants take the opportunity to manipulate the market and suppress the price of new grain to an alarming extent. They buy large volumes of grain at the cheapest price, either hoarding it for future profit or "surreptitiously shipping it out, and the masses do not have enough rice to tide them over between spring planting and fall harvesting and have to buy it at a high price. The unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants again make use of the opportunity to manipulate and raise the price. In some areas, grain is not available even at a high price. This is the main reason for the summer famine this year. Other factors such as the natural disaster last year resulting in a bad harvest, the plunder and destruction of the White army and league bandits in outlying areas, the lack of attention on planned storage on the part of the government, and permitting the export of grain without restriction have all helped create the grain shortage this year. -To-remedy the situation, the government has formed many measures, such as establishing grain balancing bureaus and trade bureaus in the various areas and preparing to store large volumes of grain for the emergency need of the masses. Nevertheless, the main method to solve the grain supply problem of the worker-peasant masses is still the grain cooperative. The toiling worker-peasant masses will solicit capital among themselves. The shares may be paid for in cash or grain (converted into cash). After the fall harvest when the members need money, they may sell their grain to the cooperative at a price higher than the market. After purchasing the grain, the cooperative may store a small part

for the emergency, needs of .its. members-next year .between spring planting and fall harvesting and ship the greater part to areas where.,the price is high or as export. This continuous purchasing:and selling will not only expand the capital of the cooperative, "but also enable the members to receive much surplus. By this means,. we can stabilize the market, prevent extremes in grain prices throughout the year in the soviet areas, safeguard the peasants from difficulties of grain shortage,- avoid the-cruel exploitation of the unscrupulous merchants and rich peasants, and attain maximum improvement of the life of the workers and peasants. The toiling worker-peasant masses must immediately mobilize and urge one another .to join the grain cooperative. The many revolutionary mass organizations must devote their maximum effort to help perform this work. The responsible comrades of the government of all levels must make the most extensive and intensive propaganda of the significance and effect of the grain cooperative, lead the masses, help the masses, and form at least one grain cooperative in every hsiang. We must begin now with registration and recording and elect the responsible personnel according to the grain cooperative bylaw issued by the Central Government while building granaries and performing all preparatory work before fall harvest, so that the work can be Immediately started when the new grain comes to the market. This is an important task to assure the grain supply of the masses, consolidate the soviet political power, and enable the revolutionary war to develop rapidly and successfully; therefore, it must not be overlooked in the slightest. It is so announced.

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

4 July 1933

<sup>0</sup> "RED CHINA," No 94, 14 July 1933

6080

CSO: 4005



## RESOLUTION ON "1 AUGUST" COMMEMORATION MOVEMENT 11

July 1933

[Text] The 1st of August is the commemorative day of the worldwide anti-imperialist war. It is also the commemorative day of the Nanchang Uprising in China. The Chinese Workers<sup>1</sup> and Peasants' Red Army was born with the Nanchang Uprising and grew progressively in the course of the struggle. This year's "1 August" comes at a time when the danger of the new imperialist bandit war and anti-Soviet war .?« tremendously intensified, when Japanese imperialism is committing aggression against China on a broad scale, when the Kuomintang is openly selling out the three northeastern provinces, Jehol and North China, it comes at the same time when the high tide of the anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang movement is surging throughout the country, and when the Soviet movement and the revolutionary war are winning unparalleled great victories. Therefore, this year's "1 August" has a very great meaning for the revolutionary struggle. With a view to commemorating the establishment of the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army and giving encouragement and preferential treatment to the fighters of the Red Army, it is resolved by the Central Executive Committee:

(1) to approve the proposal of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission by designating "1 August" of each year as the commemorative day of the Chinese workers' and peasants' Red Army. It is further resolved that on this year's "1 August" commemorative day war banners be conferred on various contingents of the Red Army and at the same time medals be awarded to responsible comrades who led the Nanchang Uprising and to commanders and fighters with distinguished services of achievement in the Red Army.

(2) to charge the Interior Department and People's Commissar Department with the production of preferential treatment cards for Red Army families and their issuance to all members of families of the fighters of the Red Army.

