

III. This Election

1. The Election Committee

Nine members: Chinese Communist Party branch secretary, Chinese Communist Women's manager, farm laborers' branch chief, handicraft branch chief, poor peasants' league chairman and a member, production brigade leader, and two township delegates. The branch secretary served as the chairman. It was organized in September.

The county soviet originally decided to hold the election at the end of September, but the date was changed twice, and was finally set at the beginning of November.

2. Election Propaganda

In the propaganda, it was explained that the classes had not been clearly distinguished in the past, but now they were clearly distinguished. Therefore, there must be an election. It was also explained that, for the purpose of breaking the encirclement and for the purpose of inspecting the work and making it more advanced, there must be an election.

3. Voter Registration

All four villages made up record books for the delegates to register the residents under their charge. The books were then submitted to the election committee which compiled the lists and posted them. Those with voting rights were on the first list, those under age 16 who had no voting rights on the second list. And landlords and rich peasants who were also without voting rights on the third list. The first and second lists were red in color and the third one white. The three lists were posted at the gates of the four villages and the township soviet. The voters' books were actually completed in September but, as the family members of workers were not classified as workers in the books, the error was rectified last month, and the lists re-published. Some people among the masses were not clear about the distinction of criteria between electing "worker" and "peasant" delegates. Less than 10 percent of the people in the hsiang correctly understood the issue of "worker leadership."

4. Election Unit

Each of the four villages was an election unit, and there was also a worker unit.

5. Work Report

Voters' meetings were held on 2 different days (19 and 20 October), 2 villages on the first day and 2 on the second.

The chairman made reports in Ch^fang-kang and T'ang-pei villages on 2 different days. The vice chairman (who was the branch secretary) made reports in Hsin-ch^fi and Szu-kang villages also on 2 different days. The reports included military mobilization, economic construction and other work, altogether three items.

After the report, the candidates' list was voted on. The masses attending the meeting were asked to criticize the work of the hsiang soviet, but no one did.

6. Candidates' List

The party branch managers* committee held a meeting on 19 October. All the villages were represented (11 persons attending). According to the ratio of workers and peasants in the villages, a list of 55 persons was drafted, exactly the number of delegates to be elected. It was then distributed to the party cells, labor unions and poor peasants' leagues of the various villages for discussion, proposed by the party members of the cells who made work reports at the voters' mass meetings, and passed, thus eliminating the procedure of preparing the list by the election committee.

The list was published by posting it at the gates of the four villages and the township soviet.

7. Election Mass Meeting

Time: 4 November.

The workers' meeting, which was held at the township soviet, had a 90 percent attendance, the remainder being absent due to illness. The peasants' meetings were held separately in the four villages, with a 93 percent attendance. The meetings were started in the forenoon. Upon entering the door, a voter would write the word "present" on his own name on the list. (The list had 24 spaces, printed and distributed by the county soviet, and the names of 1k voters were written thereon). One man was posted at the door as guard. Some children loitered outside, and a few of them came in. Knowing that they had no share in the election, no landlord or rich peasant showed up.

Procedure: Reports were made by the election committee member, the township soviet chairman and the district soviet attending comrade. The voters were asked whether they had any opinion. (None). The names on the candidates' list were introduced one by one and voted on. (No vote in the negative). The proposals were discussed. (Someone proposed that all those in the township age 16 to 45 in good health should proceed to the front line. It was passed by the majority. In addition, the "military affairs," "economy" and "dikes and roads" proposals discussed at the delegates¹ meeting on 8 November were all proposed at the election mass meeting this time.)

The meeting opened at 1000 after all participants had arrived, and adjourned at 1600. (The spirit was very good.)

8. Delegate Components

Among the 55 delegates, 36 were most positive and 19 medium. No inferior ones were discovered.

Among the delegates, 60 percent (over 30 of them) were old delegates who were reelected to their current positions, and 40 percent were newly elected.

9. Delegates' Congress After the Election

The first delegates' congress was held the next day after the election (5 November) in the forenoon, and it elected a chairman, a vice chairman, a secretary, and the delegates to the district mass meeting (10 persons). Three comrades from the district soviet attended the meeting. The second congress was held the 4th day after the election (8 November) to discuss the proposals of the election mass meeting (see above).

The defects in the election in Ch'ang-kang township this time were:

(1) In the propaganda, it was not pointed out that the Soviet was the political power for the masses to manage their own life, and that it was the most important right of the masses. (2) The number of people on the candidates' list was exactly the same as the number of delegates to "be elected when it should have been twice as many. Therefore, the masses did not express any criticism of the candidates' list. The election committee did not produce any effect on the issue of formulating the candidates' list. There was only party activity. (3) The work report meeting did not do its best to urge the masses to criticize the work of the township soviet. Aside from such defects, everything was successful.

IV. Committees Under the Township Soviet

The following were the mass organizations, divided into village and township levels. The village committees had five members, and the township commissioner served as the chairman.

Most of the township committees had 5 members, because there were village committees, but at times there were 7, 9, or 11 members.

1. Committee to Expand the Red Army

A total of 7 members, including 3 delegates, to discuss "expansion," "preferential treatment," "comforting" and "welcome." The comforting team (7 members, including a team leader and 4 delegates, 1 man and 3 women; the remaining 3 consisted of 1 man and 2 women) carried peanuts, beans, vegetables and straw sandals to the hospitals and county seat, and once to Huang-p'o Hsiao-pu, to comfort the Red Army.

2. Land Committee

Seven members. Several meetings were held during the land investigation movement in September* and the 36 tan of land uncovered in the previous month were disposed of. No meeting has been held since.

It should be changed to the agricultural experimental farm managing committee. A farm products exhibition hall should be established in the experimental farm.

3. Land Registration Committee

Five members, 1 in each village. The chairman was regularly stationed there. Organized in July, it was active for 2 months. After the registration was completed, the meals for the chairman was discontinued.

Method: The committee members went to the villages and gathered the information from the delegates for registration. When the delegates did not have the information, the committee members visited the households concerned. The registration was not completed in August because they did not understand the contents of the forms. It was completed after a 1-month extension.

A. Hills and Woods Committee

Five members. Besides the chairman, there was one in each village, in charge of planting and protection.

Some trees were planted, but did not flourish because of inferior soil. They should have been planted along rivers, roads, and houses.

If many trees on a private hill were to be chopped down, the owner must consult the committee member, but if only a few, he did not have to do so. There was provision as to the size of the trees.

5. Construction Committee

Five members, in charge of directing the "water conservation" and "bridge" committees.

6. Water Conservation Committee

Five members. Besides the chairman, there was one member in each village.

7. Bridge Committee

Five members, in charge of bridge and road repairs. Should be called bridge and road committee.

8. State Owned Property Committee

Five members. It was there, but what it did is unknown.

9. Granary Committee

It was in charge of the care of public bond grain and the grain of Red Army public fields.

The famine preparation granary was also under its care. The grain from the 36 tan of confiscated land, totalling over 10 tan, was stored for famine preparation.

10. Confiscation Committee

Three members, in charge of fines and donations.

From September on, the landlords paid 9 yuan in fines and the rich peasants donated 225 yuan (11 households, donating from 10 to over 40 yuan each).

In the past, the farms, hills and woods, buildings, plow animals and farm tools of the rich peasants were all confiscated, and the rich peasants were only allocated some inferior land, but no hills. Now, they had to lease plow animals and farm tools from others. As for their cash on hand, they were either "fined" in the past or at present. One could not call it donation. Currently, their living condition is even worse than the farm laborers. (It must be pointed out that Ch'ang-kang township's policy on the rich peasants is erroneous.)

11. Land Investigation Committee Nine

members. No longer in existence.

12. Education Committee

Nine members.

13. Public Health Committee

Five members. Organized in April.

14. Air and Poison Defense Committee

Five members. Organized in October; 4 or 5 meetings were held.

15. Preparation Committee

Organized for the purpose of the commemoration meeting.

The "village" committees of Ch'ang-kang township (the villages have many of the committees) have expanded the contact of the Soviet with the masses. It is an excellent creation when Soviet work has developed to a high degree. As the villages have 5-member committees, many of the township committees only need 5 members. Moreover, as 4 of the 5 members of each of the township committees serve as the chairmen of the 4 village committees, a network is formed, and it is a great help to the work of the delegates' congress. However, the comrades of Ch'ang-kang township regard the committees as mass organizations in the same category as the labor unions and poor peasants' leagues. They do not know that they are a part of the Soviet. This is not proper. The "construction committee" can be abolished. In regard to the "land committee," in areas such as Hsing-kuo where the land struggle is intense, it should be changed to the agricultural experimental farm committee. "Grain," "census," "worker-peasant procurators" and "Red alert" committees should be added. Provisions on these have been made in the "local Soviet Organization Law" promulgated by the Central Government.

V. Local Troops

1. Organization

(1) One platoon of men's Red Guards

Age 24 to 45; the township had a total of 66 men within this age bracket. Except the chairman, the secretary and the seriously ill or crippled, totalling over 20 persons, who were not included, all those of this age bracket were organized into it, totalling 46.

One platoon leader, 1 assistant platoon leader, 6 squad leaders, and 6 assistant squad leaders; one flag.

(2) One company of women's Red Guard

Of the same age bracket; the township had a total of 146 women (more than twice the number of men). Except the 20 or more sick or crippled, all were organized into it, totalling 120. One company commander, one assistant commander, one political director, three platoon leaders, three assistant platoon leaders, nine squad leaders and nine assistant squad leaders, all female; one flag.

(3) One brigade of Young Pioneers

Both men and women, age 16 to 23, were included in the brigade. The township had 21 men and 80 women (4 times the men) of this age bracket, totalling 101. Except about 15 crippled (club-foot, etc.), all were organized into it, totalling 86.

Brigade commander and assistant commander one each. Divided into one men's platoon and two women's platoons, each with a leader and an assistant leader.

2. Training

(1) Platoon drill

The village as the unit, twice a month, separating the Red Guard and the Young Pioneers, men and women drilling together.

Instructors: Women's assistant company commander in Ch'ang-kang; women's company commander in T'ang-pei. Young Pioneers had one woman and three men as instructors. Items of drill: Attention, at ease, left and right face, ch'a-tang-tzu, marching, running (seldom women), dispersal, and field work (3- or 4-li distance).

Weapons: Mostly sights, some wooden guns.

Politics class: Brill first and lecture afterward. The political director lectured on the revolutionary situation, imperialism, tasks of the Red Guard, etc. No set text (lecturing at random).

Time: Afternoon, roughly 1400 to 1800, 2-1/2 hours of drilling and 1-1/2 hours of lecturing.

Attendance: Averaging 70 percent.

(2) Company drill

The township as the unit, on the 15th of every month.

Items of drill: Each platoon went through the drill to determine the superior ones. The accomplishments of the platoons in drilling were inspected.

Politics class: After the drill, the director discussed the political situation.

Time: 4 hours in the afternoon. Currently, as the weather was cold in winter and there was more time, it has been changed to the forenoon.

3. Service Work

(1) Transport

Men served as full-time laborers (those over 45 years of age and not organized into the Red Guard served part-time).

Women served as part-time laborers (some of them were selected and assigned to areas such as inside the city, Kao-shing-yu and Ch'a-ling). Women also were assigned to rescue and nursing work (some of them were selected to organize rescue and nursing platoons; in readiness; no work) and laundry detail (more than 10 from each village who were not tied down by young children were selected and organized into laundry details; went to the replacement division and instructors team in Shao-chi-wo several times and Ch'a-ling two or three times to do laundry).

<2) Night patrol

Ch^Tang-kang, T^fang-pei and Szu-kang had a total of three patrol stations, one shift per night, 5 or 6 persons per shift. The Red Guard and the Young Pioneers each sent several members to take turns performing the task, under the supervision of the squad leader or assistant leader. One person stood guard and the rest slept. The patrol would ask for the password (answer: "Ordinary citizen," followed with name, destination and purpose. Actually, the people did not know the password) and check the road slip (someone from another township passing through). No bad people have ever been caught.

(3) Daytime inspection

Three persons were responsible during the day, one from the Red Guard, one from the Young Pioneers, and one from the children's league. When anyone passed through, one would check his road slip (children's leaguer) and another would question him (Red Guard or Young Pioneer). Messages would be delivered when necessary. The T^fang-pei patrol station caught four or five deserters and delivered them to the district government. "Ordinary citizens" arrested someone without a road slip (when he took a small path in the hills), who came from another county, was very ferocious, suspected of being a spy and delivered to the county government.

(4) Air defense

The air and poison defense committee of the township instructed the masses on air defense and asked them to give their attention to the following;

They must not run around when the planes come.

They must dig air-raid caves. Several households could dig one together. In process, but not yet completed.

In case of poison gas, they must cover their noses with a handkerchief. Those returned from field maneuvers said that charcoal dust should be wrapped in a handkerchief to cover the nose.

Every village had a signal gun station, manned by two persons. When one was away, the other remained ready to fire the signal gun.

All young and adult laboring masses should be organized into the Red Guard or the Young Pioneers and given the proper military and political training, in order to defend the locality on the one hand and be ready to go to the front on the other. It is an important task of the soviet in the domestic war. Ch'ang-kang township has been successful in this aspect.

