

YENAN AUTHORITIES OPPOSE JAMES BYRNES' AID-CHIANG BILL

16 June 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yen-an, 16 Jun--Certain American authorities have ignored the appeal of the Chinese people and the democratic parties and factions to stop fostering China's civil war and have decided to render military aid to its instigators--the Chiang Kai-shek government. According to a Washington dispatch of a U.S. news service dated the 14th, "U.S. Secretary of State Byrnes today (14th) submitted a bill to the Senate for its approval providing for military training and technical aid to China. In a letter accompanying the bill, Byrnes pointed out that 'uninterrupted military aid to China is extremely important.' He said: 'China asked the United States to send a military mission to China of the same nature as the American military delegation sent to Latin America.' The bill for military aid to China was jointly prepared by the departments of the army, navy, and state. Byrnes felt that the national interest (including the U.S. interest in reconstruction and in maintaining peace and security in Asia) requires that America render aid to China and organize and maintain a suitable number of modern troops, so that China will make its contribution to such peace and security." The people here feel that, just when the Chinese Communist delegates in Nanking, through Marshall, are negotiating and striving for a general and long-term peace in China with the Kuomintang government, while the latter openly advocates a general long-term civil war, this bill encouraging China's civil war proposed by the U.S. Government is truly an unfriendly gesture toward the Chinese people in their desire for peace. The facts and Byrnes' inferences are completely contradictory. If this bill is passed, China will sink into a serious situation of discord and insecurity, while the interests of the American people and the prestige of the American nation will suffer a tremendous loss. As Chinese and world public opinion has pointed out time and again, America's huge military aid to the warmongering dictatorial government of the Chinese Kuomintang is the only fundamental cause of the inception, expansion, and unrestraint of China's civil war today. The Chinese people do not understand what right the American government has to forcefully impose civil war and dictatorship on China and to demand that China, like Latin America, be degraded to a part of the American sphere of influence or its "national

interest." Nor do they understand what right the American government has to destroy President Truman's declaration of last December about "not influencing the process of any internal dispute in China by military intervention" and the principles contained in the official report on the China issue of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference last December. The Yen-an authorities indicate that peace and democracy in China are sacred rights of the Chinese people which no one may interfere with or alienate and that, if the reactionaries of China rely on foreign aid, persist in civil war and dictatorship, directly turn the present Kuomintang government into a Ch'in Kuai, Chang Pang-ch'ang, or Liu Yu government, and make the present National Government chairman a subservient emperor paying homage to foreign countries, we can definitely say that the Chinese people will resist to the last drop of their blood.

° CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 17 June 1946

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STATEMENT ON U.S. CHINA-AID BILL

22 June 1946

[Text] The bill providing continued military aid to China submitted by the U.S. secretary of state on the 14th is most favorable to the peace, security, independence and democracy of China. Therefore, the Chinese Communist Party firmly opposes it. This view is supported by the broad democratic masses of China. In the war to resist Japan, when America rendered military aid to China and sent troops to Chinese territory to coordinate with China in combat, the goal was to defeat the common enemy of China and America-- Japanese imperialism. However, even at that time, since America erroneously rendered aid only to the Kuomintang warlords, such aid did not effectively reinforce China's resistance. On the contrary, it was used by the Kuomintang warlords to reinforce their attack on and blockade of the Chinese Communist Party and the Liberated Areas which actively resisted Japan. After Japan surrendered, America, instead of discontinuing, greatly strengthened all types of military aid to the Chinese Kuomintang government and, with this precise goal, send hordes of troops to be stationed on China's territorial land and seas. Its action has been proved to be the fundamental cause of the outbreak and continuous escalation of China's civil war. Only on the premise of the U.S. government's assertion that it would abide by the restrictions on the China issue contained in the official report of the Moscow three-nation foreign ministers conference of December 1945 and the Chinese Kuomintang's declaration that it would stop the civil war and implement the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference on state democratization did the Chinese Communist Party agree on certain kinds of U.S. military aid to China. However, now that this premise has been seriously damaged, the so-called military aid rendered by America is actually only armed intervention in China's internal affairs; it represents only vigorous support of the Kuomintang dictatorial government and an effort to keep China in a situation of civil war, division, chaos, terror, and poverty; it is intended only to prevent China from implementing army reorganization and demobilization and performing its obligations to the United Nations; it is intended only to endanger China's national security and independence and its territorial sovereignty; it is designed only to destroy the

glorious friendship between the two great nations of China and America and the future of their trade. What the Chinese people urgently need today is not American guns and cannons or American garrisons on Chinese territory. On the contrary, the Chinese people deeply feel that the ammunition shipped by America to China is excessive, that the American forces stationed in China are too large, and that they have created a tremendous threat to the peace and security of China and the survival and freedom of the Chinese people. In these realistic conditions, the Chinese Communist Party cannot but firmly oppose the American Government's continued delivery of arms to the Kuomintang government of China in the form of sales, lease, gifts, or assignment; it firmly opposes the sending of an American military advisory mission to China and firmly demands that America immediately cease and recover all the so-called military aid to China and immediately withdraw all its troops from China.

- ° "Selections of Mao Tse-tung," Vol 3, 1947 edition
- * "Chairman Mao Publishes Announcement Opposing U.S. Military Aid to China Bill," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 23 June 1946
- * CH'UN CHUNG (Chungking), No 9, Vol 11, 30 June 1946
- * "Struggle for Independence, Peace, and Democracy," Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Publishing House, August 1946

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CONGRATULATORY CABLE TO MARSHAL STALIN ON THE 29TH NATIONAL DAY OF THE
SOVIET UNION

6 November 1946

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Yenan, 6 Nov--Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu, on the eve of the National Day of the Soviet Union, sent a congratulatory cable to Marshal Stalin. The text is as follows:

To Marshal Stalin of the Soviet Union:

We respectfully congratulate you on your nation's 29th National Day. In the past 29 years the Soviet Union has consistently sympathized with China's cause of national independence and people's liberation, and the people of China, beginning with Dr Sun Yat-sen, have also consistently sympathized with the Soviet Union's contributions to the peace and progress of mankind. We wish our friendship to continue forever.

Mao Tse-tung
Chu Te

6 November

- ° "Chairman Mao and Commander in Chief Chu Send Congratulatory Cable to Marshal Stalin: Forever Consolidate the Friendship between the Peoples of China and the Soviet Union," CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 7 November 1946

CH'UN-CHUNG (Shanghai), Vol 13, No 4, 11 November 1946

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NEW YEAR MESSAGE

1 January 1947

[Text] In 1946 the bright side of the postwar world waged a successful struggle against its dark side, and the bright side of postwar China also waged a successful struggle against its dark side. A large-scale people's movement for peace, democracy, and freedom has developed in both the postwar world and postwar China. This movement will inevitably march toward victory, and no force can resist it. Nevertheless, the reactionaries will always attempt to block it. The task of the whole world and all of China is to rally all forces and smash the resistance of the reactionaries. In 1947 the world united front of the people of all nations in the world, including China, against America's policy of aggression will develop rapidly, while the movement of the Chinese people for democracy and freedom will gain greater victories than in 1946. As a result, changes will occur in the situation in China which are favorable to the resumption of peace and the independence of the nation.

Even during the resistance war period our Communist Party members strove for the postwar cooperation of all the parties and factions. However, we also issued a warning: "The major ruling group of the Kuomintang, under the camouflage of the 'National Congress' and 'political solution,' is now surreptitiously preparing for a civil war. If our countrymen do not pay attention, expose its conspiracy, and block its preparations, they will wake up one morning and hear the artillery fire of the civil war." After the conclusion of the resistance war, together with the people of the whole nation, we exhausted all our patience and efforts to stop the outbreak and escalation of a civil war. Unfortunately, these efforts were destroyed by the general attack launched by the reactionaries and the "National Congress" controlled exclusively by the Kuomintang. However, the Chinese people continue to seek peace through two kinds of effort--the arduous and outstanding struggle of the people of all classes and strata in the Liberated Areas against the reactionary attacks, and the ever-rising mass movement of the people of all classes and strata in the areas under Kuomintang control for democracy and freedom. This combined desire of the Chinese people will definitely overpower that of any reactionary element,

thereby making possible sincere discussions for peace among all the parties and factions and a genuine peaceful life throughout the nation. Currently the Kuomintang authorities are not showing the least bit of interest in peace. Instigated by the American Government, they are busily adorning themselves with the divided "National Congress" and the dictatorial "constitution" in order to "legalize" their war and American aid. Nevertheless, as long as the people of the whole nation unite and persevere in an indomitable struggle, the sunlight of freedom will, in the near future, shine on the great land of our mother country, and an independent, peaceful, and democratic new China will have a firm foundation.

