

Article 55.

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

Article 56.

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

Article 57.

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

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

Article 58.

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

Article 59.

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

Article 60.

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

Article 61.

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

Article 62.

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

Article 63.

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

Article 64.

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

Article 65.

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

Article 66.

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

Article 67.

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

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

Chapter Ten. Social Insurance.

Article 68.

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

Article 69.

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

Article 70.

The following are the types of compensations under social insurance:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Article 71.

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

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

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

Article 72.

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

Article 73.

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

Chapter Twelve. By-Laws

Article 74.

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

Article 75.

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

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

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DETAILED FUNCTIONS OF THE ELECTION COMMITTEE

Adopted at the First Session of the Central Executive Committee

December 1931

[Text] Chapter One. General Provisions

Article 1.

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

Article 2.

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

Article 3.

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

Chapter Two. Staffing of the Election Committee

Article 4.

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

Article 5.

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

Article 6.

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

Article 7.

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

Chapter Three. Pre-election Work

Article 8.

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

Article 9.

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

Article 10.

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

Article 11.

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

Article 12.

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

Article 13.

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

Article 14.

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

Article 15.

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

Article 16.

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

Chapter Four. Work During the Election

Article 17.

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

Article 18.

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

Article 19.

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

Article 20.

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

Chapter Five. Post Election Work

Article 21.

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

Article 22.

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

Article 23.

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

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairmen

Central Executive Committee

o "Detailed Election Regulations of the Chinese Soviet Republic," printed by the Central Executive Committee, December 1931

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PRACTICAL MEASURES FOR CARRYING OUT REGULATIONS GOVERNING PREFERENTIAL TREATMENT FOR RED ARMY MEMBERS

Directive No 9 of the Executive Committee

1 February 1932

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

By Order of,

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

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

* "Soviet China," Soviet Research Institution, China Book Store (Shanghai), 1932

* "Red China," Vol 8 (To be continued), 3 February 1932.

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

February 1932

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

1. Ts'ao Shu-hsiang was originally sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, but this Executive Committee meeting considers this sentence to be too light. This is because she was commissar of the Fourth Branch Hospital of the Red Army Hospital and blatantly joined the AB Group to sabotage the Soviet regime and the Red Army, thus violating the trust of the Communist Party and the Soviet Government. Moreover, Ts'ao Shu-hsiang had studied in the Soviet Union for 3 years. During the time of her study in the Soviet Union, she sided politically with all bad elements. After her return to the homeland, she came to the soviet area to work and joined the AB Group. Thus it is obvious that her joining a counterrevolutionary organization was not accidental. Hence, her imprisonment must be increased by 2 years and 3 months. Altogether, she should be imprisoned for 3 years and 3 months. The period of time during which she is stripped of her right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.
2. K'ung Fan-shu should have served 3 years' imprisonment according to the decision. But because he had performed considerable work during the revolutionary war and had been wounded and become disabled, the court reduced his sentence by 1 year and 6 months. However, in the AB Group the duties he had assumed were those of general commander. Although he had performed considerable revolutionary work in the past, the penalty that has been laid on him is still too light. The imprisonment should be increased by 3 months. Altogether, he will be imprisoned for 1 year and 9 months. However, the period of time during which he is stripped of his right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.
3. Li Hsin-ch'eng was sentenced to 2 years' imprisonment, according to the decision. Because he had been brave in every battle and wounded several times, his sentence should be reduced by 6 months. As a result, he will be imprisoned for 1 year and 6 months. The period of time during which he is stripped of his right to vote will still be according to the original ruling.

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

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

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

*Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, No 5

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CSO: 4005

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

6 March 1932

Text Comrade Yuan Kuo-p'ing:

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

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

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

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

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

General Political Department
Director: Mao Tse-tung

Huang-po, 6 March

°Letter from Mao Tse-tung to Yuan Kuo-p'ing (mimeograph)

7682

CSO: 4005

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

9 March 1932

Text West Fukien Soviet Government
Executive Committee

Dear Comrades:

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

People's Council

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung

Vice-chairman: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

"Red China," No 13, 9 March 1932

7682

CSO: 4005

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

March 1932

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

Dear Comrades!