VI. The Living Condition of the Masses

1. Famine was encountered this year. Some 80 percent of the masses actually had no grain before spring planting this year, and rice had to be procured from such distant areas as Tung-ku, Sha-ts'un, Fu-t'ien, and Shui-nan. The 80 percent of the masses averaged exactly 1 month of grain shortage. Each person needed 5 tan a year, or 4 tan a month. Eighty percent of the 1,500 population of the township was 1,200, and 1 month's grain for them amounted to 480 tan. The amount was procured from distant areas, and no one went hungry.

2. Though spring cultivation this year was good, the fall harvest was inferior due to insects, only equivalent to that of last year. Nevertheless, (1) the fall cultivation was good, and there was a 40 percent increase in both potatoes and beans over last year. (2) Vegetables, broadbeans, snow peas and rape were added in winter planting. (3) After fall harvest last year, the masses sold large volumes of grain to the merchants, at only 2,800 wen per tan, not quite 1 yuan. While they needed the money, they could have sold less, but no attention was given to it. This year a county-wide meeting was held. It was decided that grain would not be sold for less than 4 yuan, and the volumes would be smaller. (4) After fall harvest last year, much was wasted on feeding hogs and ducks and chicken, but this year, less would be used for this purpose. (5) Last year, for the public bonds of the first and second periods, 2 yuan of public bonds required 2.5 tan of grain. This year, 10 yuan of public bonds would only require 2 tan of grain. There would, therefore, be no famine in the coming spring.

3. Surplus in Oil. The peanut harvest this year was better than last, and peanuts could be made into oil. Every household had been allocated some wooded hills, and they also had some oil. Oil was ample. There was even a surplus.

4. Beans could be traded for oil, but the amount of edible salt had been greatly reduced. The bean harvest this year was good (watering was even; last year, almost the entire crop was ruined by flood), and the price of beans was good (last year it was 9 yuan per tan; this year, it was 12 yuan). Beans could be traded for 60 percent of the edible salt needed by the township. The 40 percent remainder could be made up by trading the surplus oil (30 percent surplus in oil).

The average per capita need of salt was 4/10 ounce [Chinese unit] per day (or 12 ounces a month). It was reduced to half in July this year (2/10 ounce (or 6 ounces a month)). In November it was a little over 3/10 ounce (or approximately 10 ounces a month). The masses used sour pickle juice and declared

that it was not much different from salt. (This was the crime of the Kuomintang. Only by breaking down the blockade would there be salt).

5. Meat eating poor peasants doubled and workers tripled. About 85 percent of the households "raised hogs," and 15 percent of them were unable to do so. They sold an average of 20 yuan's worth of hogs a year and bought about 12 yuan's worth of pork per household, leaving a surplus of 8 yuan. Before the uprising, they only bought an average of 10 yuan's worth of pork per household per year. According to the classes, before the uprising, the middle peasants bought about 12 yuan's worth of pork, the poor peasants about 6 yuan's worth and the workers about 4 yuan's worth. Now, almost all of them spent 12 yuan. (Some among them did not spend so much.) In the past, let alone market days, not much meat was eaten even for the New Year and festivals. Now, in addition to the New Year and festivals, everyone would buy some meat on market days.

6. The chickens and ducks, which were mostly sold in the past, were now mostly consumed by the peasants themselves.

7. The living condition improved, and less firewood was sold. There was no lack of firewood in the locality. In the past, more firewood was carried to the city to be sold. Now, the amount sold was 30 percent less, because many people did not need to sell it any more.

8. The amount of clothes doubled. For all wearing apparel, the average need per year per capita was one new unlined suit. The middle peasants remained the same as before, but the poor peasants and workers had a 100 percent improvement. They now had the ability to spend twice as much on clothes than they did before.

9. The living condition of the farm laborers improved. There were about 22 households of farm laborers in the township and 60 percent of them were better off than the poorest of the poor peasants, because they had been allocated things. The township had only 2 landowner households, but many things were confiscated from the rich peasants (12 households) and sent down from the cities. The living condition of the remaining 40 percent of the farm laborers was the same as the poor peasants.

10. The middle peasants remained at the same position. Generally speaking, the living condition of the middle peasants was about the same as in the past. (The soviet must give attention to improving the living condition of the middle peasants.)

11. Rest and Labor of the Masses. Each person averaged 5 full days of meetings (totalling the many meetings) a month, which served as rest periods for them. As many people had left the area and the labor force in the township had reduced, the labor intensity of the masses was the same as before the uprising, but the significance of labor had changed.

The soviet is the organizer of the mass life. Only when it devotes all its effort to solving the problems of the masses, improving their living condition and gaining their confidence before it can mobilize the broad masses to join the Red Army, help in the war and struggle for the smashing of the enemy encirclement. We must know that the great achievement of Ch'ang-kang township war mobilization was indivisible from its achievement in improving the life of the masses.

VII. Balancing of the Labor Force and the Plow Animal Problem

1. Model Cultivation Teams

Each of the 4 villages had 1 team, totalling about 70 persons. They were organized with Red Army family members who had labor force. Led by a team leader, each team was divided into subunits. The 20 or more members of the Ch'ang-kang village model cultivation team, for instance, was divided into 3 subunits of 3 to 7 members according to the proximity of their residences. Each subunit was in charge of several to a dozen or more households nearby, giving constant attention to their proper handling of production. The teams were organized last August at the time of rice harvesting, and their function was to balance the labor force.

Method: The labor mutual aid association helped the Red Army families to farm the land (no charge for wages), while the model team helped the masses with their cultivation (wages charged). For instance, when a mutual aid association member had to help a Red Army family to cultivate while his own farm required cultivation, the model team would send someone to help cultivate his land for him, or to take his place to help the Red Army family instead, and he would pay wages to the model team member. The labor force was thus balanced. Therefore, the model team and the mutual aid association must keep in close contact.

2. Labor Mutual Aid Association

Each of the four villages had a labor mutual aid association. Except the Red Army families, 80 percent of those possessing labor power joined. The township had over 300 association members.

Among the population of the hsiang:

Persons performing full labor—10 percent (about 150 persons). Persons performing half labor—20 percent (about 300 persons). Persons performing half labor—20 percent (about 300 persons). Persons performing incidental labor—35 percent (about 525 persons).

Persons performing no labor—30 percent (about 450 persons).

Most of the first two categories, totalling about 450 persons, joined the mutual aid association.

Of the 320 persons away from their homes in township (226 serving with the Red Army, and 94 performing work), except for 10 or more belonging to the half-labor category, they all belonged to the "full-labor" category. Compared with the remaining 150 persons performing "full-labor" in the township, the ratio was 68 percent to 32 percent. Therefore, organized balancing of labor power became a central issue in production and the masses enthusiastically welcomed the labor mutual aid association.

The function of the mutual aid association was the preferential treatment of Red Army families, mutual aid among members and helping the "orphaned and aged." All the goals were reached. As a whole, the farms of Red Army families were successfully cultivated. The method was as follows:

Preferential treatment of Red Army families: In regard to the Red Army families in the township during busy seasons, each household required an average of about 25 work units of help per month; during ordinary times, an average of about 10 work units. The masses rendered help according to their ability. Those with more labor force rendered more help, those with less rendered less help and those without rendered no help. Women with young children seldom rendered help. Generally, during busy seasons, where all members in a household could perform labor, the household would contribute 13 or 14 work units. Where it had only 1/2 labor force, it would contribute 1 or 2 units of light work. In regard to those who rendered less help than they should, they must pay those who rendered more help. During a busy season, for instance, when household A contributed only 5 work units a month to Red Army families when it should have been 7 units while household B contributed 9 work units when it should have been 7, household A must pay household B the wages for the 2 units.

Mutual aid among members: The work units were mutually offset. Those who did less work would pay wages to those who did more work according to the number of work units.

Helping the orphaned and aged: Only meals for the members rendering help were provided; no charge of wages.

Over-all production plans with the village as the unit were formulated and the manpower balanced.

Account was settled at the end of every month and the wages computed. (More people took money in payment. Less took articles. Accounts were always cleared.)

Wages: Rice harvesting work this year was divided into three levels. The highest was 800 wen (such as threshing), next was 640 wen (such as cutting rice stalks, and carrying the stalks), and the lowest was 320 wen (such as taking the rice and bean dibbling). The above was decided at the membership mass meeting in July (attended by up to 100 members). In regard to the rice harvesting wages last year, it was 800 wen at the beginning and rose to a maximum of 1,400 wen at the busiest time.

Wage reduction: Wage reduction was supported by the farm laborers union because, with the land allocation, they were short of manpower.

Those with more labor force did not object either, because they must contribute much work to Red Army families.

The mutual aid association had five committee members, including a chairman, an organizer and a propagandist. It was under the guidance of the fall harvesting and fall cultivation committee of the township.

The great effect of the labor mutual aid association on agricultural production has been clearly demonstrated in Ch'ang-kang township. According to the desire of the masses, overall planning of production with the village as the unit can be introduced in all areas, especially in areas where there have been many Red Army recruits. When necessary, township or even the district can be taken as the unit for overall planning. It was what Ts'ai-ch'i District, Shang-hang, did. The cultivation team may be merged with the labor mutual aid association, in order to unify the organization. There is an important issue here:

Mobilizing the women to join production. The young people and adults between age 16 and 45 in Ch'ang-kang township numbered 733. Of these, 320 left home to join the Red Army or perform other work, leaving 413 in the township, consisting of 87 men and 326 women (a ratio of 1 to 4). Therefore, Ch'ang-kang township relied mostly on women for its production. The township proposed the slogan that "women must learn to plow," and entire groups of women had joined the production front. It proved that organized balancing of manpower and activating women to join production are tasks which cannot be separated. That Ch'ang-kang township's production not only did not drop, but increased, was because they had successfully solved this problem.

3. Plot Animal Cooperative

Ch'ang-kang township began to organize the plow animal cooperative in September, one in each village, but had not yet completed the task. Not many people joined the cooperative. There was a five-man committee.

The average was 25 cows per 100 households. The township had a total of 110 cows.

No household had two cows.

Among those owning cows, 50 percent of the households had one cow (mostly calves, costing 10 and odd yuan per head).

15 percent of the households had one cow per two families.

30 percent of the households had one cow per three or four families.

5 percent of the households had one cow per five families (at times per seven, families-large buffaloes).

25 percent of the households had no cow. Among the 437 households in the township, 109 had no cow. The plow animal cooperative had not yet discussed its solution.

No cow was permitted to be slaughtered. When an animal should be slaughtered due to illness or age, the owner must notify in advance the hsiang soviet, which would inspect the animal before granting permission. No one dared to kill a cow deliberately.

Under the current agricultural technical condition, the function of the plow animal is just below manpower. According to information of Shih-shui township Jui-chin (30 percent of the households had no cow), Ch'ang-kang township, Hsing-kuo (25 percent) and Ts'ai-ch'i township, Shang-hang (20 percent), we know that peasants without plow animals constitute about 25 percent of the peasant population. This is a big problem. For its solution, nothing can surpass leading the masses to organize plow animal cooperatives and buy animals by pooling their funds. Under the voluntary principle (with the approval of the cooperative membership mass meeting), every household will contribute 2 to 3 sheng of grain per tan of land according to the amount of land allocated to it. In Ch'ang-kang township, for instance, each person was allocated 6 tan 2 ton of land, and 109 households have no cow. With an average of 4 persons per household, the total number of persons is 436, and the total area of land allocated to them is 2,703 tan. At 3 pints per tan, there will be 81 tan of grain. At 5 yuan per tan, there will be 405 yuan. At 20 yuan per animal, there will be 20 head. With each animal plowing 80 tan of land, the 20 animals will plow 1,600 tan. Thus, more than half of the 2,703 tan of land will be plowed by animals. By contributing 2 sheng per tan next year, the entire problem will be solved. On the other hand, when leasing an animal to plow, the animal rent is 5 sheng per year per tan of land. The method was suggested by the masses of Shih-shui township. They have already put it to practice. We hope that all areas will follow suit. It will not only solve a big difficulty of the impoverished peasants, but produce an even greater significance in increasing agricultural production.

VIII. Sale of Public Bonds

The public bonds issuance committee consisted of five members. Every village had a chairman.

The township chairman attended the county and district meetings and undertook to sell 5,000 yuan of bonds. Subsequently, 456 yuan was added, totaling 5,456 yuan.

Upon his return, the township chairman called a delegates' meeting, and the various village delegates pledged the amount to be sold in their particular villages.

The on-duty delegates of the villages called mass meetings in their own villages. The delegates and propaganda teams propagandized to the masses beforehand, led the masses to the meetings and explained the significance of bonds. At the meetings, the delegates and the responsible persons of the various organizations took the lead and made their pledges, and the masses followed. All the pledges were recorded on site.

The bonds were not entirely sold.