- CHIEH-FANG JIH-PAO, 1 January 1947
- * CH'UN-CHUNG (Shanghai), Vol 14, No 2, 13 January 1947
- * "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

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CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY AUTHORITIES ON CURRENT SITUATION

30 May 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 30 May--Chinese Communist Party authorities expressed their views on the current situation to HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporters. They said:

The Chiang Kai-shek government, the enemy of the people, has now discovered that it is besieged by the entire population. Whether on the military or the political front, it has suffered defeats, is besieged by the might of the people, whom it has declared an enemy, and can find no way of escape. Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous group and its master, American imperialism, have made a wrong assessment of the situation. They overestimated their own strength and underestimated the people's strength. They regarded postwar China and the world as the same as in the past, not permitting changes in the pattern of anything and not permitting anyone to disobey their will. After Japan's surrender they were determined to restore China to the old order. Gaining time by means of such deceptions as the Political Consultative Conference and military mediation, Chiang Kai-shek's traitorous government mobilized 2 million troops and launched a general attack. The Chinese Communist authorities said that the war between Chiang Kai-shek's aggressive army and the People's Liberation Army is the first front, and now a second front has appeared--the sharp struggle between the great and just student movement and Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government. The slogan of the student movement is food, peace, and freedom, i.e., against starvation, against civil war, and against oppression. Chiang Kai-shek has promulgated a provisional method to maintain social order. His army, police, military police, and secret service clash with the student masses everywhere. He handles the empty-handed students by such forceful means as arrests, imprisonment, beatings, and slaughtering, yet the student movement spreads daily. All social sympathy is on the side of the students, while Chiang Kai-shek's ferocious features have been starkly revealed. The student movement is part of the people's movement and its organizer. The rise of the student movement will inevitably lead to the rise of the entire people's movement. This has been pointed out in the historical experiences of the 4 May and 29 January movements of the past. As American imperialism

and its running dog Chiang Kai-shek have replaced Japanese imperialism and its running dog Wang Ching-wei and adopted the policies of turning China into an American colony, launching a civil war, and reinforcing the fascist dictatorial control, they have declared war against the people of the entire nation and pushed the people of all classes and strata to the verge of starvation and death. Therefore, they have forced the people to unite and wage a life-and-death struggle against Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government and to make this struggle develop rapidly. There is no other way out. The people of all classes and strata in China, including workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, the enlightened gentry, other patriotic elements, minorities, and Overseas Chinese, oppressed by the reactionary policies of the Chiang Kai-shek government and finding themselves in a situation calling for unity and self-help, constitute an extremely large national united front. The Chinese Communist authorities said that the reactionary financial and economic policies long followed by the Chiang Kai-shek government have now been reinforced by an unprecedented traitorous treaty--the Sino-American trade treaty. On the foundation of this treaty, America's monopolistic capital will closely associate with Chiang Kai-shek's bureaucratic compradore capital and control the economic life of the entire nation. As a result, it will cause extreme currency inflation, unprecedented commodity price increases, growing bankruptcy or national industry and commerce, and ever-deteriorating living standards of the laboring masses and public and educational personnel. This situation has forced the people of all classes and strata to unite and struggle for their lives. The Chinese Communist authorities pointed out that military suppression and political deception are the two main tools employed by Chiang Kai-shek to preserve his reactionary control. Now the people have realized the rapid advance of these tools toward bankruptcy. Chiang Kai-shek's troops have suffered defeats everywhere since last July. Over 90 brigades of his regular troops alone have been wiped out. Not only do they no longer have the vitality they demonstrated when they captured Ch'ang-ch'un, Ch'eng-te, Kalgan, Ko-tse, Huai-yin, and An-tung last year, but not even that of the time when they occupied Lin-i and Yen-an this year. Chiang Kai-shek and Ch'en Ch'eng erroneously estimated the strength and the operational methods of the People's Liberation Army, taking withdrawal as cowardice and the abandonment of cities as failure. They wishfully thought to solve the problem inside the pass in 3 to 6 months before solving the Northeast issue. But 10 months later Chiang Kai-shek's entire aggressive army has fallen into a desperate situation, facing waves of attack by the people and the People's Liberation Army of the Liberated Areas and finding it difficult to escape. More and more reports of the defeat of Chiang Kai-shek's troops on the frontline arrive at the rear, and the broad masses, suffocating under the oppression of Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary government, feel ever more hopeful about a change in their fate. Precisely at this time, all of Chiang Kai-shek's political deceptions are rapidly going bankrupt. Everything has turned out contrary to the expectations of the reactionaries, such as calling a National Congress to formulate a constitution, reorganizing the one-party

government into a multiparty government, etc. Their goal was to isolate the Chinese Communist Party and all democratic forces, but the result has been otherwise. Rather than the Chinese Communist Party or the democratic forces, the reactionaries themselves have been isolated. Henceforth the Chinese people know, from their own experience, the truth of Chiang Kai-shek's National Congress, his constitution, and his multiparty government. Until now many Chinese people, mainly the middle classes and strata, entertained some illusions about Chiang Kai-shek's sleights of hand and his talk of peace. After he had torn to shreds several solemn cease-fire agreements, and after bayonets had been pointed at the student masses demanding peace and resisting the civil war, with the exception of those who intentionally wish to deceive or those without the least bit of political experience, no one will believe his peace talk. The Chinese Communist authorities said: All the changes have proved the accuracy of our assessment. We have constantly pointed out to the people that the Chiang Kai-shek government is nothing but a government of treachery, civil war, and dictatorship. It wishes to smash the Chinese Communist Party and all democratic forces by means of a civil war in order to attain its goal of turning China into an American colony and preserving its dictatorial control. Nevertheless, because of these reactionary policies it has lost all its political prestige and strength. The power of the Chiang Kai-shek government is merely temporary and superficial. Actually, it is a government with a powerful exterior and an empty interior. Regardless of the area and the front, its attacks can be repelled. In the future it will inevitably lose all its supporters and its entire army. All the changes have proved, and will continue to prove, the accuracy of our assessments. The Chinese Communist authorities said: The development of the changes in China has been more rapid than anticipated. The speed of the victories of the People's Liberation Army on the one hand and the progress of the people's struggle in areas under Chiang's control on the other have been very rapid. To realize a peaceful, democratic, and independent new China, the Chinese people must prepare all the required conditions.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 1 June 1947

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), Vol 1, No 19, 5 June 1947

* "Collection of Important Documents of the Chinese Communist Party Since 1947," New Democracy Publishing House (Hong Kong), February 1949

* "The Current Situation and Our Tasks," Hsin-hua Bookstore, June 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

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TRAITOR CHIANG KAI-SHEK DESERVES TO BE KILLED BY ANY CHINESE FOR TREASON
AND TORMENTING THE PEOPLE

HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter on current situation in China

13 July 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 13 Jul--A HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter commented on the current situation:

On the 4th of this month Chiang Kai-shek personally proposed to what the Kuomintang calls the "three-party government" the so-called general mobilization resolution, and it was passed. This resolution has proved two things to the people of the whole country for the last time: First, the ringleader of the civil war is Chiang Kai-shek. Second, since the Chungking Parade Ground tragedy last year, the series of violent fascist outrages by the Kuomintang secret service agents, the violation of the cease-fire agreement of 10 January 1946, the civil war, the treacherous Sino-American trade treaty, the massacre of our countrymen with American weapons, the recruitment of Japanese war criminal Okamura Neiji to participate in the civil war, the coercive conscription, the grain levy and fund collections everywhere, the violation of the Political Consultative Conference resolutions, the counterfeit National Congress, the counterfeit constitution, the ousting of Chinese Communist delegates, the occupation of Yen-an, and the arrests and massacres of students, reporters, and democratic figures who are against the civil war, starvation, dictatorship, and betrayal have all been initiated by Chiang Kai-shek. All his perversions are in the interest of American imperialism and China's reactionaries, bringing calamity and death to the Chinese people. His general mobilization is his general collapse. The general mobilization will not avert his military, economic, and political crises; on the contrary, it will only aggravate them. His collapse is unavoidable. Due to his general mobilization, the people of the whole country are faced with greater and deeper calamities, and they realize ever more clearly that Chiang Kai-shek is the source of the calamities. As long as Ch'ing-fu existed, the calamities of Lu would not cease. As long as traitor Chiang is not eliminated, the

country will have no peace. To avoid the calamities, any Chinese has the right to punish this civil war ringleader and traitor. The faithful disciples of Sun Yat-sen in the Kuomintang must unite and, together with the people, punish the renegade. If they have the least bit of conscience, those in power in the Kuomintang must arrest him, denounce his crimes of betraying the country and showering calamities on the people, and bring him to trial by the people.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 15 July 1947

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COMMENTS BY 'HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY' REPORTER ON U.S. CRIME TO RUIN CHINA AND
THE DUET SUNG BY PROCURESS AND PROSTITUTE

30 August 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 30 Aug--A HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY reporter commented:

After Wedemeyer's announcement, the little court of the House of Chiang has been putting on all kinds of performances on successive days, indicating that America and Chiang are singing a duet like the act performed by Lu Ch'i-ch'i and Chang Hsi-hsi, the clowns of Shanghai's Ta-shih-chieh amusement park. Knowing well that "corruption" and "inefficiency" are fundamentally inseparable from the Chiang group, American imperialism wants this Chiang Kai-shek, who is covered with sores head to foot, to "reform." It is like leading a camel through the needle's eye. Then why does Uncle Sam insist that his child perform something absolutely impossible? There are two goals: On the one hand it will create excuses for the American imperialist authorities, so that, after whitewashing the toilet cover of the Chiang Kai-shek group, they can openly dump arms and loans into Chiang Kai-shek's bottomless pit. On the other hand Wedemeyer's fancy words, such as "strictness," "fairness," and "the Chinese people's yearning for peace," are for the purpose of calming the anger of the Chinese and American people toward American imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek's rotten regime. The CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR of the 27th leaked the hidden plans: "Wedemeyer announced that the door to aid Chiang and resist communism had not been closed." Meanwhile, the NEW YORK TIMES openly stated: "Many able 'authorities' and officials under 'Chairman' Chiang are 'absolutely' capable of reform." The truth is revealed. Chiang Kai-shek and the four big families are good and "authoritative," and the bad ones are only the generally "inefficient" low-level staff and the "local government structure" personnel who need some "reform."