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

Long live the victory of the Soviet!
Long live the Chinese Soviet Republic!

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

"Red China," No 15, 23 March 1932

7682
CSO: 4005

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

15 April 1932

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

o"Red China," No 18, 12 April 1932

*"Hung Ch'i Chou-pao," No 50, September 1932

*"Soviet China," Soviet Research Institute, China Bookstore (Shanghai)
November 1932

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

7682

CSO: 4005

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

9 May 1932

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

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

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

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

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

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

Jui-chin, Kiangsi
9 May 1932

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

7682
CSO: 4005

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

9 June 1932

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

Comrade Representatives!

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

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

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

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

4. Your congress should carry on all its work under this task, set an even more concrete course of action to mobilize and prepare the masses to join Red fighters in the struggle against imperialism and to overthrow the Kuomintang rule, draw up an even more specific plan to Sovietize the western bank of the Kan River and capture Kan-chou, Chi-an, and Nan-ch'ang in coordination with the Red Army and the Kiangsi Provincial Soviet.
5. The congress should arrive at a very concrete decision regarding making a bid to expand the Red Army and implement regulations for the preferential treatment of the Red Army, and should sufficiently discuss the building up of regional armed forces and the development of guerrilla warfare, extending the Soviet areas, and reinforcing the leadership in all work and struggles in the White areas.
6. To enhance the enthusiasm in struggle of the toiling masses, the workers and peasants, it is imperative to implement thoroughly the Soviet government program. The congress should enforce the Labor Law in its entirety and carry out land inspection to see whether or not the Land Law is being implemented in full. It should carry out agrarian construction and raise production in a planned way.
7. Consolidate urban and rural congresses, bring about a genuine democratic system, and draw the masses of workers and peasants into taking part in the government and its work.
8. On the question of suppression of counterrevolutionaries, apart from implementing correctly Order No 6, the congress should prevent the mistake of another abandonment of the suppression of counterrevolutionaries. But the handling of workers and peasants who unconsciously joined all sorts of covert and fraudulent organizations (such as opium-smoking clubs and lovers' societies) should not be put on a par with the handling of elements who consciously or knowingly joined the AB Group. There should be a difference. We should not judge the former category of people guilty of having formally joined a counterrevolutionary organization. Only in this way can we win over the masses who have been deceived into unconsciously joining covert organizations and prevent counterrevolutionaries from intimidating them into falling into their schemes.
9. It is necessary to take stringent measures to rectify past mistakes of inciting the masses to go and grab rice from the White areas. These things have impaired faith in the soviets and increased the antipathy of the masses in the White areas, and have been made capital of by the counterrevolutionaries. The grain and rice of landlords in the White areas for the most part should be distributed among the masses of workers and peasants locally. Only a part of it should be used to aid the Red Army and a part to aid people in Soviet areas who have been trampled underfoot and suffer from a shortage of rice. But this should still be publicized among the masses in the White areas.

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

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

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

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

Chinese Soviet Provisional Central
Government

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung

Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying
Chang Kuo-tao

"Red China," No 22, 9 June 1932

7682

CSO: 4005

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

20 June 1932

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

10 June 1932

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

7682
CSO: 4005

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

20 September 1932

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

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

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

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

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

1. Complete re-election: In Kiangsi--Nan-kuang, Shih-ch'eng, Hui-ch'ang, Hsun-wu, An-yuan, Yu-tu, and Yung-feng. In Fukien--Ch'ang-t'ing, Ning-hua, Hsin-ch'uan, and Wu-p'ing. In Lung-yai a county soviet government will be set up formally.
2. Partial re-election: In Kiangsi--Hsing-kuo, Sheng-li, Ning-tu, Kung-lueh, Kan-hsien, Lo-an, and Wan-t'ai. In Fukien--Yung-ting, Shang-hang, and Jui-chin counties directly under the central authority.

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

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

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

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

Such is the order.

The different levels of the soviet governments.

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

20 September 1932

"Red China," No 35, 27 September 1932

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

24 September 1932

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

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