In regard to those who did not buy bonds or bought too little, the delegates and the propaganda teams propagandized from household to household. "Such a large amount this year!" Some of the masses could not understand. The delegates and the propaganda teams compared last year's grain price (2.5 tan of grain for 2 yuan's worth of bonds) with this year's bonds (only 2 tan for 10 yuan's worth of bonds), explained the "benefits of the cooperative (2 dividends would exceed the cost of the shares; those having no shares would not receive dividends), and expounded the significance of enemy blockade and economic construction.

A village-wide mass meeting was again held, and an additional amount of bonds was sold, but the bonds were still not completely sold.

Propaganda was made again.

A third village-wide mass meeting was held, and an additional amount was sold. The bonds were still not completely sold, but not much was left.

At the fourth village mass meeting, all the bonds were sold.

A total of 5,456 yuan of bonds was sold, averaging over 3.70 yuan per person for the 1,464 population of the hsiang. One household bought 45 yuan of bonds, which was the largest sale; 5 or 6 households bought 30 yuan of bonds; many bought 20 yuan of bonds; very few bought 1 or 2 yuan, only around 10 households; and none bought 0.50 yuan. Some 10 or more "orphaned and aged" households did not buy any. "The masses were completely satisfied." From beginning to end, it took 15 days to sell all the bonds.

The special feature of Ch'ang-kang Township in its work was to devote their entire effort to mobilizing the masses and persuading them with a great patience. As a result, their tasks were completely fulfilled and at the greatest speed. Selling public bonds was only one of the instances. The sale of over 5,000 yuan of public bonds was entirely done at the meetings, not by visiting the households. It depended entirely on propaganda and agitation, not on coercive allocation. It required four propaganda campaigns and four village mass meetings. Yet, it took only 15 days from beginning to end. Other townships while the sale was only 1/5 or 1/6 that of Ch'ang-kang township, resorted to coercive allocation, and could not even complete the job after 2 or 3 months. Compared with Ch'ang-kang township it was truly heaven and earth!

IX. The Cooperative Movement

The cooperative began in Ku-lin village, Lang-mu township (Ch'ang-kang township being then a part thereof), in 1931, upon the conclusion of the third war. At 0.50 yuan per share, the masses of the village collected over 80 yuan, began to do business, and were successful. In January 1933, it was changed to the Lang-mu township cooperative. No additional shares were solicited, the merchandise was cheaper than the market, and it was popular with the masses. By September, it had gross receipts of 300 yuan and showed a profit. In September last year, the district cooperative was formed, 800 shares (at 0.50 yuan per share) were subscribed for and collected, and the Lang-mu township cooperative was merged into the district.

Staff members: During the village cooperative period, cooperative chief (Li K'uei-ying, who subsequently became the chief of the township district, and county cooperatives), purchasing (Li, who subsequently became the purchasing officer of the township district and county cooperatives), and accounting and business (Wang Jen-sen, who subsequently became the accountant of the township and district cooperatives) had their meals provided by the cooperative, but they received no wage. After the cooperative was changed to a township cooperative, it was decided to pay them 3 yuan per month each, but they refused.

The merchandise was directly procured from country stores. During the village and township cooperative period, the cooperative members and Red Army families were given a discount of 50 wen for every 1,000 wen of purchases, or 5 percent. The non-members did not enjoy the discount, but the prices were cheaper than the market. They could save 20 wen for every string of coins spent on purchases, or 20 percent. In November this year, the district cooperative changed the discount on salt and cloth to 20 wen per string of coins (because salt and cloth were expensive and not profitable), while for other merchandise, the discount remained at 50 wen. The non-members were charged market price. At this time, there was a profit of 2 yuan for every 100 yuan of gross receipt.

From September last year to March this year (6 months), the district operative made a profit of over 600 yuan on a capital of over 400 yuan. It designated 50 percent as public reserve fund, 10 percent as bonus to the business personnel and the managing and inspection committees, 10 percent as culture-education expenses (stationary for the clubs, schools, and children of Red Army families), and 30 percent as dividends. To increase the dividends and encourage the members, the education expenses were temporarily abolished (should be resumed in the future), and the dividends increased to 40 percent, paying 1 string of coins to every shareholder. At the time of dividend payment, the accounts were cleared and published by posting. After dividend payment, there was a big increase in capital. In July this year, there was a total of 2,000 shares for 1,000 yuan. In November, at the second dividend payment, each share was entitled to 0.50 yuan, but actually only 0.30 yuan was paid, leaving the 0.20 yuan as additional share. It was decided to change the share unit to 1 yuan, and no one was permitted to have more than 10 shares.

The managing committee had 11 members, and the inspection committee 7.

It was decided that the townships should establish branch cooperatives. The Ch'ang-kang township branch cooperative collected over 260 shares (at 1 yuan per share) and started business.

The Ku-lin village cooperative was the first of its kind in the entire county. Its operation was successful and it was known as a model cooperative.

The grain cooperative of the township solicited over 220 shares (at 1 yuan per share). Most of the subscribers paid in grain (at 5 yuan per tan), which was all stored in a granary in Ch'ang-kang village. It had not started business. A managing committee was organized.

Every township and every district must emulate the consumer cooperative of Ch'ang-kang township and Shang-she district.

X. Culture Movement 1.

Elementary Schools

Four Lenin elementary schools one in each village, each with a principal and a teacher.

Students: 55 in Ch'ang-kang; 53 in T'ang-pei; 33 in Hsin-ch'i; 46 in Szu-kang; total 186, constituting 65 percent of all the school age children in the township. As for the remaining 35 percent, it was not because their parents did not want them to go to school, but because they would rather play than study. The students went to "catch" them. Their punishment was sweeping the floor or being shut up, or even going without meals for those "big and savage." The students initiated struggles among themselves, with "very good spirit." The mischievous children spent less time in school than out. The parents would see them out of the door, and they would then "sneak off into the hills to fight battles." (Some of the punishments were not suitable.)

All schools were divided into classes A, B and C.

The age of the students was 7 to 13. There were also some who were 14 or 15 years old, but they only attended half day because of production.

Those living far away brought their lunch, and those nearby went home for lunch.

The students provided their own paper.

The teachers were volunteers. They were considered in the same category as work personnel severed from production, and the labor mutual aid association helped farm their land. The teachers themselves would not say so, but the delegates' congress decided to give them preferential treatment. (Those regularly stationed in the township soviet received preferential treatment, but the delegates and the responsible persons of mass organizations not severed from production received no preferential treatment). In Ho-fu and Hsiu-shui townships, the students collected rice for the "teacher," 2 ton a month. Yang-ch'en township had another method. Where there was an elementary school in a certain village, the township soviet permitted the masses to select two persons (age 50 or more who could not perform full-time labor) to work as peddlers, do some small business, and provide the meals for the "teacher." The amount was the same as the township soviet personnel (0.09 yuan a day). Meanwhile, the township soviet would not assign the two peddlers any service detail, and the two peddlers must be willing to undertake the task.

Most of the teachers were "not profound in learning." 2.

Night Schools

9 in the township: 3 in Ch'ang-kang; 2 in T'ang-pei, 1 in Hsin-ch'i; 3 in Szu-kang.

Each school had an average of 32 students, totalling about 300 for the 9 schools, 30 percent men and 70 percent women. Most of the 412 young people and adults, age 16 to 45, in the township enrolled in the night school. Some few "old comrades" over 54 years old also came to the school. The masses were very pleased. They declared that "the night school is excellent!"

All schools were divided into A, B and C classes.

A small number of students brought their own lamps and some 4 or 5 persons shared one lamp. Mostly, they depended on the one wood-oil lamp furnished by the school, shared by 10 to 20 persons. Each person contributed 2 or 3 p'ien a month.

The students provided their own paper, pens and ink.

Teaching material:

Class A—newspaper reading; arithmetic.

Class B—Adult reader. Class C—Children's reader.

Each school had a principal and a teacher. The principal did not have to be literate as long as he was enthusiastic. When the students were absent, "the principal's instruction is requested." The principal also attended the class. Most of the principals were "old comrades." Of the 9 night school principals, 5 were women. There were no women teachers, of the 9 night school teachers, 7 were township soviet delegates, and all were volunteers .

3. Literacy Classes

Those tied down with children, those more advanced in age, and those with too few members in the family and too far away were organized into literacy classes.

Organization: According to the proximity of residences, as few as 3 and as many as 10 were organized into groups, and a group leader, who could read a few words, was elected. Most of the group leaders were night school students.

Teaching method: Any time, any place, any number of persons, while resting or drinking tea, one, three, or five persons. At the beginning, characters were traced on the ground. Later on, each student would have a notebook to learn how to write, beginning with such characters as "table, chair, bench, pig, cow, chicken and duck." Every 10 days, the group leader collected the notebooks from the students for correction by a "night school teacher," and those who "wrote more and well" were praised verbally. The group leader would ask the night school teacher when he did not know how to write certain characters, and the latter, when he did not know how to write them, would ask the day school teacher.

By this method, those who did not know how to read at all before could now read 40 or 50 words, and some few of them could read 70 or 80.

This method was introduced in the summer this year, but the literacy class was started last year.

Literacy placard: One in each village, nailed on walls of houses alongside the road. Pictures and words were made on it, replaced every 2 or 3 days. Sometimes, it was replaced as often as once a day or as long as 4 or 5 days; 2 or 3 words were given every time, accompanied with pictures. The day school teacher was responsible for it. It was very effective.

4. Clubs

The township had four clubs, one in each village. Every club had many committees, such as "physical education," "wall bulletin," "evening meeting," etc. Every village ran a wall bulletin, located in the Lenin elementary school. Of the 10 articles, 8 of them were written by the elementary students and two by the masses. All the clubs presented modern plays.

Every township soviet must emulate the culture and education work of Ch'angkang township.

XI. Hygiene Movement

1. Method

The residents were organized into hygiene details, according to the proximity of their residences, consisting of 4 or 5, 7 or 8, 11 or 12 households per detail, mostly 7 or 8, with a leader.

Though a major sweeping every 5 days was called for, actually it was mostly once every 7 days, and at times even every 10 days. Supervision was necessary. "Without supervision, it would not be remembered, and there is so much work to do."

2. Work

(1) Sweeping: No ashes or manure was stored in hallways and bedrooms. Stagnant mud was cleaned out from ditches in front and behind. Open, level spaces were swept and cleaned. The people took turns sweeping and cleaning public ditches and level spaces. (2) Food: They only went as far as forbidding the people to eat dead things. (3) Clothes were washed. In regard to those who failed to perform the above items, the children's league was activated to ridicule them, especially those wearing dirty clothes. The modern plays also depicted the hygiene movement.

3. Achievements

From April on, the first time was "fairly good," but it then petered out. Nothing was done in May and June. Upon discovery, the township soviet criticized the hygiene committee chairmen, held another meeting of the committees (besides the township hygiene committee, every village had a committee, all consisting of five members), and called on the villages to compete against one another "to see which ones are better." It was put into effect under supervision in July. There were great achievements in the 4 months since. It was twice as clean as before.

4. Public Opinion

"The Red Army and the Communist Party think of everything!" "The government work personnel are truly concerned about us!" But some few people also remarked: "Opening the windows! If we don't die of illness, we will die from the wind blowing on us!" More intensive propaganda was needed.

Illness is a big enemy in the soviet areas, because it weakens our revolutionary force. Activating a broad mass hygiene movement and reducing, even eliminating, diseases similar to what Ch'ang-kang township did constitute the responsibility of each and every township soviet.

XII. Social Relief

The township committee of the mutual relief association had five members (including chairman, propagandist, and organizer). The village had no committee. It had a chairman, and there were small groups under him. The association had 611 members. Only about 20 households, mostly "orphaned and aged," in the hsiang did not join the association. The monthly charge was 1 p'ien, which everyone paid.

Work:

1. Comforting the Red Army.
2. Soliciting donations for refugee relief and anti-imperialism. This was done twice this year. Once when over 70 refugees from Hsin-feng came to Hsing-kuo city (in the Lang-mu township period), over 20 strings of coins were collected. Another time was in aid of the Northeast Volunteer Army, also during the Lang-mu township period (the population at that time was 2,900, and the number of members about 800), when over 40 strings of coins were collected. Donations started at 5 p'ien, up to 100, 200, or 1 string. Most of them were 100, about 60 percent of the members. Only a few persons gave as little as 5 p'ien or as much as 1 string.
3. Donations were solicited to relieve those whose houses had burned down and the unemployed workers who were sick and had no medicine. One household had a fire last spring and one and one-half rooms were burned down. More than 6 strings of coins were collected and given to the owner.
4. Relief of the hungry. In the summer this year, three or four persons in Lang-mu township had nothing to eat (were beggars in the past, still very poor now) and asked the district mutual relief association for money and rice. They were given 1 to 3 pints each and every time for 3 or 4 times during the summer.
5. Relief of Red Army families. To relieve those among the Red Army families who were sick or had difficulties (no one hungry), more than 11 strings of coins were collected at one time in the summer. In April, the cooperative loaned the money for capital and several volunteers among the

masses went to purchase rice, carried it to Ch'iao-t'ou Chiang-pei-tung to sell, and made a profit of over 100 strings of coins for the relief of those who were sick or had difficulties among the Red Army families. The volunteers did not take any money besides their meals.