After the procuress had sung for a while, the prostitutes ascended the stage, led by Sun K'o and Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, vigorously acting out the modern drama of prostitution. The titles of the programs were "Purging Corruption" and "Strict Enforcement of Regulations on Punishing Corruption." Here there

were several implied "benefits": The various groups could make use of the opportunity to vent their anger against the thorns in their flesh. Meanwhile, "purging corruption" was "very successful." Hereafter we will see many farces, such as the Huang-p'u faction prosecuting the CC faction or the political study faction hauling out the K'ung-Soon clique. Afterward, the procuress returned unsatisfied and sang again. Following her we will probably see the performers exchanging their roles, the so-called "reorganization." According to a U.S. UNITED PRESS report on the 27th, "Wedemeyer's criticisms will be thoroughly digested by the members of the Kuomintang Central Committee. They will hold a meeting in the near future to partly reorganize the 'coalition government' controlled by the Kuomintang." Sun K'o became more active. He gave an interview to a CENTRAL NEWS AGENCY reporter in Canton: "Sun has cleared up all the misunderstandings of outsiders concerning Wedemeyer's announcement. All American suspicions about aiding China (Chiang) will be completely allayed. He stresses that the major task of the 'special envoy' is to determine how America should render aid to China." Thus, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng was moved to tears by his gratitude: "General Wedemeyer's words were frank and sincere." Thus, what Wedemeyer directed was merely a duet.

Nevertheless, the highlight of the duet was still Sun K'o. Though the main goal of Wedemeyer's vociferous advocacy of "peace" is to play for time and give Chiang Kai-shek an opportunity to reorganize and equip his troops and reinforce the offensive, Wedemeyer knows that this is extremely difficult to accomplish. Therefore, he resigns himself to the second best: 1. Aid to Chiang and the civil war are inseparably linked and so are the civil war and the amount of aid. However, there must be an excuse in order to convince the financial bosses in America who balk at the bottomless pit. 2. To preserve the status of Uncle Sam, there has to be some lecturing. But if the wording is too severe, it may produce the side effects of "contemptible defeatism" and internal demoralization among the children. Therefore, a brilliant performance is required in order to convince the bosses above and energize the rank and file below. Thus, it is necessary to speak in a different tone, slightly different from the CC and Huang-p'u factions. As the highlight of the program in the modern zoo is the joint performance of the foreigners and the animals, Sun K'o, after playing the prostitute, emerged as a monkey. Backstage, Wedemeyer sang: "Let them make peace!" Sun K'o, turning somersaults on stage: "Fight! Fight! The Communist Party must be wiped out by force!" The "fight to the finish" sung by the openly fascist chief Chiang Kai-shek will be somewhat different from the "fight to the end" sung by Sun K'o, who prostitutes as a "liberalist." We can expect the third appearance of the procuress on stage, followed by a display of coppers and firearms.

The reporter pointed out in conclusion: The bankruptcy of Wedemeyer's reputation and the bankruptcy of the court of the House of Chiang in all aspects constitute the final declaration of bankruptcy of the prostitutes and monkeys such as Sun K'o. The people are pushing them from total bankruptcy to a permanent grave.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 3 September 1947

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY SPOKESMAN SOLEMNLY EXPOSES U.S. AND CHIANG
COLLUSION TO MURDER AND PERSECUTE DEMOCRATIC FIGURES

12 October 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 12 Oct--A Chinese Communist spokesman today points out to the reporter that the murder of Mr Tu Pin-ch'eng, a famous educator in the Northwest, indicates that Chiang Kai-shek's bandit gang wants to maintain its shaky control by expanding the slaughter of democratic figures. The spokesman states:

In murdering democratic figures, Chiang Kai-shek shamelessly claims that they are Communist Party members. When his bandits shot and killed Mr Tu Pin-ch'eng in Sian, they declared that he was a responsible person of the Communist Party committee of Kuanchung District. Actually, he was a responsible person of the Democratic League in the Northwest. He waged a lifelong struggle for the democratic cause and won the admiration of the people of the Northwest. He was not a Communist Party member. The spokesman says: To suppress the workers' strikes and to arrest and slaughter the strikers in Shanghai, Chiang Kai-shek's bandits forged the so-called Chinese Communist documents and claimed that the Chinese Communist Party wanted to destroy the Shanghai power plant. To persecute the Democratic League, the bandits spread rumors that it had accepted underground work for the Communist Party. In Peiping they arrested many disaffected persons, including a number of high-level officials. In the past and at present, a number of officials of the American Government and its secret service organ have been serving as spies for Chiang Kai-shek, identifying to his bandits the democratic and disaffected figures for arrest and slaughter. Many of those persecuted have clearly expressed their views to such bloody butchers as Wedemeyer and certain American officials showing a false sympathy for China's democratic movement. The spokesman says that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang is currently launching a large-scale cruel persecution of the democratic movement in areas under Chiang's control, indicating a loss of confidence in its control. As the People's Liberation Army has taken the offensive on all fronts, including the Shantung battlefield, the bandits are alarmed; therefore, they hastily seek excuses to commit murders in order to frighten the people into

submission. Nevertheless, killing will only expand the anti-Chiang movement. The more insanely the dictator kills people, the closer he approaches perdition. This truth has been proved thousands of times in the histories of China and foreign countries.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 14 October 1947

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CSO: 4005

CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SPOKESMAN SEVERELY CONDEMNS
CHIANG-U.S. DIRTY DEALS

2 December 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 2 Dec--A Chinese Communist Party Central Committee spokesman states:

The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and American imperialism recently again agreed on a dirty deal. Chiang consented to American imperialism's demand that China's customs be turned over as collateral for loans. Ever since bloody butcher Wedemeyer's observation trip to China, American imperialism has, through the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, seized many items of China's national sovereignty. During Wedemeyer's stay in China, the items sold by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang included 8 military bases, 1 naval base, 3 air bases, 3 base networks, and the right to invest \$350 million in Kwangtung and Kwangsi. On 6 September Owen D. Young, an American, was appointed advisor to the Stabilization Fund Committee. He and the group of Americans he brought with him exercise supervisory power over the finances of the Chiang government. On 17 October the Foreign Ministry of the Chiang government granted official permission to America to station its troops in China, thus formally giving American imperialism the right to station troops. By the so-called Sino-American relief agreement signed on 27 October, Chiang's government gave American imperialism supervisory power over relief resources and similar resources produced in China or imported from abroad. By the so-called educational fund agreement signed on 10 November, the Chiang government gave American imperialism supervisory power over culture and education. In addition, American imperialism has obtained ever-increasing privileges in the training of Chiang's army and is attempting to organize a joint staff under American control, similar to the one in Greece, in order to gain command over Chiang's army. Now the Chiang bandit gang has sold China's sovereignty over its customs. After selling so many items of national sovereignty since last July, what bandit Chiang has received in U.S. loans has been only \$27.7 million of so-called "grain relief." What he has not yet received, but may possibly receive, involves merely \$67 million in a U.S. cotton loan signed on 12 September last year, \$300 million announced by Marshall on 11 November, and \$60

million in "temporary aid" proposed by the Foreign Affairs Committee of the U.S. House of Representatives. Since the People's Liberation Army launched a counteroffensive, American reactionaries have realized that the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang, in resisting the struggle of the Chinese people, is a "mangy dog which cannot be propped up" and that no aid can avert its perdition. The American imperialists intensely hate the Chinese people. Nevertheless, since the Chinese people have proved that they cannot be vanquished, the China policy of American imperialism is to give the mangy dog enough "aid" to keep it from starvation, but not enough to satisfy it, in order to prolong its life, China's civil war, and the people's misery. Yet American imperialism will never slacken its aggression against China's sacred sovereignty. When the situation of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang becomes more critical, the greedy yet miserly money imperialism will propose ever more harsh conditions and make the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang sell more of the national sovereignty for less money. Whenever they feel like it, anyone among the American imperialists--Tom, Dick, or Harry--will give mangy dog Chiang Kai-shek a lecture. Afraid to make a sound, bandit Chiang has to bow in acquiescence.

The Chinese Communist Party Central Committee spokesman states:

To recover China's sacred and inviolable sovereignty, all patriotic countrymen must carry out the contents of the People's Liberation Army declaration of the Double Ten Festival this year and accelerate the overthrow of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang. The day of final reckoning for the usurper of the nation is not far off. The Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang and American imperialism must take full responsibility for all the grave consequences of their criminal deals.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 4 December 1947

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CSO: 4005

'HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY' REPORTER COMMENTS ON GREAT PLA VICTORY ON SOUTHERN FRONT

24 December 1947

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 23 Dec--Commenting on the recent great victories in the Central Plain, a reporter of this news agency points out:

The complete destruction of the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow railway and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai railway has smashed Chiang's operations in the Central Plain, the major battlefield of his civil war, while Honan-Hupei-Anhwei, Kiangsu-Shantung-Honan-Anhwei, and Honan-Shensi-Hupei, the three large newly liberated areas, have merged into one vast area. This situation has created extremely favorable conditions for the PLA to wipe out the enemy in large numbers hereafter, forecasting more and greater victories in 1948. In the past month or more our counterattacking army, marching south in three sectors, devoted its entire force to mopping up the bandit and puppet troops in the new areas and helped the local people emancipate themselves; therefore, the war situation was quite for a time. Bandit Chiang was alarmed and frightened. As the destruction of the section east of K'ai-feng on the Lung-Hai line was already a heavy blow, he wishfully attempted to muster large numbers of troops to defend the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line, the only remaining railway in the Central Plain. Nevertheless, with the power of thunder and the speed of lightning, the three sectors of our great army separately launched gigantic offensives on the 13th and 14th. In just 3 days the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line between Cheng-chou and Hsin-yang and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai line between K'ai-feng and Cheng-chou, a total of 840 li of railway line, were destroyed; Hsu-ch'ang, Lan-feng, Min-ch'uan, Hsin-chung-mou, Ch'en-liu, Wei-shih, Wei-chou, Ch'ang-ko, Yen-ling, Fu-kou, Hsin-cheng, Hsi-hsien, Shang-ts'ai, Ch'ueh-shan, Hsi-p'ing, Sui-p'ing, Lin-ying, T'ung-po, Pi-yang, Wu-yang, Yeh-hsien, Hsiang-ch'eng, and Tsao-yang, a total of 23 cities, were captured; over 20,000 of Chiang's bandit troops were wiped out. T'a-ho and Chu-ma-tien, strategic towns in the Central Plain in the civil wars of the past, were also liberated by our army.