(3) to organize Red Army Public Land Control Committees under the Land Department of district Soviets and under township Soviets for the purpose of managing the production and harvest of Red Army public lands and the custody of harvested crops. Under the joint jurisdiction of the Land Department and

[ Preliminary. Prepared for the Maoist Internationalist Movement's Web site, located at  
<http://www.etext.org/Politics/MIM/> ]

the Interior Department of district Soviets, committees for the preferential treatment of Red Army families should be organized in township Soviets to handle all matters pertaining to their preferential treatment.

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Central Government

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kao-t'ao, Vice Chairman

°"Red China," No 95, 23 July 1933

11 July 1933

11,667

CSO: 4005

OPEN CABLE MESSAGE AGAINST THE TREASONABLE DARIEN CONFERENCE RECENTLY HELD

July 1933

[Text] Revolutionary people of the whole country!

A week ago, the landlord-bourgeoisie Kuomintang government, the eternally faithful running dog of imperialism, in a more sinister and shameless manner than ever before, held a conference in Darien. On the afternoon of 5 July, a new agreement was concluded at the Japanese Gendarme Headquarters in Darien. This agreement contains more concrete and more shameless terms than the North China Truce Agreement signed on 30 May!

Amid the din of congratulations from the Deputy Commander of the imperialist Japanese Kwantung Army and near the end of the banquet celebrating their accomplishment of treason, Lei Shou-yun and company, the traitor representative of the Kuomintang government, raised their champagne glasses and shook hands with the representatives of Manchukuo, which the Kuomintang once seemingly called a "puppet,"<sup>11</sup> on the one hand greeting the establishment of their newborn ally and on the other hand putting their final signatures on the irrevocable agreement by which they sold out the national interests of China. The main contents of this new treasonable agreement are: (1) the Kuomintang government formally recognize Manchukuo and nominally regroup and reorganize the contingents of Manchukuo troops stationed along the Luanchow-Linyu area; (2) Japan is allowed to establish surveillance troops in such counties as Mi-yun and Luan-chou in North China; and (3) the Lu-Yu section of Peking-Lianong Railway is placed under joint control.

Under the above agreement the Kuomintang has in fact not only formally recognized Manchukuo but even more shamelessly concluded an alliance with that puppet state, thereby swearing allegiance to their common master, imperialist Japan. Recent facts tell us that the Kuomintang government has yielded to the demand of Manchukuo by permitting within a short time the resumption of postal remittances to and from Manchukuo and altering the existing arrangement of routing Europe-bound mail in transit through Vladivo stock and Siberia. These hard facts give lie to the Kuomintang allegation before the people that Manchukuo is a so-called "puppet." This is a completely shameless deceptive propaganda. As a matter of fact, the Kuomintang itself is a loyal puppet of Japanese imperialism; they and Manchukuo are both brothers of running dogs.

The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic, representing the people of the whole country, is resolutely against the shameless treasonable agreement concluded by the Kuomintang at the Darien Conference and absolutely denies in toto the terms of this treasonable agreement. It calls on the workers, peasants, soldiers and all revolutionaries of the whole nation to rise in unity against the recent treasonable Darien Conference and urges them to engage in persistent revolutionary struggle by going on strikes, closing shops, not attending classes, and abandoning sentry posts, and organize themselves into holding mass demonstrations and forming armed units in order to oppose and prevent the execution of the Darien Agreement. The people of the whole country must clearly recognize that under the puppet alliance between the Kuomintang and Manchukuo the Japanese imperialist robbers will inevitably expand their acts of aggression on an even larger scale by actively carrying out attacks against Chahar and Suiyuan and seizing the coastal provinces in southeast China with a view to participating with international imperialism in the joint dismemberment of China! At the same time the Japanese robbers, the oriental gendarme of international imperialism, will keep up their recent frenzied acts of provocation against the Soviet Union and will certainly embark upon military adventures of open armed intervention against the Soviet Union the fraternal ally of the Chinese people!

Revolutionary people of the whole country!

Only the Soviets can save China! Only the anti-Japanese Red Army which is accelerating the pace of smashing the fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaign of the imperialist-Kuomintang is the arm of the revolutionary people of the whole country! With a view to striving for the national independence and liberation as well as the territorial integrity of China, the Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic calls on the revolutionary people of the whole country and the revolutionary soldiers in the White army to unite under the Soviet banner and launch their revolutionary national war, knock down the imperialist-Kuomintang and bury them in the grave of history!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the Provisional Central

Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kno-t'ao, Vice Chairmen

°"Red China," No 95, 23 July 1933

11,667  
CSO: 4005