The soviet of many areas gives no attention to relief work. The mutual relief association in such areas only collects the monthly dues but does not perform any relief work. The social relief work of the township soviet and mutual relief association of Ch'ang-kang township is commendable. Ch'ang-kang township solved every difficult problem of the masses in the most concrete and practical manner.

XIII. Women

The women worker and peasant delegates' congress had a chairman in every village. All the village chairmen and a women's director formed the presidium of the township women worker and peasant delegates' congress. The township had a total of 43 delegates, 12 from Ch'ang-kang, 11 from T'ang-pei, 9 from Hsin-ch'i and 11 from Szu-kang. It was organized in November last year. There was a reelection in March this year. The third election was held in September. There was one meeting every 7 days in all the villages, all held according to schedule, with only a handful absent every time (tied down by children). The delegates had separate responsibilities, each in charge of 5 to 10 households, most ly 6 or 7.

The township soviet delegate was in charge of the first election upon the creation of the congress. The village was the unit, and all the laboring women age 16 and above were asked to come to the meeting. An average of 60 percent of them in all the villages attended the meetings. According to the proximity of their residences, several households (not the same numbers) elected one delegate. The delegates elected at that time were slightly fewer than now. At that time, as the women still did not understand the function of the women delegates' congress, they were not very enthusiastic. After the delegates were elected, some few of them were not very positive. The delegates' congress had no presidium, only a chairman. The villages did not even have a chairman.

There was a reelection in March this year. The method was the same as before, but the women's chairmen were in charge. The township soviet delegates of the villages also participated to render help. The number of households to be under the charge of the women's delegates was determined, and the township was to organize a presidium, but there was no chairman in the villages.

For the third election in September, the method was changed. No village-wide women's mass meeting was called. The women delegates called election meetings of the women in the households under their charge, and the township soviet delegates participated to render help.

During the first and second election meetings, only the delegates were elected, but no problem was discussed. At the third election, such problems as "expanding the Red Army," "comforting the Red Army," "preferential treatment of Red Army families," "women learning to plow," and "women buying public bonds with silverware" were discussed. The marriage issue was discussed among the problems brought up at the regular meeting every 7 days. The women declared: "We want the correct freedom, not vagabond freedom. We must not ask for a divorce whenever there is an argument." During the election movement this year, the women's candidates' list was discussed. However, other intimate problems concerning women, such as "women's diseases," "children" and "women's education," were not discussed.

There was complete freedom of divorce in the township. The husbands seldom scolded their wives, but there were more wives who scolded their husbands. (Neither should scold the other.) Spanking of children had not been completely stopped, but it was reduced. (There should be no spanking at all.) The children had become more intelligent. In the past, when spanked or scolded by their parents, they seldom retorted, but now more of them retorted. (If the parents did not spank or scold them, the children would not be retorting.)

About 1 percent of the women married 3 times in the 4-1/2 years after the uprising. Clandestine love affairs constituted about 50 percent before the uprising, but they were reduced to 10 percent after the uprising. They were further reduced this year because of land allocation, freedom to divorce or marry, and busy revolutionary work.

Their clothes were shortened and "fancy borders" eliminated. Except "old ladies," the women cut their hair. Some "old ladies" also had their hair cut. Older women with long hair constituted about 20 percent of the women.

Among the masses, in the past (before the uprising), there were frequent quarrels and fistfights, and even more arguments. Now, there are no more fistfights, and even arguments decreased. When there was an argument in the past, no one would explain matters to the parties, and even when someone tried to pacify them, they were "not convinced in their mind." Now, the moment an argument occurs, a delegate comes out to explain matters to them, and they immediately "became convinced." Arguments mostly occurred among the older comrades. They attended less meetings and did not understand revolutionary work clearly. When asked to render preferential treatment to Red Army families, they would sometimes argue. However, the majority who did not understand, they were mostly "old ladies" who "always refused to go to the meetings."

Since last year, no old lady has worshipped the gods (burning incense and offering rice; begging the gods and bowing to the Buddha), but every village still has one or two persons who try to "summon the spirit of the dead." The reasons for such prompt elimination of superstition were (1) knocking down of local tyrants and land division, (2) the anti-superstition propaganda of the children's league and Young Pioneers and the soviet movement

to save the money on incense and candles, and (3) direct interference by the Young Pioneers (taking away the incense and candles). (Should be persuasion rather than interference). However, although they did not dare to worship the gods openly, some old ladies still Relieved in the gods. Most of those had no son.

The great strength of women in the revolutionary war has been clearly demonstrated in the soviet areas. In the land investigation movement and all types of mass struggles, on the economic front (Ch'ang-kang township relies mainly on them), on the cultural front (many women are in charge of rural education), in military mobilization (their movement to expand the Red Army and comfort the Red Army; their service as part-time laborers), and in the soviet organization (the effect of the women delegates in the township soviet), their heroic bearing and great achievements have been manifested. Here, the leadership and motivation of the women's worker and peasant delegates' congress are the crucial link. It must first closely tackle the problems connected with the intimate interest of the women masses and coordinate all political mobilizations with the mobilization on such problems. On this point, the attention of many areas is extremely inadequate, and even Ch'ang-kang township has not rendered it full attention. The soviet of each and every township must place the work of guiding the women's worker and peasant delegates' congress on its daily agenda.

XIV. Children

The children's league committee in the township had 5 members, with a secretary. In the villages, there was a chairman. Of the children age 7 to 15 80 percent joined the children's league. Those who had not joined were mostly 7-year-olds (too small) and 15-year-olds (because they had joined the Young Pioneers. Ordinarily the minimum age for the Young Pioneers was 16, but some joined earlier because of their size). More boys than girls joined.

Work: (1) They propagandized on expanding the Red Army and the return-to-the ranks movement. (Only when a person refused after three or four propaganda efforts would he be ridiculed. The township had never had a ridicule team.) (2) They held competitions to collect dog excrement for the "fertilizer station" and shovel up grass roots for the "fertilizer room." (3) The members paid 1 p'ien of monthly due to comfort the Red Army. (4) They promoted the thrift movement—eating less fruits and buying more public bonds, 0.50, 1, 2 or 3 yuan. Most of them bought 0.50 yuan. Sixty percent of the children bought public bonds. (5) They played games, drilled and practiced fighting battles in the drill field on Sundays. A program was formulated. (6) The majority of them were enrolled in the Lenin school.

The discipline of the children's league was very strict. Some mischievous children who defied their parents and teachers obeyed the discipline of the children's league. Punishments consisted of sweeping the floor or being shut up. They always "listen to reason and admit their errors." (Should be more persuasion and less punishment.)

In the past, 9- and 10-year-olds took care of cows for the landlords and rich peasants, but this was no longer true. In the past, whether at home or working outside, the labor time of children was always 10 hours or more, the same as for adults. They had no time to rest or study. Now, they spend the greater portion of their time studying and playing games, and only about 1-1/2 hours in the morning taking care of cows or doing other jobs. In busy farming seasons, they worked longer periods. They would ask the teachers for leave to help their parents. In the past, they were spanked and scolded by their parents. Now, they were seldom spanked or scolded.

XV. Workers

Carpenters: 30 percent unemployed; only 7 work units available for each 10 work units; daily wage 550.

Tailors: Most of them unemployed; daily wage 400.

Masons: 30 percent unemployed; daily wage 550.

Bamboo workers: 10 percent unemployed; daily wage 400.

Barbers: 10 percent increase. Each customer paid the barber 8 sheng of grain a year.

Part-time laborers: Daily wage at ordinary times 400 (2 mao); during busy time 800 (4 mao).

XVI. Poor Peasants' League

The township committee had three members (chairman, propagandist organizer) and the village committee 5 members. There were 271 members in July this year, which was increased to 386 in November.

In the past, "the poor peasants' league is called on for everything," but attention was not given to making sound its organization.

In the land investigation movement this year (July), the organization was readjusted, the village committee abolished, and the membership developed.

Before July, sometimes no meeting was held for 2 months. After July, the village poor peasants' league held a meeting every 5, 10 or 15 days, depending on the need of the work. The township league held one meeting a month. The problem discussed included "class investigation," "each member saving 0.12 yuan," "developing the membership," "making sound the organization," "developing production" and "fines and donations." In regard to expanding the Red Army, preferential treatment of Red Army families, economic construction and culture and education, only reports were made to the members.

When the township congress made decisions on such matters, they were "announced" at the poor peasants' league meeting and there was no special discussion. (There should be discussion). No monthly dues were charged. There were small groups under the village.

In all areas where the land investigation movement has not become intensive, the poor peasants' league is specially important. The township soviet must be responsible for its leadership. There should be a poor peasants' league committee in the village. The village should serve as the unit for meetings, and meetings with the township as the unit may be decreased. Ch'ang-kang township's practice is correct.

XVIII. Propaganda Teams

The township had a propaganda middle team, 7 members, 1 leader. Every village had a propaganda small team, 5 members in the large villages (Ch'ang-kang and T'ang-pei) and 3 in the small villages (Hsin-ch'i and Szu-kang), with a leader. They made propaganda for "expanding the Red Army," "economic construction," and the "commemoration festival."

Patterns of propaganda: (1) Individual propaganda, most numerous. (2) Making propaganda when the on-duty delegate gathered the masses of the village to discuss work. (3) Propagandizing to the masses when the district county held commemoration festival mass meetings; also propagandizing to the "ranks" of other township and ch'us.

Every 7 days, the township soviet called together the middle and small team leaders, altogether five persons, for a "propaganda meeting." The district soviet held meetings of all the propaganda team leaders in the district, at least twice a month, sometimes three times. Every meeting lasted at least 4 hours. . The participants went home to eat after the meeting.

The township had a total of 23 team leaders and members, about 60 percent of them women. They were all "relatively articulate," but not necessarily literate. They were not replaced. Only in case of transfers would there be replacements. They concentrated on studying propaganda material and methods and "how to make the masses understand even better." Organizing was started in last February.

XVIII. Surprise Attack Teams

Five persons under the township soviet, one team leader. In regard to the villages, Ch'ang-kang, T'ang-pei and Hsin-ch'i had surprise attack teams and Szu-kang had none. They were organized by Red Army wives.

In any village where the work had become stagnated, the surprise attack team of another would go there to inspect and render help, explaining to the villagers the methods followed by other villages to perform the work. The township surprise attack team had the same function, inspecting and helping any village where the work had come to a standstill.

The surprise attack team performed less work than the propaganda team; it did not demonstrate a great effect. The township soviet called them together for meetings three or four times. Organizing began in August.

Propaganda and surprise attack teams are excellent. All the townships should organize them.

XIX. Revolutionary Competition

The measure of holding competitions was started during the spring cultivation movement this year and the items of competition included "comparatively early," "comparatively good," and "no uncultivated land." All the township chairmen, holding a meeting at the district soviet, signed a competition agreement among the townships. The district called a meeting of the village on-duty delegates to sign competition agreements among the villages. The on-duty delegates of the villages each called a meeting of the village delegates to sign the competition agreement in the village. There was no competition among the households. (Could also be signed,) The following items were included in the agreement: The maximum standards for the items of competition; the competing villages; the kinds and numbers of prizes (first class, red flag; second class, 100 sheets of writing paper; third class, 50 sheets of writing paper); the period of competition; the responsible person and the referee. During the period of competition, the township congress held an inspection meeting, and the on-duty delegates made reports covering the progress of the various villages. After the meeting, the chairmen (referees) made an inspection tour of the villages to verify the reports of the on-duty delegates.

In April, there was another competition. The goal was "military mobilization," divided into "expanding the Red Army," "comforting work" and "preferential treatment of Red Army families." (There was no return-to-the-ranks movement, because there was no deserter at that time. This item was added in May.)

On 20 May, the hsiang congress held a summation meeting on the competition in "spring plowing" and "military affairs." Hsin-ch'i won the red flag, Ch'ang-kang 100 sheets of writing paper, T'ang-pei 50 sheets and Szu-kang nothing.

In July, competition agreements on "military affairs" and "economy" were signed. There has been no summation yet, but Ch'ang-kang is known to be the best.

To strive for speed in work, the method of revolutionary competition should be introduced in every township. The township soviet is the leader of the competition, but only the "leader," because it is mainly a competition among the masses, not the village delegates.. Therefore, for the signing of every competition agreement, it must be reported to the masses at the mass meeting,

with the village as the unit, for their approval, and the agreement posted. For competition on production items, a meeting of the several dozen residents under the leadership of every delegate must be held, and the competition reported to them for their approval. The results of achievement inspections for any one period must also be reported at such meetings,, in order to promote the progress of the work. Whenever a competition produces no achievement, it is always because the competition agreement is put in the pockets of a few persons, and the broad masses are not motivated. A summation must be made for each competition, and the prizes awarded. As a whole, Ch'ang-kang township accomplished all these in its two competitions. That was why they made practical successes.