the reporter points out:

This great battle is still in the process of escalating. The destruction of the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line and the eastern section of the Lung-Hai line has not only smashed bandit Chiang's operations in the Central Plain but also nullified his railway mobility. Meanwhile, the development of the war will further reveal his inability to cover all fronts due to the shortage of troops, thereby creating favorable conditions for our mobile, flexible, and seasoned field army to wipe out the enemy on a large scale. Currently, Cheng-chou, the site of the command post of bandit Chiang's army general headquarters, and such key points as K'ai-feng, Lo-yang, and Shang-ch'iu have become isolated. Hsin-yang, another important military key point of bandit Chiang, is exposed and in imminent danger. The vast Central Plain is almost entirely under our control. Hereafter, the PLA may proceed wherever it pleases, either east to the Ching-p'u line, or west to Hsiang-fan, or south across the Yangtze, making bandit Chiang, who follows the "hollow-center perimeter defense tactics," unable to collect himself.

Here the reporter comments optimistically:

The tens of millions of people in the Central Plain rising in self-defense and their close cooperation with the PLA have vastly reinforced our great counteroffensive army. Meanwhile, the close coordination of the three sectors of our great army will deal the proper punishment to the isolated Chiang troops. The great victory on the southern section of the Peiping-Hankow line was merely the beginning of a series of greater victories hereafter.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 27 December 1947

6080

CSO: 4005

SPEECH AT MEMORIAL SERVICE FOR MR LI TING-MING

25 February 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Northwest, 3 Feb--At the memorial service for Mr Li Ting-ming, vice chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao and all the liberated areas sent eulogies and condolences.

The eulogy of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee states: "In his work in the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region, Mr Li Ting-ming made beneficial contributions to the people, and the people will never forget his merits and achievements."

Chairman Mao's eulogy reads:

In the difficult period of the national and democratic struggles of the Chinese people, in the period when the Japanese imperialists attacked China, in the period of the counterrevolutionary civil war launched by the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang aided by the American imperialists, Mr Li Ting-ming and many enlightened gentry like him, with righteousness in their hearts, resolutely cooperated with the Chinese Communist Party. All true patriotic and democratic enlightened gentry who oppose imperialist aggression and Chiang Kai-shek's dictatorship, support the people's revolutionary war, and sympathize with the elimination of feudalism and the realization of land reform, whether in the past or at present, are a part of the national revolutionary united front of China, and they all wish to express their sorrow over the death of Mr Li Ting-ming.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 5 March 1948

6080

CSO: 4005

FOREWORD TO 'HOW SHANSI'S KUO COUNTY CARRIES OUT LAND REFORM'

12 March 1948

[Text] This is a communication from Shansi's Kuo County. It indicates that the mass struggle there has been launched, that the masses have been aroused, and that all preparations for land division were being completed at a meeting of peasant delegates. In the process of class classification, many people were erroneously classified, but it was decided, through open and clear discussions at a delegates meeting, that the mistakes will be corrected. Such errors as failing to provide the landowners with the necessary way to make a living, failing to distinguish between the landlords and the rich peasants, and encroaching upon the interests of the middle peasants were criticized. In sum, the line demonstrated at the two district peasant delegates meetings described in the communication is completely correct. At the time the communication was written, Kuo County had not yet divided the land; therefore, the experience in this aspect is incomplete. We hope that the area, after completing the tasks of correcting the mistakes in class classification (a major matter), dividing the land, organizing production, and reforming the political power, will send another communication describing the entire process. As for how to perform the work of party rectification, we have the typical experience of P'ing-shan County of the Shansi-Chahar-Hopeh Border Region (summarized by Comrade Liu Shao-ch'i). As for how to perform the work of readjusting the land, not dividing the land (because it had already been divided), we have the typical experience of Huang-chia-ch'uan, Sui-te County, Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region. Now we also have the land division experience (Though incomplete) of Kuo county in the Shansi-Suiyuan region. It will be worthwhile to compile these three experiences into a pamphlet for distribution to each and every rural work cadre. Such a pamphlet describing typical experiences will be more vivid and fruitful than the resolutions and directives of our leadership organs. It will furnish the inexperienced comrades with the means to start work and to effectively smash the serious anti-Marxist commandism and tailism existing in the party. After issuing resolutions or directives on all items of important work under their jurisdiction, the leadership comrades of all central bureaus, central branch bureaus, and frontline committees must collect and spread selected

typical experiences and make the mass movements under their guidance develop along the correct line. Currently, when hundreds of millions of people are launching an attack on the reactionary feudal and compradore system according to the direction pointed out by the party, the responsibility of the leader is not only to point out the direction of struggle and determine the struggle tasks, but also to summarize the concrete experiences and promptly spread them among the people, so that the correct matters will be popularized and the mistakes will not be repeated.

Mao Tse-tung

12 March 1948

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 24 March 1948

"Typical Experiences of Land Reform and Party Rectification" (Foreword),
China Publishing House (Hong Kong), 1949 2d edition

6080

CSO: 4005

DECISION ON TWO DOCUMENTS OF 1933

Adopted by the CCP Central Committee on 25 May 1948

[Text] Two documents of 1933, "How To Differentiate the Classes" and "Decision on Some Problems Concerning Land Struggle," were issued by the democratic central government in that year to correct certain standpoints in land reform work and to correctly resolve the land problem. These two documents were distributed to various levels of party committees in the Liberated Areas in December 1947 as reference documents. Now we have decided to use these two documents as formal documents and have redistributed them to various levels of party committees. Only a small part of these two documents is now inapplicable and has been deleted, while the rest is basically applicable in the present land reform work. In some places minor revisions have been made or "CCP Central Committee Note" has been added. Regarding problems not mentioned in these two documents and the dividing line between rich peasants and middle peasants, other documents issued by the Central Committee should be consulted, and the text of Comrade Jen Pi-shih's [0117 1732 2514] speech, "Several Problems in Land Reform," delivered on 12 January 1948, should be used as the standard.

How to Differentiate the Classes

(1) Landlords

Those who occupy land, do not work themselves or only do some incidental work, and depend on exploitation for their living are called landlords. At the same time they may also lend money, hire workers, or engage in industrial or commercial enterprises. However, to exploit rental from peasants is the main form of exploitation of the landlords. Management of land and property of shrines and temples and the collection of tuition also fall within the category of rental exploitation.

Some landlords are already bankrupt, but they still do not work, relying on cheating, plundering, or assistance from relatives or friends for their living. Their living conditions are better than those of the average middle peasant. These people are still regarded as landlords.

Warlords, bureaucrats, local tyrants, and evil gentry are also the most ruthless members of that class (there are also some small local tyrants and evil gentry among the rich peasants).

Those who help landlords collect rent and manage property, who rely on the exploitation of peasants as their main source of living, and whose living conditions are better than those of middle peasants should be treated the same as landlords.

Those who rely on lending money at high interest rates as their main source of living and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called usurpers and should be regarded as landlords.

(2) Rich Peasants

Rich peasants generally occupy land. Some rich peasants occupy the land they own and rent more land from others; other rich peasants do not have any land of their own at all, and their land is entirely rented (cases of this are rare). Generally, rich peasants have better means of production and liquid capital. They are engaged in labor, but they always rely upon exploitation as a part, or a major part, of their source of living. Their main form of exploitation is exploitation of the labor of hired help (long-term help). They may also rent a part of their land for rental, or lend money, or engage in industrial or commercial enterprises. Most rich peasants manage communal property. Rich peasants in China usually do the farming themselves without hiring help. They regularly exploit peasants through rentals and interest on loans, and in most cases it represents their [main source of income].

(3) Middle Peasants

Many middle peasants own land. Some middle peasants own part of their land and rent the rest. Other middle peasants own no land of their own and rent all their land. (These cases are few.) All middle peasants have a fair amount of tools. They rely solely or mostly on their own labor as the source of their living. Middle peasants generally do not exploit others. Many of them are exploited in the form of small payments in land rents and interest on loans. However, middle peasants generally do not sell their labor. Some middle peasants (well-to-do middle peasants) exploit others to a slight extent, but such exploitation is only occasional and not their main source of income. These are middle peasants.

(4) Poor Peasants

Some poor peasants do own land and have a few tools. Other poor peasants do not have any land at all and only a few tools. Generally, the land they work is rented, and they are exploited by paying rent and interest. A small number of them are exploited as they work as hired helpers. All these are poor peasants.

Middle peasants generally do not have to sell their labor, but poor peasants generally do. This is the main criterion differentiating a middle and a poor peasant.

(5) Workers

Workers (including hired peasants) generally own no land or tools. Some workers have very little land and very few tools. They make their living entirely or mainly by selling their labor. These are workers.

Decisions Concerning Some Problems in the Land Struggle

During the struggle for land distribution and land investigation there were many problems. These problems caused mistakes in the execution of the struggle due to the lack of regulations in existing documents, or ambiguity in the regulations, or incorrect interpretation of the regulations by government workers. To correctly develop the land struggle and correct and prevent mistakes regarding these problems, the People's Committee, aside from approving "How To Differentiate the Classes" (concerning the principles in differentiating landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants and workers), makes the following decisions:

(1) Labor and Incidental Labor

Under ordinary conditions a family is considered to be engaged in labor if there is one member of the family who devotes one-third of his time in a year to essential labor. A family is considered to be engaged in incidental labor if there is one member of the family who devotes less than one-third of his time in a year to essential labor, or one-third of his time on a year to nonessential labor.

(Explanation) The following should be noted: (1) Rich peasants are engaged in labor, while landlords are not, or are only engaged in incidental labor. Therefore, labor is the main criterion to distinguish a rich peasant and a landlord.

(2) The number of persons used in determining whether a family is a laboring family is one. If a family has several members, and one of them is engaged in labor, then the family is regarded as engaged in labor. Some people think that a family cannot be considered a laboring family unless there are two persons engaged in labor, or all members of the family engage in labor. This is wrong.

(3) The standard length of time used to determine the type of labor is one-third of a year, or 4 months. That is to say, if one is engaged in essential labor more than 4 months out of the year, one is considered to be engaged in labor; if one is engaged in essential labor less than 4 months a year, one is considered to be engaged in incidental labor (also the dividing line between rich peasants and landlords). Some people have classified those who devoted 6 months a year to essential labor as being engaged in incidental labor. This is wrong.

(4) So-called essential labor indicates labor in essential parts of production, such as plowing, cultivating, harvesting and other important labor in production, and is not limited to agricultural production. Cutting firewood, carrying loads, transportation, weaving, medical service, teaching and other labor are also important.

(5) So-called nonessential labor means various types of incidental labor which are secondary in importance during the process of production, such as weeding, vegetable planting and tending livestock.

(6) Since labor is used as the main criterion for determining who is a rich peasant and who is a landlord, those who hire long-term helpers for farm work only without collecting rent or interest, and who direct production without participating in essential labor themselves, are to be treated as landlords.

(7) A period of 3 years is used as a standard criterion to determine who has the elements of a landlord. One is considered to have elements of a landlord if he had lived continuously for 3 years as a landlord immediately prior to the establishment of the revolutionary regime.

Many mistakes were made during the land distribution and land investigation movement regarding the problem of labor and incidental labor. Sometimes the labor of a peasant is regarded as incidental labor, and the peasant is subsequently judged to be a landlord. At other times the incidental labor of a landlord is regarded as labor, and the landlord is subsequently judged to be a rich peasant. All these mistakes were caused by the lack of clear standards to make a distinction between landlords and rich peasants. These mistakes can be avoided by using the above regulations.

However, the above regulations are applicable under "ordinary conditions." Under special conditions different dispositions should be made. Here there are two conditions: First, there are members of the family of big landlords who engage in labor. For example, some families collect more than 100 tan of grain as rent or dispense more than 1,000 yuan in loans. The size of the family is small and their expenditures are low. Although there are members of the family engaged in essential labor for more than 4 months a year, this kind of family is still regarded as a family of landlords, not rich peasants. However, if the family is big and its expenditures are high, although this family collects more than 100 tan of grain as rent and lends 1,000 yuan, this family is not to be regarded as a landlord's family but as a rich peasant's family as long as there is someone in the family engaged in essential labor. Second, some people are landlords if exploitation is used as a criterion, but they cannot be treated as landlords if their living conditions are used as a criterion. For example, some people were formerly rich or middle peasants, but a few years before the revolution they were forced to rent the land out or to hire helpers to work on the farm due to a sudden loss of labor force in the family, such as deaths or sickness. As a result, the whole family lives like landlords. If we treat these people as landlords, it is inappropriate. Instead, they

should be treated according to their present conditions. For another example, some people are landlords in name only, and their land ownership has been passed to others. Their income from exploitation is very small, and their living conditions are worse than those of ordinary peasants. They are engaged in incidental labor. These people may be treated as peasants.

The above situations were overlooked during the land distribution and land investigation movement. This was wrong.

(In a large family of more than 15 persons, the family cannot be considered as engaged in labor unless one-third of the members of the family spend one-third of their time during the year in essential labor--CCP Central Committee Note.)

(2) Well-to-do Middle Peasants

Well-to-do middle peasants are a part of the middle peasants, but their living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants. They generally exploit others to a small extent, but their income from exploitation does not exceed 15 percent of the family's total annual income.

Under certain conditions the family's income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent but does not exceed 30 percent of the family's total annual income. These peasants should still be regarded as well-to-do peasants if there is no objection from the masses.

Under the democratic regime, the interests of well-to-do middle peasants should be protected in the same way as those of middle peasants.

(Explanation) It should be noted here: (1) Well-to-do middle peasants are a part of the middle peasants. The difference between the well-to-do middle peasant and the middle peasant is that the former is better off than the latter. Well-to-do middle peasants generally exploit others slightly, while other middle peasants generally do not exploit others at all.

(2) The difference between the well-to-do middle peasant and the rich peasant is that a well-to-do middle peasant's income from exploitation does not exceed 15 percent of the total annual income of the family, while a rich peasant's income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent. The establishment of this limit is necessary to determine the class elements of peasants.

(3) The so-called slight exploitation by well-to-do middle peasants indicates that they hire shepherds, temporary helpers, or monthly helpers; or they lend a small amount of money; or they collect a small amount of mortgage interest, a small amount of interest on tuition loans, or a small amount on land rent. The total income from these exploitations does not constitute a significant part of the entire family's total annual income. The main source of income of the entire family depends upon their own labor.

(4) Just prior to the establishment of the revolutionary government, some of the well-to-do middle peasants had received income from exploitation comparable to that of rich peasants. However, if such exploitation did not occur for more than 2 years, they are still regarded as well-to-do middle peasants.

(5) Under certain conditions, if their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent but was less than 30 percent of the family's total annual income, they may still be regarded as well-to-do middle peasants if there is no objection from the masses. The so-called "certain conditions" indicate that although their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent, the size of the family is large, its labor force is small, its living conditions are poor, and it encounters difficulties due to flood, drought, famine, sickness or death in the family. Under these conditions, if their income from exploitation does not exceed 30 percent of the family's total annual income, they should not be regarded as rich peasants and ought to be regarded as middle peasants. In the absence of these conditions, if their income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of their total annual income, they are regarded as rich peasants, not as well-to-do middle peasants. A correct judgment of these conditions depends upon the consensus of the local masses.

Well-to-do middle peasants constitute a considerably large part of the population in villages. During the land distribution and land investigation movement, many well-to-do middle peasants were regarded as rich peasants. This was wrong. In many places where the middle peasant was wronged, the offenses were mostly against this kind of well-to-do middle peasant. This should be corrected immediately.

(Example) (1) Two members of a family of six are engaged in labor. The family owns a piece of 50-tan farmland (actually harvesting 35 tan of grain a year). At the market price of 4 yuan a tan, the value of the annual harvest is 140 yuan. Farming is done entirely by family members. The family also owns a five-room house and an ox. It has a pond which yields 12 yuan worth of fish. Other food crop production and hog raising bring the family approximately 100 yuan a year. For 4 years the family lent 3 tan of grain each year at an annual interest rate of 50 percent and collected 1 1/2 tan of grain a year valued at 6 yuan. For 5 years the family lent 100 yuan each year at an annual interest rate of 25 percent, which brings an annual income of 25 yuan. Judgment: This family relies on its own labor for its main source of living. The income from its own production is 250 yuan a year, while the income from exploitation is only 31 yuan, which is less than 15 percent of the family's total annual income. The family has some savings after expenditures. Its living conditions are fairly good. Since its income from exploitation is not high, this family is therefore regarded as a family of well-to-do middle peasants, not rich peasants.

(2) In a family of five, one and one-half persons are engaged in labor. The family has a 25-tan farmland with an actual harvest of 17 tan of grain per year. The family rents from others a 75-tan piece of farmland which

has an actual yield of 42 tan of grain a year, and it pays rent of 25 tan of grain per year. The family has been paying rent for 10 years. Various food crops and hog raising bring the family 50 yuan a year. The family hires a shepherd and collects 18 yuan a year as interest on a loan of 60 yuan. The interest rate was 30 percent per annum. The family has been lending money for 4 years. It has a five-room house and an ox. It also owns an orchard yielding 30 tan of peaches a year. Judgment: This family lives on its own labor. The income from exploitation is very small, about 20 yuan (including the value of surplus labor resulting from the hiring of a shepherd and interest on loans), but the family is exploited by others because it pays as much as 25 tan of grain a year. There is little money left after expenditures. Therefore, this family can only be classified as a family of middle peasants, not even as well-to-do middle peasants.

(The distinction between well-to-do middle peasants and rich peasants stated in this article, according to Comrade Jen Pi-shih's "Several Problems in Land Reform," should be changed to read: "Those who slightly exploit others and whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 percent of their total income are still regarded as middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants." --CCP Central Committee Note)

(3) Duration of Exploitation and Income From Exploitation of Rich Peasants

For 3 consecutive years prior to the establishment of the new political regime, those who, aside from participating in labor, depended upon exploitation as a part of a large part of the source of their living and whose income from such exploitation exceeded 15 percent of their total annual income are called rich peasants. Under certain conditions, although their income from exploitation exceeded 15 percent but did not exceed 30 percent, they are still not rich peasants but well-to-do middle peasants if there is no objection from the masses.