⁰ "Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 1, 1947 edition

* "Models in Township Soviet Work (1) Ch'ang-kang Township" (mimeographed), published by the Central Government., December 1933

* "Struggle," Nos,42, 43, 44, 12, 19, 26 January 1934

* "Rural Survey," Liberation Press, July 1949

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INVESTIGATION IN TS'AI-HSI TOWNSHIP

1933

[Text] I Administrative Divisions

The well-known Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi of the Central Soviet Area belong to Ts'ai-hsi District of Shang-hang County, Fukien. After recent division of administrative areas, Ts'ai-hsi District is divided into the following 8 townships: Upper Ts'ai-hsi, Lower Ts'ai-hsi, Ling-pao, T'ung-k'ang, Tseng-Is, 'ang, Wen-ts'ai, T'ai-ti and Hsia-sheng.

Upper Ts'ai-hsi: 523 families, 2,318 persons.

Divided into 4 villages: Li-wu (population about 600), Yang-hsia (500), Chung-hsing (.500) and Shang-wu (600).

Regularly stationed in township soviet: chairman, secretary.

Because this is a big ship the secretary regularly posted here to help with the work of the township soviet.

Lower Ts^Tai-hsi: 503 families, 2,610 persons.

Divided into 4 villages: Chang-k'eng (population about 600), Hsia-k'eng (500), Fa-k'eng (800), Sun-wu (700).

II Representative Conference 1.

Number of Representatives

Upper Ts^Tai-hsi: Formerly 53 representatives. In the recent election workers' dependents were counted as workers, increasing the number of representatives to 75 (22 are newly added, mostly bricklayers of the township). Of the original 53 representatives, 13 are workers. With another 22 added, there are now 35 worker representatives. The remaining 40 are peasant representatives. There are 183 workers in the township belonging to 163

families averaging 3 persons each, bringing the total worker population to 489. Because there is one representative for every 13 persons, the above-mentioned number has been elected.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi: Formerly 73 representatives. Now there are 91, with 28 [sic] newly added, also because of an increased election ratio of workers' dependents.

2. Delegation of Representatives

There are 10 to over 20 representatives in each village. The representatives of each of the 4 villages hold separate meetings to elect one of their number to form a "delegation"¹¹ to the township soviet, so that there are 4 members in the delegation. Minor work is settled at conferences of the delegation called by the chairman. Every time the representatives hold a conference, the delegation meets beforehand (either in the morning or the day before) to make preparations. The representatives meet once about every 5 days. This procedure began in 1931. (Delegation should be called chief representatives instead).

3. Relationship Between Representatives and Residents

Each representative is in charge of 10, 20, 30, 40, or, at most, 50-odd residents. Worker representatives have fewer residents in their charge, while peasant representatives have more. This arrangement began in 1932.

4. Political Showing of Representatives

Of the 53 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi:

The most active: more than 20;

Medium active: more than 20;

The worst: One.

This worst representative attends only 3 meetings out of every 10. He busies himself with making his own living, but works reluctantly at jobs assigned to him. After repeated criticism, he has been removed from his office by the conference of representatives.

There is no worse representative among the 73 representatives of Lower Ts'ai-hsi.

5. Transfers of Representatives, Election To Fill Their Vacancies

The 53 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi were elected in November last year, By the time a new election was held on 14 November this year, 27 had joined the Red Army (they all went at the same time in November last year) and 11

were transferred to other posts. Altogether 38 left, leaving 15. Meetings of electors were held at each of the villages to elect new representatives to replace the old ones. Worker representatives were elected to fill vacancies left by workers, and peasant representatives were elected to fill those left by peasants. Where there were alternate representatives, the vacancies were filled by them. This additional election meeting was held in November last year. After that, no election meeting was held until October this year, when there were only 42 representatives left because 11 of them were again transferred one after another in the interval.

There were 73 representatives in Lower Ts'ai-hsi. In Red May this year, 11 of them joined the Red Army. Additional election meetings were held at the village level to fill their vacancies. In July another 15 joined the Red Army, and another additional conference was held to fill the vacancies. The vacancies left by 18 others who were transferred to other posts were filled by alternate representatives.

6. Women Representatives

Of the 53 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi at the time of the October election last year, 16 were women, or 30 percent of the total. Of the 73 representatives of Lower Ts'ai-hsi, 21, or also 30 percent, were women. After the additional elections and up to the October election this year, of the 53 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi, 33, or almost 60 percent, were women. Of the 73 representatives of Lower Ts'ai-hsi, 43, or also 60 percent, were women. After the recent election, of the 75 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi, 43, or still 60 percent, are women. Of the 91 representatives of Lower Ts'ai-hsi, 59, or 66 percent, are women.

The system of having a chief of village representatives and fixed relations between representatives and residents is a great advance in soviet organization and leadership. Like the townships of Ch'ang-wang and Shih-shui, Ts'ai-hsi township has gained results in this regard. The heart of the township is in the village. Therefore, village organization and leadership is a problem that deserves the utmost attention. The whole area of the township is divided into so many villages. By relying on the strong leadership of the township soviet representatives of the people themselves, the village committee and mass organizations of the village, the masses of the whole village are organized like a network under the soviet to carry out all work of the soviet. This is the most obvious superiority of the soviet system over all other political systems in history. The system adopted in Ch'ang-wang, Ts'ai-hsi, Shih-shui and other townships should be extended to the whole soviet area.

III. This Election

(1) The election was led by the election committee.

(2) Residents and electors were registered. Three rolls of names were made public.

(3) The namelist of candidates contained more than 160 in Lower Ts'ai-hsi (91 of them were elected). The namelist was posted in each village, and each list contained more than 160 names. Many of the people wrote comments of 2, 5 or 6, or more than 10 characters under the names of candidates. Even children jotted down theirs. Most of them wrote "good" or "not good." Some of them wrote "agree" or "negative." One of the candidates had the word "bureaucratic" written under his name. Over 20 were criticized in wall posters. The criticized candidates were those who were concerned only with making their own living, neglected the interests of the masses, and worked passively for the public. There were some poems and songs, three of which criticized the township soviet for handling the problem of paper-making badly.

(4) Congress of electors was held with townships as the unit. The township soviet reported on its work.

(5) Workers of the whole township formed a unit. Peasants of each village formed a unit (4 of them).

(6) The election rally was attended by 80 percent of the electors. The sick, those on sentry duty, those who worked for the cooperative and were out on buying missions, and women in their final month of pregnancy, totaling 20 percent in all, did not attend. Old people came, leaning on staffs.

(7) Many meetings were held for the election. The labor union, poor peasants leagues, women's association, mutual-aid association and antiimperialist alliance held a rally of members together. The children's league and Young Pioneers also held meetings. The Party and the League were the first to hold meetings. There were slogans and pamphlets. So this year's election propaganda was far more extensive than last year's and most people realized the meaning of election.

Last year youngsters under 16 clamored for the right to vote. They asked, because many of them had already joined the Red Army and their work was far better than that of others, why were they not given the right to vote? This year they understood why their age was a barrier, and they clamored no more.

Propaganda teams went to all villages to make propaganda. During the day they made speeches. At night they gave shows.

(8) At the rally of electors there was agitation to buy bonds. More than 1500 yuan's worth of bonds was bought by those at the rally in Lower Ts'ai-hsi. Another 630 yuan's worth was bought in Upper Ts'ai-hsi.

At the rally of electors in T'ai-ti township, 13 persons were persuaded to join the Red Army. One of the 2 squads of the Model Battalion of the Red Guard Army of the whole township joined the Red Army.

(9) Election of new cadres:

Of the 75 representatives of Upper Ts'ai-hsi, 21 are re-elected from the former 53 representatives and 54 are newly elected. Thirty-two former representatives are not re-elected. Of the 91 representatives of Lower Ts'ai-hsi, 50 are re-elected from the former 73 representatives and 41 are newly elected. Twenty-three of the former representatives are not re-elected,

In general, the elections in Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi were successful. In their election propaganda, organization of lists of candidates and urging of the masses to criticize the candidates, correlation of the election to other work and organization of workers and women so they might be elected, they have fully implemented the Central Government's instructions regarding the elections, so that they become models of the election campaign in the soviet area. On the other hand, in urging electors at the election rallies to make proposals for discussion by the new representatives, they have not made a good showing. The model in this respect should be Ch'ang-wang township of Hsing-kuo.

IV. Committees Under the Township Soviet

There are many committees under the township soviet. The following are several examples:

"Support the Red Army": Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi each has 5 committee members. Each of the 4 villages has a committee, also of 5 members each.

"Preferential Treatment for Red Army Dependents": Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi each has 5 members. Each village also has 5 members.

"Land Investigation": The two townships each has 11 members. The villages have none.

"Election": The two townships each has 7 members. None for the villages,

"Land": Upper Ts'ai-hsi has 11 members and Lower Ts'ai-hsi 7. None for the villages.

"Labor": The two townships have 7 members each. There is no such committee at the village level, but only groups, which are committees of the labor co-operative.

"Forestry": Upper Ts'ai-hsi has 7 members, Lower Ts'ai-hsi has 11.

"Return of Deserters": Each of the two townships has 12 members.

There are no "spring plowing," "summer plowing"...committees. Only "land tilling teams" are organized. Five persons form a group, 10 a squad, 30 a medium team and 100 a large team. Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi each has a large team. Land tilling teams are organized principally for the sake of giving preferential treatment to dependents of the Red Army.

The organizing and leading of the many committees under the township soviet becomes an important part of its work. This is again demonstrated in Ts'ai-hsi township. The Central Government has adopted the experience of various localities and incorporated it in the "Organic Law of Local Soviets." This provides that a township may organize more than 20 regular and ad hoc committees. The number may be appropriately increased or decreased in accordance with the requirements of the work of the localities. An "urban" soviet, on the other hand, will have to organize a number of committees different in character to the rural ones, in accordance with the special character of urban centers. The clearly defined and unified establishment of this system will draw still closer the relationship between the Soviets and the masses, and will lend enormous strength to the execution of all work of the soviet. One problem is that the village should also set up certain important work committees (people's organizations with large memberships should likewise set up their village-level leadership organs). This is because if there are only township-level committees, it will be impossible to carry out thorough, careful work in townships with a large population of about 1,000. This will be assured if many village-level committees are set up.

V. Expansion of the Red Army

In the 3 months of August, September and October:

Upper Ts'ai-hsi: 60 persons. Two platoons of a model battalion mobilized.

In addition, 11 persons have rejoined. There are still 2 or 3 who have not rejoined owing to illness.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi: 65 persons. The model battalion mobilized 52 persons all at once. On another occasion, when men were individually mobilized, 13 persons joined up.

In addition, 11 persons have rejoined. There are still 14 others who have not yet rejoined.

There were 12 townships in the district (before division). On 15 August 273 persons were mobilized to join the model battalion. The redivided district comprises 8 townships. In all, more than 50 persons have not yet rejoined.

Of the whole district, the two townships of Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi have produced the best results in expansion of the Red Army. The principal reason is that they have always done well in giving preferential treatment to Red Army dependents and comforting the Red Army. Previous to Red May, an average of 500 pairs of cloth and straw sandals a month could be collected from each of the 8 townships. The quantity was recently slightly reduced owing to the blockade and scarcity of cloth. Nevertheless, Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi have been able to produce the following results: Upper Ts'ai-hsi, over 500 pairs in August, over 100 pairs in September, and over 90 pairs in October.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi, over 300 pairs in August, 280 pairs in September, 300 pairs in October and 630 pairs in November.

These results have been obtained mainly owing to mobilisation by the Party and League branches of Party and League members to provide leadership to conferences of women worker and women peasant representatives: (1) Party and League members first held meetings; (2) women representatives held meeting; (3) women held mass meeting.

The women representatives meet once every 10 days. There is a presidium of 5 at the township level. One of these is elected director. The remaining 4 are assigned to the 4 villages, one for each village, serving as chief of the village.

The women representatives discuss all problems which are also discussed by the township soviet. They make particular exertions in matters of comforting the Red Army, selling bonds and expanding production. In addition, they also frequently discuss matters of interest to themselves, such as the marriage problem. They explain marriage regulations to the womenfolk.

Mobilization of large numbers of the masses to join the Red Army depends on: (1) Politically, full propaganda and encouragement, abolition of all methods of coercion; (2) full preferential treatment for dependents of Red Army men; and (3) healthy and sound organization and training of local armed forces. Preferential treatment for dependents of Red Army men is a fundamental work that would make the masses gladly join the Red Army and contentedly stay with the Red Army. This is fully borne out by the experience of the townships of Ch'ang-wang and Ts'ai-hsi. There are 407 young and adult males (16 to 45 years of age) in Ch'ang-wang township. Of this number, 320, or 80 percent, have left to join the Red Army and work. There are 554 young and adult (16-55 years of age) males in Upper Ts'ai-hsi, 485, or 88 percent, of them have left to join the Red Army and work. In Lower Ts'ai-hsi there are 756 males, 526 of whom, or 70 percent, have left to join the Red Army and to work. Such large scale expansion of the Red Army would certainly have been impossible if the problem had not been solved thoroughly from the viewpoint of economy and production. Only by correlating economic with political mobilization will it be possible to create a high tide of Red Army expansion and accomplish results like those accomplished in Ch'ang-wang and Ts'ai-hsi townships.