(Explanation) It should be noted: (1) The date of establishment of the revolutionary regime should be used as the starting point to count back the number of years of exploitation. Some people used exploitation that occurred many years ago, or exploitation that did not occur in consecutive years, as the basis for determining the class element of a peasant. This is wrong.

(2) Three consecutive years of exploitation should be used as the standard that determines a peasant to be a rich peasant. If the duration of exploitation is 3 years but not 3 consecutive years, the peasant is still regarded as a well-to-do middle peasant although his income from exploitation is equal to that of a rich peasant during the same period of time.

(3) A family's income from exploitation must exceed 15 percent of its total annual income before it can be classified as a family of rich peasants. If its income from exploitation is less than 15 percent of its total annual income, the family is still regarded as a family of well-to-do peasants even though the duration of exploitation is 3 consecutive years or more than 3 consecutive years.

(4) The so-called total income of a family indicates the total income from production and the income from exploitation. For example, a family's income from production is 400 yuan, and its income from exploitation is 100 yuan. The total income of the family is 500 yuan. Since the portion of income from exploitation is 20 percent of the total income, this family is regarded as a family of rich peasants.

(5) "Certain conditions" indicate that the size of the family is large and its labor force is small. The living conditions of the family are poor. Due to natural disaster and other family disasters, the family encounters difficulties. Under these conditions, although the income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of the family's total income (but does not exceed 30 percent), this family is regarded as a well-to-do middle peasant family, if there is no objection from the masses. Here the opinion of the masses is very important. We must give careful consideration to this situation. If we wrongly classify well-to-do middle peasants as rich peasants, we will arouse the dissatisfaction of the middle peasant masses. At the same time, we should not classify rich peasants as well-to-do middle peasants, because we may arouse the dissatisfaction of the poor peasants. Therefore, we must think carefully and seek the consent of the masses. During the land distribution and land investigation movement, many disputes arose concerning the problem of duration and percentage of exploitation. This was due to the lack of a clear standard to make a distinction between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants. Sometimes well-to-do middle peasants were treated as rich peasants. At other times rich peasants were treated as well-to-do middle peasants. Mistakes occurred frequently. Now that the distinction between the two is defined, mistakes can be avoided.

(Example) (1) A family has 11 members, and only 2 are engaged in labor. The family has a 160-tan farm which yields 120 tan of grain valued at 480 yuan. It has two tea plots which bring an annual income of 30 yuan. It also has a pond which brings in 15 yuan a year. Other food crops and hog raising bring approximately 150 yuan a year. The family hired a long-term helper for 7 years until the revolution. The surplus labor exploited from this helper is estimated at approximately 60 yuan a year. The family lent 250 yuan at an annual interest rate of 30 percent, receiving 75 yuan annually. The family lent money for 5 years until the revolution. Judgment: This family is engaged in labor, but it also hires a long-term helper. Its income from exploitation exceeds 15 percent of its total annual income. Although the family is large, it has a relatively large amount of money left over after expenditures. Therefore, this family is a family of rich peasants.

(2) In a family of three, one person is engaged in essential labor for 4 months out of the year. It has a 60-tan farm. The family used half the land and harvested 18 tan of grain a year. The other half was rented. The family collected 12 tan of grain a year as rent for 5 years. It usually hired short-term helpers 20 days a year. The family has an ox and collected 2 tan of grain a year for lending the ox. It lent 120 yuan at an interest

rate of 30 percent per annum. The income from the loan was 36 yuan a year. The family had lent money for 5 years before the revolution. Judgment: This family's income from exploitation exceeds its income from its own production. Since there is one person engaged in essential labor 4 months out of the year, this family is considered to be a family of rich peasants.

(The line of distinction between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants should be based on what was announced in Comrade Jen Pi-shih's "Several Problems in Land Reform." It should be changed to read: "Those who exploit slightly and whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 percent of their total income are considered to be middle peasants or well-to-do middle peasants."--CCP Central Committee Note)

(4) Reactionary Rich Peasants

Those rich peasants who were engaged in serious counterrevolutionary activities before the revolution, and especially after the revolution, are called reactionary rich peasants. Their land and property, and the land and property of the members of their family who participated in such counterrevolutionary activities, should be confiscated.

The above principle is applicable to reactionary capitalists.

(Explanation) It should be noted here: (1) Only those rich peasants who were engaged in "serious counterrevolutionary activities" are called reactionary rich peasants. For example, during the revolution they led civilian groups in slaughtering workers and peasants, put up stubborn resistance to the revolutionary government, led others in organizing counterrevolutionary organizations after the revolution, or conducted serious counterrevolutionary activities individually, such as assassination, spying for the enemy, voluntarily serving as guides for White troops, escaping to White areas to help the Kuomintang, and actively and resolutely sabotaging the land distribution and land investigation movement and economic construction. The land and property of those rich peasants who did not provide leadership for or engage in important counterrevolutionary activities should not be confiscated, even though they engaged in some counterrevolutionary activities.

(2) Only the land and property of those members of rich peasant families who participated in serious counterrevolutionary activities should be confiscated, while the land and property of other members of the family should not be confiscated.

(3) Those who went to White areas for the purpose of making a living are not reactionary rich peasants and should not be treated as reactionary rich peasants.

(4) The above regulations are applicable to defining and treating reactionary capitalists.

In the past, the land and property of rich peasants who did not engage in serious counterrevolutionary activities were confiscated, and the land and property of members of the family of rich peasants who did not participate in counterrevolutionary activities were also confiscated. This is wrong. The reason for this mistake can be traced to Article 3 of the "Regulations for Land Confiscation and Distribution" used in Kiangsi: "All the land belonging to the family of rich peasants who participate in counter-revolutionary organizations should be confiscated." In this article, no distinction is made as to whether the rich peasant is a leader or a follower, or whether an individual member of the family has joined such organizations or not. The second half of this article pointed out: "Land may be returned to family members who did not participate in counter-revolutionary organizations, did not engage in counterrevolutionary activities, and severed relations with family members who were counter-revolutionaries, if there is objection from the masses." However, the first half of the article provided for confiscation of all the land of the family, while the second half provided for partial return of the land confiscated. This is not the proper way. Therefore, this article should be amended according to the present regulation. In the past, the definition of reactionary capitalists was broadened. Some stores which should not have been confiscated were confiscated. This is also wrong.

(Example) In a family of nine, one person is engaged in labor and another person is engaged in incidental labor. The family owns a 160-tan farm. It works a piece of 80-tan farmland which yields 56 tan of grain each year. The other 80-tan area is rented, and the family collects an annual rent of 30 tan of grain a year for 10 years. It also owns 5 plots of mountain land which yield an income of 70 yuan a year. Normally the family hires a long-term helper. The family owes 425 yuan, paying interest at 25 percent per annum. The family has been borrowing for 3 years. The family has also been lending money for 3 years. It lends 380 yuan, collecting 30 percent interest. One of the family members has been a company leader in the Kuomintang militia [Pacification Guards] for 2 years. He fought the Red Army in five battles. Another member of the family has been a member of the AB Corps, but he is an insignificant member and was not active in it. Other members of the family have no obvious reactionary activities. Judgment: This family is a family of rich peasants. One of the family members has engaged in serious counterrevolutionary work. This particular person is a reactionary rich peasant, and his property should be confiscated, but the property of other family members should not be confiscated. Although another member of the family joined the AB Corps, he was not active in it. Therefore, his property should not be confiscated.

(This article applies to landlords and other criminals among the people.--
CCP Central Committee Note)

(5) Land, Houses, Cattle and Farm Implements Belong to Rich Peasants

Under government law and regulations, land, houses, cattle and farm implements, once definitely ruled to be the property of rich peasants, should be freely available to the rich peasants without any interference by others.

(Explanation) (1) Recently, in some places, workers, peasants and poor people exchanged their land, houses, cattle and farm implements for those belonging to rich peasants. Some of them even exchanged their clothing and fertilizer. This is wrong.

(2) After the land problem has been correctly resolved, nobody should exchange their land for the share of land distributed to and subsequently improved by the rich peasants. The cattle, farm implements and houses added by the rich peasants should not be confiscated or exchanged, even if such property is more than the rich peasants need.

(This article is also applicable to landlords.--CCP Central Committee Note)

(6) Bankrupt Landlords

Before the revolution some landlords had already lost their means of exploitation--land and property--either partially or entirely. Those landlords who are still not engaged in production and depend upon cheating, seizure, or support from relatives as their main source of living and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called bankrupt landlords. Bankrupt landlords belong to the landlord class.

Those landlords who, after bankruptcy, depend on their own labor as a partial source of livelihood, or depend on their labor for one-third of their total living expenditure, may be treated as rich peasants.

(Explanation) (1) Some people treated partially bankrupt landlords as bankrupt landlords. This is wrong, because these landlords still possess part of their property for exploitation. The only difference is that the amount of income from exploitation is changed.

(2) Some people regarded those landlords who, after bankruptcy, engaged in essential labor for a full year as bankrupt landlords. This is even worse, because these landlords, after bankruptcy and after having engaged in essential labor for a full year (prior to the revolution), have changed from landlords to workers, poor people or peasants.

(3) Some people still treated as landlords those who, after bankruptcy, are partly engaged in labor. This is wrong, because if their income from labor has reached one-third of their total annual living expenditures for the entire family, they should be treated as rich peasants.

(7) Poor People

Aside from workers and peasants, all those who rely wholly or largely on their own labor for a living, or rely on a small amount of capital for a business to earn their living, are called poor people if their living conditions are poor. Unemployed village or small town poor people should be given some land.