VI. Economic Life (1)

Problem of Labor Force

Upper Ts'ai-hsi: Of the total population of 2,318 (during the uprising), 554 are males capable of labor (16-55 years of age, same below), and 581 are females capable of labor. Of these, 419 have joined the Red Army and 88 (66 males and 22 females) have been transferred to outside areas for work. Of the 554 males of the age group of 16-55 and capable of labor, 485 (419 plus 66) have left for the Red Army or to work, and only 69 remain behind. Thus the male labor force is only 11 percent of the female labor force of 559 (581 minus 22). There are 258 families of Red Army dependents in the whole township.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi: Of the total population of 2,610, there are 1,207 males and females able to labor (765 males and 442 females). Of these, 442 have joined the Red Army and 98 (91 males, 7 females) have been transferred to outside areas to work. Of the 765 males capable of labor, 533 have joined the Red Army or left for work, and only 232 remain in the township. Thus the male labor force is only 33 percent of the female labor force of 435 (442 minus 7). There are 355 families of dependents of the Red Army in the whole township.

As a result, it is mainly women who farm the land. In Upper Ts'ai-hsi this year, about 300 women can use cattle and more than 60 can plant seedlings. Before the uprising only 1/10 of these 300, that is, 30 women, could use cattle. The increase is obtained after several years' effort-

Meanwhile, the "old comrades" are very energetic. They make up a large number of those who cultivate hills and mountains and some can plant seedlings and harvest crops. Children, too, take part in production. Hence production is developing. The development of production also depends on mutual adjustments of the labor force, apart from the participation of women, old persons and children in production. Within the same village, families with labor power to spare help those with little labor power. Within the same township, labor-surplus villages help labor-deficit villages. Within the same district, labor-surplus townships help labor-deficit ones. In this way, the labor force is adjusted with the district as a unit for the purpose of doing labor. In addition, Party and League members also work "Saturdays." Hence production gains still greater development.

Labor is adjusted mainly through the labor cooperative and land farming teams, whose task is to help Red Army dependents and make possible mutual aid among the masses.

Help for Red Army dependents: Carrying rice packs (but not other food) and farm implements for them. The same when planting seedlings and harvesting.

Mutual-aid among the masses: Daily wages agreed at 2 hao, the same for males and females, rush and slack seasons. This has been the practice since 1930. When one Red Army dependent helps another, the pay is 1.5 man a day. When Red Army dependents help other people, the pay is 2 mao a day. When the masses help Red Army dependents, no wages will be paid.

The labor cooperative plans for the whole township. There is a 5-man committee of the labor cooperative of the township which takes charge of the whole, and one committee member for each of the 4 villages who plans for the village.. When labor is required, it must be procured through the village committee member. There can be no private employment, otherwise labor adjustment may be upset. Pay is agreed on between the employer and the employee without the intermediation of the committee member. ~~~~"

The labor cooperative of this township was set up in 1931. It is the forerunner of the "Labor Mutual-Aid Cooperative" which now functions all over the soviet area.

Each of the committee members keeps a record of those who are or are not able to labor, or who are short of labor power, so that labor can be immediately supplied whenever anyone wants to employ it. Those who are unfamiliar with the situation may ask the intermediate team leader of the land farming team. (There is one intermediate land farming team for each of the villages. Five persons make a group, 2 groups of 10 persons make a squad, and 3 or 4 squads make an intermediate team). The intermediate team leader also keeps a record. "It is agreed upon to combine the land farming team with the labor cooperative."

Production situation: After the uprising (1929-1931), production dropped by about 20 percent. In 1932 half the loss, or 10 percent, was recovered. This year (1933) it increased by 20 percent compared with that of last year, (output of miscellaneous crops such as sweet potato, bean, taro and yam increased by 51 percent compared to that of last year) exceeding that of the pre-uprising year by 10 percent. After the uprising many of the fields throughout the district were not tilled. Last year a small part of them was redeveloped. This year there has been a massive development to the extent of over 1,300 piculs. More hills have been developed than fields, as hills make up three-fourths and fields only one-fourth of the land developed. Because all fields have been opened, hills are now developed. Not a single ridge that divides the fields is not planted with miscellaneous crops. All fields suitable for sweet potatoes are planted with sweet potatoes. Female comrades "vie" with one another in developing hills. Everyone wants to do it. The effect of the competition is great. The district was far short of grain before the uprising (and besides, many people made flour in those days). Last year there was enough for consumption, and this year there is a surplus. Now no one in the whole district makes flour or "cakes," and no one produces liquor by distillation.

(2) Consumer Cooperatives

There are 14 consumer cooperatives in the 8 townships of the whole district.

Two are in Upper Ts'ai-hsi:

One is an oil, salt and meat cooperative. It originally operated on a capital of 4 yuan, which was subsequently increased to 185 yuan at 50 cents a share.

It was organized in October 1930. There was a distribution of dividends in July 1933. Each share was paid 50 cents. One person is regularly posted in the cooperative. He is helped by two others on market days.

The other is a cloth cooperative. It originally operated on a capital of 144 yuan which was subsequently increased to 255 yuan at 1 yuan a share.

This was formed at the same time as the former. There was a distribution of dividends in September 1933. Each share was paid 1 yuan. Two persons are regularly posted in the cooperative. They are helped by another on market days.

Three are in Lower Ts'ai-hsi:

One cloth cooperative: Original capital 120 yuan, subsequently increased to 240 yuan at 1 yuan a share. It was formed in January 1930. There was a distribution of dividends in February 1932. Each share was paid 1 yuan. Two persons are regularly posted in the cooperative.

One oil, salt and meat cooperative: Original capital 35 yuan, subsequently increased to 157 yuan at 50 cents a share. It was formed in October 1929. There was a dividend distribution in March 1933. Each share was paid 50 cents. Two persons are regularly posted in the cooperative. On market days they have a helper.

One beancurd, candy and piglet cooperative: Original capital 125 yuan, subsequently increased to 180 yuan at 50 cents a share. It was formed in January 1931. There was a dividend distribution in February 1933. Each share was paid 50 cents. Three persons are regularly posted in the office.

Accounts of the cooperatives are audited twice a month (auditor eats, at home after checking accounts). Members meet once a month (no meals provided). Officers are elected once every 3 months at members meeting. New officers are elected immediately to fill the vacancies of those who have been transferred to county or district cooperatives, or who are young and have joined the Red Army (in which case older persons take their place), or who do not want to serve another term. In practice, most of them serve consecutive terms and few are transferred. Only dependents of Red Army men who are in financial difficulty may buy on credit. They may pay on

the next or the next two market days, but must pay on the third market day (there is a 10-day interval between 2 market days)» Debts may be repaid in kind, e.g., in rice, beans, etc. Outstanding debts not paid on market days shall be fully paid in July and October each year.

Sixty percent of the families of Upper Ts'ai-hsi and 90 percent of those of Lower Ts'ai-hsi have joined the cooperatives.

Red Army dependents -are given first priority when buying goods in short supply. Next come members of the cooperatives, and lastly non-members.

Price: Red Army dependents (those who have certificates) are given a 5 percent discount on the market price. No discount is given members of the cooperatives. The same applies to Red Army dependents from other townships or districts. Red Army dependents of the old country, Han-yang and Kuan-chuang districts sometimes come to buy goods.

"Cooperatives are tops"-this is public opinion.

With the single exception of a medicine store kept by a Kiangsi native, there is no private store that sells goods from outside areas in the whole district. (This situation is brought about by gradually whittling down the number of privately owned stores). But on market days one or two persons privately sell salt. There are also those who still privately sell bean-curd and other native produce.

(3) Food Grain Cooperatives

These were formerly called Grain Adjustment Bureaus. They began to be formed in 1930, with capital raised by the masses. Funds were not generally collected, but were collected only from families who were comparatively well off. Each share was 1 yuan. One adjustment bureau was formed in each township. There were 8 bureaus in the district, with a total capital of 1,810 yuan.

Method of adjustment: When buying paddy from the masses every year, the bureau gets 2 sheng less than the private buyer for every yuan's worth. For example, a private buyer buys paddy at 1 tou 7 sheng per yuan, while the adjustment bureau buys only 1 tou and 5 sheng per yuan. Grain is offered for sale first to Red Army dependents and next to the masses who are in difficulty. Whether the masses are in difficulty or not is decided by the conference of township representatives after investigation. Grain is sold not at the market price, but at cost after a slight deduction of losses and spoilage. For example, when grain is bought at 1 tou and 5 sheng per yuan, it is sold at 1 tou sheng and 5 ho, 5 ho being deducted for loss and spoilage. Red Army dependents who do not have cash and the masses who are particularly in difficulty may borrow grain, to be repaid in kind at harvest time without interest. Every year when the work of collecting or selling grain is completed, the township soviet tell the masses to elect representatives who will check the accounts with the responsible person of the adjustment bureau. After that, a statement of account is made public. Every

year after fall grain is collected, measured and stored in the granaries, which are then sealed by the township soviet with long strips of paper. Grain is sold once or twice in spring and summer. When the masses need grain, the granaries will be opened so the masses may buy grain. In general grain is sold every year in March when it is planting time and in May, when last season's grain is consumed while the new crop is not yet ready for harvesting.

The bureaus were renamed grain cooperatives in February this year, but the organization remains the same. Since the launching of the economic construction campaign this year, the grain cooperatives of all the townships have been expanded. For example, the grain cooperative of Upper Ts'ai-hsi originally had a capital of 215 yuan. Its capital is now increased by 203 yuan to 418 yuan. That of Lower Ts'ai-hsi originally had a capital of 137 yuan. It is increased by 200 yuan to 337 yuan. The 5-man committee of the adjustment bureau and a chairman are regularly posted at the bureau. They get paid for their meals.

In May this year there was famine in the two townships of Shang-ts'un and Chang-wen (now incorporated in T'ung-hsien District). The two townships are mostly bamboo hills. Each person gets only 1 tan of arable land, and the paper-making industry has failed. The grain adjustment bureaus of all other townships of the district cooperated in giving relief. The price of paddy was then 8 sheng per yuan, but the adjustment bureaus lent these townships paddy at last fall's price of 1 tou and 8 sheng per yuan, to be repaid after fall. The whole district lent a total of 36 tan, in addition, miscellaneous food (dried sweet potatoes, etc) and cash were collected for relief. As a result, no one starved. There has been no famine in the other townships of Ts'ai-hai District this year, thanks to the efforts of the adjustment bureaus.

In Lower Ts'ai-hsi there is also a "Rice Sales Cooperative" with a capital of 130 yuan at 50 cents a share. This is set up exclusively for the convenience of Red Army units in transit, travelers, government personnel and the masses victimized by disasters who went to buy grain. The cooperative is government by a committee of 5, who are not regularly posted at the cooperative. On market days one person works there for a half a day. At other times its work is carried on by some other consumer cooperative. The worker who buys rice for sale is paid his wages plus money for his meals. No dividend is distributed. The ordinary masses rarely buy their rice here. Only 1 or 2 percent of them buy rice here. Rice is sold at market price. Since this cooperative was set up with capital raised by the masses, Red Army men and disaster victims no longer have to buy rice from door to door.

(4) Draft Cattle Cooperatives

This cooperative has been set up only by Upper and Lower Ts'ai-hsi townships in the whole district. Each cooperative owns 3 head of cattle.

About 20 percent of the families of the two townships have no cattle.

No solution has as yet been found to this situation.

(5) Everyday Life

Rice: Before the uprising, poor peasants and hired hands had an average of only 3 months supply of rice a year for their own consumption. In the remaining 9 months they had to live on miscellaneous crops. In the period before harvest, when the old stock was exhausted and the new crop was not yet ready, they had to subsist on goat weed and some on chaff. Now they have 6 months reserve of rice and another 6 months reserve of miscellaneous crops, so they have enough to last them a whole year. The region produces little rice, so the people still have to depend on miscellaneous crops half the time. Production of miscellaneous crops has now increased. Before the uprising, a meal was far from satisfying. Now people can eat their fill. Moreover, they have a surplus which they can sell to the Red Army or use for paying land tax, buying public bonds or exchanging for oil and salt. In short, the food situation has improved 100 percent (6-month reserve of rice compared with 3-month reserve).

Meat: Before the uprising, poor peasants and hired hands consumed on average of 1 yuan (ta-yang) of meat a year per capita. Now it is 2 yuan, an increase of 100 percent. Before the uprising only 60 families in a 100 kept pigs. Now 95 families in a 100 keep pigs.

Clothing: Before the uprising each person could make an average of one suit every 2 years. After the uprising each person could make an average of 1 1/2 suits every year, an increase of 300 percent. This year the situation has again changed. Cloth is scarce as a result of the blockade, so each person can make an average of only half a suit, a return to the pre-uprising status. Before the uprising an unlined suit was worth 18 mao (15 mao for cloth and 3 mao for labor). Last year one suit was worth 21 mao (17 mao for cloth and 4 mao for labor) or equal to 1.5 yuan. This year one suit is worth 34 mao (30 mao for cloth and 4 mao for labor, or the equivalent of 2.4 yuan in ta-yang). Counterrevolution has jacked up the price of our clothing to this extent I

Salt: Before the uprising each person consumed an average of 1 catty of salt a month. In November this year each person consumed only 3.2 liang of salt a month. In other words, a family of 5 who consumed 5 catties of salt a month before the uprising consumed only 1 catty in November this year. There will be no salt for anyone unless the Kuomintang is overthrown!