(Explanation) (1) Poor people constitute a great percentage of the population in cities. There are also some poor people in villages and small towns. The jobs of poor people are quite diversified. Some of their jobs are seasonal. Poor people have hardships in their living. Their income is insufficient to meet their expenditures.

(2) Aside from workers and peasants, independent producers, professional workers, peddlers, store proprietors without employees, and all other laborers belong to the category of poor people if their living conditions are poor. The so-called independent producers are small, industrial producers who sell as well as produce their products. They sometimes hire helpers, but they rely mainly on their own labor. The so-called professional workers are the medical doctors, teachers, lawyers, newspaper reporters, writers and artists. They sometimes hire assistants or household helpers, but this kind of hiring is not regarded as exploitation.

(8) Intellectuals

Intellectuals should not be regarded as a class. Their class is determined by their family background. Basically, a person's class is determined by the way he earns his essential income for living.

All intellectuals from landlord or bourgeois classes should be fully used to serve the democratic government if they obey the law of the democratic government. At the same time, they should be educated to overcome the wrong thinking of the landlord, bourgeois and petit bourgeois classes.

When the intellectuals are working as teachers, editors, newspaper reporters, clerks, writers and artists without exploiting others, they are laborers using their brain. These mental laborers should be protected by the law of the democratic government.

(Explanation) (1) Recently, in some places, intellectuals have been discriminated against. This is wrong. To absorb intellectuals from the landlord or bourgeois class who are willing to participate in the work of the democratic government is beneficial to the people's revolution. While they work for the democratic government they should be helped to solve their livelihood problems.

(2) The class of intellectuals is determined by the class elements of their families. For example, an intellectual has a landlord background if his

family is classified as a landlord family. An intellectual has a middle peasant background if his family is regarded as a middle peasant family. The class of the intellectual himself depends upon his main source of living. For instance, if an intellectual earns his living as a landlord, he is a landlord. If an intellectual earns his living as a capitalist, he is a capitalist. If an intellectual earns his living as a free professional, he is a free professional. If he earns his living as a clerk, he is a clerk. If he earns his living as a soldier, he is a soldier. If an intellectual depends on his family for his main source of living, then he belongs to the class under which his family is classified. It is wrong to regard intellectuals as belonging to a single independent class. To regard working people's children who have attended school (so-called "graduates") as bad elements is an even worse mistake.

(3) Refusal to regard the work of teachers and doctors as labor is also wrong.

(9) Property-less Loafers

Those workers, peasants and other masses who lost their jobs and land as a result of oppression and exploitation by the landlord and capitalist class immediately before the establishment of the revolutionary government and subsequently relied upon improper ways as their main source of income for 3 years are called property-less loafers (customarily called vagrants).

The policy of the democratic government toward property-less loafers is to woo them, but to oppose their dependence on the exploiting class and to oppose those who participate in counterrevolutionary activities. The essential method of wooing them is to send them back to production by giving them land and work. Those who are given land must live in the countryside and be able to work on the farmland themselves.

(Explanation) (1) The so-called "improper ways" as their main sources of income refer to theft, robbery, cheating, begging, gambling or prostitution. It is wrong to classify all those who are employed or semiemployed and at the same time partly engaged in improper professions (which do not constitute their main source of income) as vagrants. It is an even greater mistake to label as vagrants all those who at one time had engaged in prostitution or gambling or had the habit of opium smoking.

(2) In some places, those leaders of property-less loafers who had actively participated in counterrevolutionary activities (the so-called chieftains of vagrants) were not punished. Instead, they were given land. This is wrong. In other places, all the requests of ordinary property-less loafers for land were refused. This is also wrong.

(10) Religious Professionals

Those who had worked for 3 years prior to the revolution as ministers, priests, monks, taoist preachers, horoscope readers or fortune tellers or

had engaged in other religious or superstitious professions as their main source of income are called religious professionals.

(11) Red Army Soldiers With Landlord and Rich Peasant Background and Their Land

Among the members of the Red Army, no matter whether they are commanders or soldiers, those with landlord and rich peasant backgrounds and their family members have the right to receive distributed land on the condition that they resolutely fight for the interests of the workers and peasants.

(Explanation) (1) Article 1 of the Regulations for Preferred Treatment of Members of the Red Army: "Those soldiers of the Red Army and their family members who live in the territory of the democratic government should have the same right to share the land, houses, woods and ponds as local poor peasants." This applies to all Red Army soldiers. However, recent inquiries were confined to the social background of the Red Army soldiers without regard to their political manifestations. The land distributed to Red Army soldiers with landlord and rich peasant background who resolutely fight for the interests of the workers and peasants were confiscated again. This is wrong.

(2) The so-called "family members of Red Army soldiers" refer to fathers, mothers, wives, sons, daughters and younger brothers and sisters under 16 years of age. Persons other than their relatives are not entitled to the rights given to family members of Red Army soldiers.

(12) Workers From Rich Peasant and Landlord Families

If a worker comes from a rich peasant or landlord family, the worker himself, his wife and children are still regarded as workers. Other members of his family are regarded as rich peasants and landlords.

(Explanation) (1) Those from landlord or rich peasant families who had sold their labor for a full year prior to the revolution are considered to be workers. Their wives and children are also considered to be workers. Other members of the family are regarded as rich peasants or landlords and are not entitled to any rights of the workers. If there are members of the family with other class elements, they should be treated according to their class elements. For example, in a family living in a village there is one person who depended on land rent and money-lending as his main source of living for 3 years; this person is a landlord. In the same family one person depended on selling his labor as his main source of living for a full year. This person is a worker. In the same family there is another person who lives in town and is engaged in a small industrial enterprise (making and selling his own products) as his main source of living. This person is an independent producer. Each of these persons of the same family is classified according to his source of living within a specified period of time and is treated accordingly under the laws of the democratic government.

(2) Among the village workers, independent producers, primary school teachers and doctors, those who own and rent small plots of land to others and do not depend on rent as their main source of living should not be treated as landlords and are entitled to receive distributed land just like other ordinary peasants.

(13) Class Elements of Persons After Intermarriage Between Landlords, Rich Peasants and Capitalists on One Side and Workers, Peasants and Poor People on the Other

(1) The class elements of persons after intermarriage between landlords, rich peasants and capitalists on one side and workers, peasants and poor people on the other are determined by the time of their marriage (either before the revolution or after), the original class elements of the two persons, and their living conditions after the marriage.

(2) Married Before the Revolution: Those women from landlord, rich peasant and capitalist families who married workers, peasants or poor people and depend on labor as their main source of living for a full year are recognized as workers, peasants or poor people. The class elements of those who are not engaged in labor or have not engaged in labor for a full year remain unchanged. Women from families of workers, peasants or poor people married into families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists are regarded as possessing class elements of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists if they have lived as landlords, rich peasants or capitalists for 5 full years. If their living conditions are not the same as those of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, but the same as those of workers, peasants and poor people, or if their living conditions have been the same as those of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists for less than 5 years, their original class elements remain unchanged.

(3) Married After the Revolution: The original class elements of women from families of workers, peasants or poor people married into the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists remain unchanged. Women from families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists married into the families of workers, peasants and poor people must engage in labor and must have depended on labor as their main source of living for 5 full years before they can be recognized as workers, peasants or poor people. If they are not engaged in labor, or have not engaged in labor for 5 years, their class elements remain unchanged.

(4) The class elements of the children are the same as those of their father, regardless of the time of marriage of their parents.

(5) Before the revolution, workers, peasants and poor people often sold their sons and daughters to families of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists. Also before the revolution, the son of a worker, peasant or poor person might have married the daughter of a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist and lived with his wife's family. It is also possible that

the son of a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist might have married the daughter of a worker, peasant or poor person and lived with his wife's family. The class elements of sold sons and daughters and those sons-in-law who live with their wives' families are determined according to regulations stated in (1) through (4).

(6) Before the revolution, sons of one class were often adopted by families of another class. Regardless of the age of the boy at the time of adoption, if the son of a worker, peasant or poor man adopted by a landlord, rich peasant or capitalist has lived with and shared the same living conditions of his foster parents for more than 5 years from the age of 10, then his class element is the same as that of his foster parents. If his living conditions are not the same as those of his foster parents but are the same as those of his natural parents, then his original class elements remain unchanged. Sons of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists adopted by workers, peasants or poor people who share the living conditions of their foster parents for 3 full years have the same class elements as those of their foster parents. If their living conditions are not the same as those of their foster parents but are the same as those of their natural parents, then their original class elements remain unchanged.

(Explanation) The so-called labor here includes household labor.

(When Paragraph 3 of this article concerning the unchanged class elements of women from the family of workers, peasants and poor people married into the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists after the revolution is applied now, those who are married into the families of landlords and rich peasants after the revolution should be interpreted as after the land reform, and those who are married into the families of capitalists should be treated according to Paragraph 2 of this article.--CCP Central Committee Note)

(14) Landlords and Rich Peasants Who Are Also Engaged in Industrial and Commercial Enterprises

(1) The land, houses and property on the land of landlords who are also engaged in industrial and commercial enterprises are to be confiscated. Their industrial and commercial enterprises and their stores, residences and property related to such enterprises are not to be confiscated.

(2) The land, houses and property on the land of rich peasants who are also engaged in industrial or commercial enterprises should be treated as those belonging to rich peasants. Their industrial or commercial enterprises and their stores, residences and property related to such enterprises are to be treated in the same way as those belonging to industrial and commercial entrepreneurs.