Oil: Before the uprising the per capita consumption (of wood oil from Kiatigsi and local lard) was 6 liang a month. There is now no reduction or increase. But because wood oil from Kiangsi is reduced, the masses are consuming more lard.

(6) Prices

Paddy—Before the uprising it was 10 yuan, per tan (100 catties). In 1929 it was 2.5 yuan. In 1930 it was 5 yuan. In 1932 it was 6.2 yuan. In May 1933 it was 10 yuan, but in October it was 5 yuan.

Pork—Before the uprising it was 1 yuan for 2.5 catties (with bone). Now it is also 1 yuan for 2.5 catties (but without bone).

Fish—Owing to the blockade after the uprising, there is no fry from Chiu-chiang (via Wu-p'ing County). The ponds are empty. There is no market.

Chicken—8 mao per catty, the same before and after the uprising. Duck—4 mao per catty, about the same before and after the uprising. Chicken eggs—3 for 1 mao, about the same before and after the uprising. Duck eggs—3 for 1 mao, about the same before and after the uprising. Lard—Same as pork.

Lime—Not used in the fields, but used for paper-making. One yuan buys 1 tan (80 catties), about the same before and after the uprising.

Beans—Before the uprising it was 10 yuan a tan (8 tou). In 1932 it was 20 yuan. This year it is 8 yuan.

Tobacco—Before the uprising it was 1 mao for 2 liang. Now it is 1 mao for 1.6 liang.

Tea—1 yuan buys 3.5 catties, about the same before and after the uprising.

Rapeseed oil—Before the uprising it was 1 yuan for 3.5 catties. This spring it was 2.5 catties. This winter it is 1 catty and 13 liang.

Paper—Before the uprising grass paper was 4.5 yuan a roll (40 catties). In 1931 it was 6 yuan. In 1932 it was 5 yuan. In 1933 it was 1.5 yuan. As a result, no one makes paper now.

Timber—Cannot be exported, so no market. Paper and timber constitute the largest exports of the region. Now both have failed. The hateful Kuomintang blockade!

Wood oil—Before the uprising wood oil was 1 yuan for 3.5 catties. Now little comes here, so the people have to consume more lard.

Iron—Price has doubled compared with that before the uprising.

Cloth—Before the uprising cotton cloth was 1 yuan for 1 bolt (2 change 3 ch'ih). In 1932 it was 1 yuan and 4 mao for 1 bolt. This year it was 2 yuan and 2 mao for 1 bolt.

Salt—Before the uprising it was 1 yuan for 10 catties. From 1930 up to spring 1932 it was still 1 yuan for 10 catties. That summer it was 1 yuan for 7 catties. In 1933 it was 1 yuan for 1 catty. In November 1 yuan could buy only 14 liang. The biggest problem is to break the blockade.

Kerosene—Before the uprising 50 percent of the families used kerosene for their lamps. It was then 1 yuan for 7 catties and 14 liang. In 1933 1 yuan could only buy 1 catty and 5 liang. As a result, with the exception of public offices, no one uses it. The people all use "pine light."

Firewood—Before the uprising 1 catty was 2 chips. Last year it was 3 chips. This year it is from 5 to 9 chips.

Mao-yang—Same before and after the uprising. Each mao is 16 catties.

Silver dollars—Miscellaneous silver dollars worth 13.5 mao each; silver dollars with Yuan Shih-k'ai head worth 14 mao each. Soviet notes have the same value. Only soviet notes are now in circulation. Silver dollars have completely vanished. It is Kuomintang sabotage again!

VII. Economic Bonds

The 8 townships of the newly demarcated Ts'ai-hai District consist of 2,188 families of 8,782 persons, who together have undertaken to buy bonds with a total value of 13,600 yuan. About 1,000 yuan worth of bonds still remains' to be sold.

Upper Ts'ai-hsi township, with 513 families of 2,318 persons, has taken up 4,000 yuan.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi township, with 503 families of 2,660 persons, has taken up 4,146 yuan.

Methods:

- (1) Mobilization at Party and League rallies.
- (2) Mobilization at meetings separately held by all organizations.
- (3) Mobilization at meeting of representatives of township Soviets.
- (4) A mass meeting at the village level was held exclusively for propaganda, not for the sale of bonds.
- (5) A mass rally was held at the township level to sell bonds. Over 1,500 worth of bonds was sold in each of the two townships. Work not yet finished,

(6) Sales committee of township representatives (3 from each village) and propaganda team (organized by township with 5 persons from each village) carried out propaganda from door to door.

(7) At a rally of electors, over 600 yuan of bonds was sold in Upper Ts'ai-hsi and another 1,600 yuan was sold in Lower Ts'ai-hsi. Up to that time over 2,000 yuan was sold in Upper Ts'ai-hsi, with over 1,000 yuan still unsold. Over 3,000 yuan was sold in Lower Ts'ai-hsi, with about 900 yuan still unsold.

(8) After that the representatives, sales committee and propaganda team carried out door-to-door agitation, and sold all the bonds. The people pledged to buy the remaining bonds, but certificates had not yet been received.

The buying of bonds was entirely voluntary without coercion. At every one of the meetings there was talk about economic construction. Because the county trade bureau has been set up and the masses can buy salt and cloth, they all the more realize the importance of the economic bonds.

We repeat. Only by coordinating economic construction with political mobilization is it possible to create a higher upsurge of the expansion of the Red Army and spur the broad masses to the battle front. After the adult and young males have left Ts'ai-hsi en masse to join the Red Army or for work, production exceeds that before the uprising by 10 percent. All wasteland is developed, so it is necessary to carry development to the hills. There is not a single piece of arable land that is not planted with some crop. The life of the masses is improved by more than 100 percent.

The labor cooperative (called labor mutual-aid cooperative elsewhere), consumer cooperative and grain cooperative have organized the economic life of the masses of the whole township. Economic organization has reached a very high level, so Ts'ai-hsi becomes the first glorious model in this respect throughout the soviet area. This economic achievement buoys up the spirit of the masses. They can now take up arms and go to the front for the defense and development of the soviet area entirely free of worry for their dependents at home. Of the total population of 4,928 of the two townships, 1,018 (485 from Upper Ts'ai-hsi and 533 from Lower Ts'ai-hsi) have left to join the Red Army or for work. This ironclad fact gives us an effective weapon with which to smash the hutubuggery of all opportunities, who for example declare that economic construction is impossible during the Civil War, that the life of the masses of the soviet area has not improved, that the masses are unwilling to join the Red Army, or that expansion of the Red Army will leave no manpower for production. We call upon the hundreds and thousands of townships throughout the Soviet area to emulate the townships of Ch'ang-wang, Ts'ai-hsi and Shih-shui. We hereby solemnly place the glorious achievements of these several townships before all the worker-peasant masses, so they may build the several thousand townships like Ch'ang-wang, Ts'ai-hsi and Shih-shui and make them a strong advanced position for winning victory in all China.

VIII. Culture and Education

Upper Ts'ai-Hsi:

Day schools: Four, under one principal, each with one teacher. The masses collect funds for the teachers' meals, set at 13 cents a day. Total number of pupils: 141, mostly between 6 and 10. Most of those of the age group of 11-14 go to the district soviet voluntary labor school (from reorganized children work cadre training center). There are over 600 children between the ages of 1 and 15 in the whole township. Of the 323 children of the age group of 6-15, 141 go to the day school and 37 go to the district soviet voluntary school. There are 146 children without any school to go to.

Evening schools: Four, without principal. Teachers are the same ones who teach in the day schools. Pupils number more than 120, all girls. Expenses for each school amount to 50 cents a month. The money is collected from the masses.

Literacy Class: Twenty-four groups of 10 persons each, totaling 240 persons, Every 5 days the evening school teachers give them 5 new characters to learn, Each group has a leader. Students include men and women. Those who cannot go to the evening schools because they are old, too busy or have to look after small children, go to the literacy classes.

Newspaper reading group: Based in the club house, under one chief. On market days (every 5 days), "Struggle," "Red China," "Notice," or "Class Analysis" is read. At least 50-60, sometimes as many as 80-90 persons listen to the reading each time.

Character recognition boards: There are 6 placed in thoroughfares.

Club house: One. Over 50 persons work for the club, including over 30 members of the new theatrical troupe.

Wall newspapers: Displayed at 4 places outside the entrance to each of the day schools. Most articles are written by the pupils and their teachers. Only 10 percent is written by the masses.

Lower Ts'ai-hsi:

Day schools: Five, under one principal, each with one teacher. Teachers' meals are provided as in Upper Ts'ai-hsi. There are over 150 pupils. Another 60-plus go to the district school. The total is over 210.

Evening schools: Eight, without a principal. Five of the teachers are the same ones who teach in the day schools. The other 3 are secured elsewhere. Each school has an average of 30 pupils, totaling 240. Expenses amount to 50 cents a month.

Club house: One, with working personnel of more than 50.

Literacy class: Twenty-six groups, totaling 260 persons. The same method of teaching is used as in Upper Ts'ai-hsi.

Character recognition boards: Five pieces.

Wall newspapers: Displayed in 5 places.

Newspaper reading group: One. Meets once every 5 days on market day.

⁰ 1947 edition Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung Vol 1.

* Township Soviet Work Model (2) Ts'ai-hsi Township (mimeographed) Printed by Central Government Dec 1933.

* "Struggle," Nos 45, 46, 48, 2 Feb, 9 Feb, 23 Feb 1934.

* Rural investigation. Liberation Publishing Society. July 1949.

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MASS WORK IN THE LAND INVESTIGATION MOVEMENT

1933

[Text] The land investigation movement is a violent, ruthless class struggle. It is necessary to mobilize the largest number of the masses to take part with fervor in the struggle and form a mass movement, so as to insure the correct implementation of the class line and attain the object of striking down the remnant forces of feudalism. All bureaucratic modes of work that are alien to the masses are the greatest enemy of the land investigation movement. Mass work in the land investigation involves mainly the telling apart of classes, confiscation and redistribution according to classes, correct leadership for labor unions and poor peasant corps, etc.

I. Discussing Classes (Doing Propaganda)

1. Strategy of the land investigation movement: In order to weaken rich peasants and liquidate landlords by making workers the leaders, relying on poor peasants and uniting with middle peasants. Content of the propaganda: Explaining this strategy very clearly to the masses.

2. In order to explain this strategy, it is necessary to make clear the difference between landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and workers. In the course of the explanation, it is necessary to demonstrate how landlords are feudal exploiters and rich peasants are semi-feudal exploiters, so that only by adopting the policy of liquidating landlords and weakening rich peasants will it be possible to give all the benefit of the land revolution to middle peasants, poor peasants and workers.

3. But there is a difference between rich peasants and landlords. Rich peasants do no labor themselves. So against landlords a policy of liquidation is adopted, but against rich peasants a policy of weakening them is adopted. Hence the tendency to liquidate rich peasants is wrong. At the same time, rich peasants should not be treated as landlords.

4. Strategy toward middle peasants: Uniting with middle peasants is the innermost core of the strategy of the land revolution. Support or opposition by middle peasants makes the difference between success or failure of the land revolution. Hence it is necessary to explain this strategy to

the masses again and again, and make it clear that impingement on the interests of middle peasants will absolutely not be allowed. To unite with middle peasants and avoid impinging on their interests, it is necessary to make clear what middle peasants are with the example of "well-off middle peasants." It is necessary to make clear emphatically the boundary line between rich peasants and middle peasants, so as to stabilize the well-off middle peasants. It is necessary to expose the deceiving of middle peasants by landlords and rich peasants, so middle peasants may free themselves from the influence of landlords and rich peasants, rally around the poor peasants, and together with them wage struggle against landlords.

5. It is necessary to expose every deceptive slogan put forward by the landlords and rich peasants, and explain it broadly to the masses. Care must be taken against the use by landlords and rich peasants and clannish, local backward ideas to deceive the middle and poor peasants and sabotage the movement.

6. It is necessary to make clear that land investigation is a weapon for smashing the enemy's encirclement and suppression campaign, because it will wipe out the remnant forces of feudalism. Once enemy troublemakers concealed in the soviet area are removed and the revolutionary fervor of the broad masses is heightened, expansion of the Red Army, economic construction and other work will be easier to carry out.

7. Concrete slogans should be put forward according to local conditions. In a backward village, for example, it is necessary to find the cause for the backwardness and put forward concrete slogans for mobilizing the masses. Again, if there is a reactionary landlord in the area who intimidates the masses so they dare not rise to struggle actively, it will be necessary to put forward slogans mentioning the landlord by name. Furthermore, if some local government personnel commit the grave error of drifting away from the masses so the masses are dissatisfied, propaganda will have to be done by exposing the error of such personnel so as to mobilize the masses for struggle.

8. All the above concerns the content of propaganda. The following will deal with the way of doing propaganda. Propaganda on land ownership investigation should be directed first to township-level cadres (representatives of township Soviets and responsible officers of all mass organizations) to make them understand first so they may in turn do propaganda among the masses. Second, to conferences of labor unions and poor peasant corps to make the members understand; and third, to mass rallies in villages to make every one of the masses understand.

9. Propaganda makers are chiefly township-level activist cadres, who will prepare to speak at mass meetings. Next, propaganda teams will be organized which will speak to the masses after some training.

10. Modes of propaganda: first, speech making, second, posting notices; third, writing slogans; fourth, distributing leaflets, fifth, staging new plays; sixth, writing articles, and so forth.

11. Investigating Classes

1. Land investigation is investigation of class status, not investigation of land holdings by the mou. This will create fear among the masses and is absolutely wrong.

2. Investigation of class status is to find out landlords, rich peasants, exploiters and those who are hidden among the peasants but who are not peasants. It is investigation of this handful of people, not investigation into the class status of middle and poor peasants. Therefore, there must not be door-to-door investigation, which will create fear among the masses and is absolutely wrong.

3. Investigation of class status must be preceded by a period of propaganda, that is, a period of telling the classes. Investigation without first universally speaking about classes will create fear among the masses, and is absolutely wrong.

4. In the investigation of classes, members of labor unions and poor peasant groups and large numbers of the masses must be mobilized to do the investigating. Results of the investigation should be immediately reported to poor peasant corps and the land investigation committee. Investigation should not be done by only a few people, because this will create fear among the masses and is absolutely wrong.

5. Investigation of classes must be made thoroughly. No matter whether the ones investigated are landlords or rich peasants, the way they exploited others and the way they lived in the past must be found out in great detail. Only by so doing can they be willing to admit their crime and the masses can be satisfied. If a conclusion is made after a cursory examination, it will be easy to make mistakes. The persons investigated will be unwilling to admit their guilt and the masses will not be satisfied. This will hamper the land investigation movement. In dealing with middle peasants, all the more care must be exercised so as not to label them rich peasants or rich peasants as landlords.

6. All information gathered from a family in a class investigation must be written down in a "class status investigation form," so the people may comment on it and checks can be made in the future. If details are only memorized, or if only a few lines are scribbled in a notebook, the information may be easily lost. That will be bad.

III. Passing Class Status

1. Passing class status means deciding a person's class status. Because that will decide the person's life or death, extreme care should be taken. Everything must be made clear before a case can be put forward for passing.
2. Order of passing: First the poor peasant groups must hold a general meeting. After discussion at the meeting and the cases are approved by the majority by a show of hands, they can be considered to have passed the poor peasant groups. If there are any doubts about a case, it should not be passed at the meeting, "but should be discussed again at the next meeting.
3. Second, the township land investigation committee will examine the view of the poor peasant groups. If it is found correct, it will be passed; if incorrect, it will be rectified. If in doubt, another investigation should be made.
4. Third, it is the turn of the district land department. If it cannot make a decision, the cases will be referred to the district land investigation committee. If the district committee in turn cannot make a decision, they will be referred to the county land department.
5. Fourth, the village mass meeting. A mass meeting must be held in the village of the person investigated, when he will report details of his exploitation of others and his way of life, to see if the masses approve of his case. If they approve, the case is passed. If they do not approve, another investigation should be made. There must be no forced passing. If passage is forced, the masses will not be satisfied. It will be command-istn, which must be resolutely and firmly opposed.
6. The above four steps of passing a person's class status are indispensable. Passing at a mass meeting is particularly important. In some places land has been confiscated without first passing a mass meeting. That is wrong.
7. If a case has been passed wrongly, such as passing a middle peasant for a rich peasant, a rich peasant for a landlord, or a landlord for a rich peasant, the decision should be overturned. It will be necessary to explain at a mass meeting the past error and the reason for correction, so as to make the masses satisfied.
8. In overturning a wrong decision, restitution of land and property must be made to the wronged person if he is a middle peasant. Even if his land has already been redistributed, it must be resumed and given back to him. If the person is a rich peasant, restitution of land should also be made to him if such land is available. If there is really no land available, some other way should be worked out in the future for him. Such restitution always wins the approval of the masses. It is completely wrong to let errors go unremedied.

IV. Confiscation and Redistribution

1. Confiscation of a landlord's land and property and confiscation of a rich peasant's land and surplus cattle, farm implements and houses should "be carried out only after approval by the masses at a village mass meeting. There must be no confiscation without prior consent from the masses. There must be no confiscation at night.
2. All property confiscated from landlords, with the exception of ready cash and valuables which must be handed over to the finance department of the government, should be distributed among the masses. This is one way of increasing the enthusiasm of the masses for struggle.
3. While the village mass meeting is in progress, an ad hoc committee to take charge of confiscation and distribution should be elected. Confiscation should be made immediately and so should distribution. There must be no delay in confiscation or distribution. Property should not be brought to the government office and then distributed after discussion.
4. Distribution should be made within the village where the confiscation is made and must not be equally distributed in the whole township. (This does not apply to the property of big landlords).
5. Pigs, chicken, etc. should be cooked and then consumed at the mass meeting. They must not be eaten by a small number of work personnel.

[Editor's note: There is no paragraph 6 in the original]

7. Government workers are the ones most eager to demand a share of the distribution so as to set an example. It articles of everyday use are extremely short, the consent of the masses must be obtained and distribution should be approved at the mass meeting. Work personnel must be prevented from freely taking things.
8. With the consent of the masses, those who receive a share of the confiscated land should form a cattle cooperative so they may jointly use the draft cattle and important farm implements confiscated.
9. It is not right to delay distribution of land that is confiscated. That should be distributed as soon as possible after setting aside Red Army common land and public business land. Land should be distributed first to those who received no or very little land in past distributions. If there is land left after that, it should be equally distributed among the villages as a unit. Forests, fish ponds, houses, latrines should likewise be promptly distributed among the masses.
10. Every time a distribution is made, while the enthusiasm of the masses for struggle is at its height, slogans of Red Army expansion and development of cooperatives should be opportunely put forward so the masses may be led to take part enthusiastically in the revolutionary war and the construction of the soviet.

V. Labor Unions and Poor Peasant Groups

1. Optimum results can be obtained from talking about classes, investigation of class status, passing of class status, confiscation and distribution and other work only by mobilizing the labor unions and poor peasant groups. Labor unions should be leaders in class struggle in rural villages and poor peasant corps the pillars and keystone of rural class struggle.

2. Correct development of the land investigation movement depends on the labor unions directing their own members to join the poor peasant groups and play an active role in the corps.

3. Poor peasant groups should be developed, so they may become organizations which the broad mass of poor peasants can freely join.

4. Poor peasant groups must be purged of concealed bad elements.

5. Poor peasant corps should frequently hold meetings during the land investigation movement. They should grasp the movement as their central work.

6. Middle peasants should be made to rally around the poor peasant groups.

They should be induced to attend meetings of the poor peasant groups to listen to the proceedings.

7. In leading the work of land investigation and struggle, the labor unions and poor peasant groups must not run counter to the principles mentioned in the foregoing paragraphs.

Only by mobilizing the broad masses in accordance with the aforementioned strategy and methods will it be possible to obtain satisfactory results in the land investigation movement. Any failure to do propaganda or to do it properly, seriously and universally, and any failure to comply with the class line and mass line and to obtain the approval or consent of the masses in the investigation and passing of class status and in the work of confiscation and distribution will not achieve results in the land investigation movement. On the contrary, it will make the masses dissatisfied and hamper the progress of the land investigation movement. Therefore, opposition to Leftist opportunism in the movement which trespasses against middle peasants and wipes out rich peasants, to Rightist opportunism which shelters landlords and rich peasants, and to bureaucratic methods of leadership and work is an essential condition for the correct development of the land investigation movement.

⁰ "Red Flag Weekly," No. 63 (Written by hand) December 1933.

FIRST CABLE .MESSAGE FROM PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO FUKIEN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND THE 19TH ROUTE ARMY

20 December 1933

[Text] Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and Officers and Men of the People's Revolutionary Army:

More than a month has passed since representatives of the Soviet Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army and your representatives concluded an anti-Japan, anti-Chiang draft agreement, but up to now we have not seen you taking active anti-Japan, anti-Chiang action, nor have we seen any concrete, practical work on your part in mobilizing the masses for struggle and arming them to oppose Japan and Chiang. On the other hand, Chiang Kai-shek has already sent three columns to attack Foochow and Yen-p'ing, and Japanese imperialism is already prepared to occupy Foochow and Amoy in response to Chiang Kai-shek's military action. You and the broad mass of people of Fukien are in the midst of extreme danger. The Soviet Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army want to tell you solemnly that any passivity, hesitancy and indecision in the face of such danger will be a very great crime against the Chinese revolution. Therefore, the Soviet Central Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army demand that you take immediate, resolute action in accordance with the basic principles decided upon in our anti-Japan, anti-Chiang draft agreement, concentrate all your armed forces and immediately begin an anti-Chiang battle of decision. At the same time you must resolutely mobilize and arm the broad masses, organize a truly popular revolutionary army of volunteers, and truly give the people the democratic rights of speech, publication, assembly, association and strike to develop mass struggle against the Japanese and Chiang. We believe that we can win ultimate victory only by relying on the strength of the millions of broad masses. Our Soviet Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army are ready to join forces with you any time and conclude with you an operational military agreement to oppose and strike down our common enemies'—Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government in Nanking, We hope you will let us know your decisions as soon as possible.

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, 20 December. ⁰

"Red China," No 149, 14 February 1934.

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DECISIONS OF THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE OF THE CHINESE SOVIET REPUBLIC

January 1934

[Text] The Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic fully concurs with Comrade Chang Wen-t'len's report on the foreign policy of the Soviet, approves all measures taken by the Presidium of the previous Central Executive Committee and People's Committee concerning the 19th Route Army in Fukien and the Fukien People's Revolutionary Government, and decides to publish the following three principal documents.

Mao Tse-tung
Chairman, Central Executive Committee of
the Chinese Soviet Republic
Hsiang Ying, Vice Chairman Chang
Kuo-t'ao, Vice Chairman

...day of January 1934,

⁰ "Red China," No 149, 14 February 1934.

(The three principal documents decided here to be published were: ¹¹ Anti-Japan and Anti-Chiang Preliminary Agreement," "First Cable Message From Provisional Central Government of Chinese Soviet Republic to Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and the 19th Route Army," and "Second Cable Message From Provisional Central Government of Chinese Soviet Republic to Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and People's Revolutionary Army."^u Because the first document bears different signatures, we do not include it in this collection.)

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SECOND CABLE MESSAGE FROM THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT TO FUKIEN
PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY GOVERNMENT AND PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY ARMY

13 January 1934

[Text] Committee Members Li, Ch'en and Chiang of the People's Government:

Judged on the basis of the present situation, Foochow is about to fall and the People's Government is in danger. In accordance with our bilateral agreement of the past, the Soviet Central Government ventures to make the following emergency proposals to your esteemed government in the spirit of the anti-Japan, anti-Chiang united front:

1. The People's Government should immediately put in practice the people's democratic rights it has promised in its declaration and in the agreement.
2. The People's Government should immediately arm the masses of Foochow and its environs, Ch'uan-chou, Chang-chou and other places, and encourage and support the broad masses in their participation in the anti-Japan, anti-Chiang front to defend Foochow, Ch'uan-chou, Chang-chou and other areas.
3. Encourage the masses to organize at once anti-Japan, anti-Chiang fighting bodies, "but do not obstruct or ban the development of such organizations under the excuse of the critical state of the war.
4. There should be practical encouragement to armed organizations of the masses and their anti-Japan, anti-Chiang activities in enemy Chiang's rear (.such as the coastal areas of Fukien and Chekiang) .
5. There should be determination to purge from your ranks those elements who are ready to capitulate to Chiang Kai-shek or who want to ask imperialism for protection.
6. Conduct propaganda among all officers and men of the 19th Route Army and let them know that only by cooperating to the end with the Soviet and the Red Army can they oppose the Japanese and Chiang. Take all effective measures and united military action.

Obviously, Chiang Kai-shek and Japanese imperialism are coordinating their action with the common object of wiping out the 19th Route Army. If your esteemed government wishes indeed to implement what you have advocated, then our above-mentioned proposals will be the only way to save the People's Government and the 19th Route Army from the present danger. They will also be the final test of your esteemed government's resolve to fulfill the promises made in your own declaration and in the agreement. It should be realized that if an anti-Japan, anti-Chiang front of the masses and the armed forces is truly established, Chiang Kai-shek and the Japanese imperialists will not be able to rule in peace for long even if Foochow falls, and this united front will undoubtedly develop steadily day by day throughout the country. Moreover, if your esteemed government is willing to arm the masses and encourage the people of Fukien, first of all the people of Foochow, to defend themselves, there will be new development in the situation and Foochow may not necessarily fall. The matter is urgent. We hope you will consider it and let us have your reply.

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Teh, 13 January. ⁰

"Red China,"¹¹ No 149, 14 February 1934.

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