(15) Management of Public Land and Property

Management of public land and property is a kind of exploitation. However, management of landlords, rich peasants and capitalists is different from management by workers, peasants and poor people.

(Explanation) Management of public property means management of the land and property of shrines, temples, societies and associations. Management of such land and property is undoubtedly a kind of exploitation. Especially when landlords and rich peasants amass a large amount of land and property in the name of shrines, temples, societies and associations, this practice becomes one of the main forms of feudalist exploitation. All kinds of exclusive control by a few people over public land and property which yields a large amount of income from feudalist exploitation of course constitutes one of the class elements of the managers. But there are some small shrines, temples, societies or associations which are managed by workers, peasants and poor people in rotation. The amount of exploitation is very small. Management of such small public land and property, therefore, cannot be regarded as constituting a class element of the managers. Some people think that anybody who has ever managed public land and property is a landlord, rich peasant or a capitalist. This is wrong.

(16) Livelihood of Some Workers

Workers in the organizations of the democratic regime and other revolutionary organizations and the family members of these workers who have not received any distributed land and have special difficulties in their livelihood should be given some land or helped by some other method to overcome their difficulties.

(Explanation) The central government has already issued instructions as to the method of resolving the livelihood problems of government workers who have already received land (that is, mobilizing the masses to work the land of these government workers). This article refers only to those government workers who have not received land. The so-called family members include parents, wife, and children below the age of 16.

(17) Land for Public Interest

During land distribution in the newly liberated area and redistribution of land found in the process of land investigation in the old liberated areas, certain land should be reserved so that the income from such land may be used for bridge repairs, ferries, tea kiosks and other purposes.

(Explanation) The wages for bridge or ferry repairers, the wage of boatmen, the cost of tea, and the cost of other public welfare are determined by the local chu or hsiang government according to need. A portion of the land should be set aside, and the masses should be mobilized to cultivate such land.

(18) The Problem of Debts

(1) All debts of workers, peasants and poor people, principle and interest, arising from borrowing of goods or money from landlords and rich peasants before the revolution are abolished, except debts incurred for goods bought from stores on credit. Monies or goods deposited by workers, peasants and poor people with landlords and rich peasants should be returned.

(2) Those who depend upon exploitation through high interest on loans as the main source of living for the entire family and whose living conditions are better than those of ordinary middle peasants are called usurpers. Usurpers should be treated as landlords.

(3) All debts incurred after the revolution without violating the "Temporary Loan Regulations" promulgated by the Chinese Democratic Central Government should be paid.

(Explanation) (1) Most of the loans granted in the past and in the Kuomintang-ruled areas, no matter whether they are cities or rural areas, are a form of high-interest exploitation. However, those who do not depend on high-interest money lending as their main source of income for the whole family cannot be called usurpers and should be treated according to their class elements. It is not right to regard all those who exploit others through high-interest loans as "usurpers."

(2) The class elements of those who lend money and at the same time borrow money should be determined by the balance of their indebtedness and the amount of their credit due from borrowers, the nature and amount of the credit balance, and the person's relationship with others in respect to exploitation.

(3) The reason that debts arising from purchases of goods on credit must be paid is to protect the merchants from suffering losses. Furthermore, such credits on goods given by merchants generally do not fall under the category of high-interest loans.

(4) Among the workers, peasants and poor people, debts should be settled between the debtors and creditors themselves. If the two parties cannot reach a settlement, decisions will be made by the local democratic government.

° "The Present Situation and Our Current Tasks," Liberation Press, 9 June 1946

* "The Masses," (Hong Kong) Vol 2, No 23, 17 June 1948

* "Collection of Important Chinese Communist Party Documents Since 1947," New Democracy Press, Hong Kong, February 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

CONGRATULATORY CABLE FROM CHAIRMAN MAO AND COMMANDER IN CHIEF CHU TO THE
KOREAN GOVERNMENT ON ITS INAUGURATION

19 September 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 19 Sep--Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao Tse-tung and PLA Commander in Chief Chu Te cabled congratulations on the convening of the Supreme People's Assembly and the founding of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. The text is as follows:

Chairman Kim Tu-pong of the Presidium of the Supreme People's Assembly of Korea and Premier Kim Il-song of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea:

The convening of a united, independent, and democratic Korean Supreme People's Assembly and the founding of the Korean Democratic People's Republic are great victories in the liberation cause of the Korean people and a great encouragement to the national liberation causes of East Asia. On behalf of the Chinese people we hereby extend our congratulations.

Mao Tse-tung, Chu Te

19 September

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 23 September 1948.

6080

CSO: 4005

CERTAIN PERSON IN AUTHORITY IN NORTH SHENSI DISCUSSES LIST OF WAR CRIMINALS

25 December 1948

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, North Shensi, 25 Dec--People in various fields here have discussed the list of war criminals. A certain person in authority stated:

A complete list of war criminals can be compiled only after the names have been proposed by the various fields in the nation according to actual conditions. However, in regard to such war criminals who are well-known throughout the country, such as Chiang Kai-shek, Li Tsung-jen, Ch'en Ch'eng, Pai Ch'ung-hsi, Ho Ying-ch'in, Ku Chu-t'ung, Ch'en Kuo-fu, Ch'en Li-fu, K'ung Hsiang-hsi, Sung Tzu-wen, Chang Ch'un, Weng Wen-hao, Sun K'o, Wu T'ieh-ch'eng, Wang Yun-wu, Tai Ch'u'an-hsien, Wu Ting-ch'ang, Hsiung Shih-hui, Chang Li-sheng, Chu Chia-hua, Wang Shih-chieh, Ku Wei-chun, Sung Mei-ling, Wu Kuo-chen, Liu Chih, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Hsueh Yueh, Wei Li-huang, Yu Han-mou, Hu Tsung-nan, Fu Tso-i, Yen Hsi-shan, Chou Chih-jou, Wang Shu-ming, Kuei Yung-ch'ing, Tu Yu-ming, T'ang En-po, Sun Li-jen, Ma Hung-k'uei, Ma Pu-fang, T'ao Hsi-sheng, Tseng Ch'i, and Chang Chun-li, their crimes are heinous and they have been condemned by all our countrymen. Naturally there are many more who should be included in the list of first-class war criminals, but they must be proposed, according to the conditions, by the people of the various areas who have personally experienced the calamities of war. The PLA will have priority in proposing the names. Commander Huang Wei of the Kuomintang 12th Army Group, for instance, is definitely a war criminal for using poison gas in battle. All democratic parties and factions and all people's organizations throughout the country have the right to discuss and propose lists of war criminals.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 27 December 1948

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 1, Vol 3, 30 December 1948

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party," Vol 5

JOINT STATEMENT OF CHINA'S DEMOCRATIC PARTIES AGAINST THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY

3 April 1949

[Text] The governments of America, Canada, England, France, Norway, Denmark, Iceland, Holland, Belgium, Luxembourg, Portugal and Italy will sign the North Atlantic Treaty on 4 April. It is a treaty which endangers the peace and security of mankind and is for the purpose of provoking a new aggressive world war. As world peace is indivisible, as the nations and peoples of the East and West must share peace and danger, and as the governments of America and England actually are vigorously attempting to introduce the model of the North Atlantic Treaty in the Pacific, the democratic parties and factions of China hereby express their firm opposition to the North Atlantic Treaty and all other similar aggressive schemes.

The democratic parties and factions of China censure the American imperialist government and its dependencies for breaching the Potsdam and other agreements safeguarding international peace, for betraying the United Nations, and for their policy of aggression, which is contrary to the desires of the people of all nations for peace. They wish to express their enthusiastic sympathy with and sincere support for the struggles against the dangers of a new war waged by the world forces of peace and democracy headed by the Soviet Union. They firmly believe that such struggles will make the war-mongering imperialists and their running dogs in the various nations encounter the censure of the peaceful people of the whole world and become isolated, and will bankrupt the conspiracy for a new aggressive world war. We feel that the world belongs to the people, not to the imperialists and their running dogs. Their arrogance and violence are merely temporary, and all their conspiracies and plots, and they themselves, will be exposed by the people and discarded.

On behalf of the great Chinese people, China's democratic parties and factions solemnly declare: If the aggressive imperialist group has the audacity to provoke a reactionary war endangering the people of the whole world, then we will rally the people of the entire nation, follow Dr Sun Yat-sen's immortal testament, adopt the necessary means, join hands and advance

together with China's ally, the Soviet Union, and the forces of peace and democracy of all nations, wage a firm struggle against the instigators of aggressive war, defeat the aggressors, overthrow the entire imperialist system, and realize the liberation of all mankind and permanent peace. We feel that, if war breaks out, the aggressive imperialist nations will fail and the anti-imperialist victimized nations will win. Such a prospect has been clearly indicated to the people of the world by the experience of World War II.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese Communist Party Central Committee

Li Chi-shen, chairman of the Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

Shen Chun-ju, Chang Po-chun, responsible Standing Committee members of the China Democratic League

Huang Yen-p'ei, executive director of the Democratic National Construction Association

Ma Hsu-lun, executive director of the China Association for Promoting Democracy

T'an P'ing-shan, Standing Committee member of the Chinese Kuomintang Federation of Comrades of the Three Principles of Democracy

P'eng Tse-min, chairman of the Central Supervisory Committee, China Peasant and Workers Democratic Party

Li Chang-ta, member of the Central Executive Committee, China People's National Salvation Association

Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, acting chairman of the China Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy

Ch'en Ch'i-yu, chairman of the China Chih-kung Society

3 April 1949

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 4 April 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 15, Vol 3, 7 April 1949

6080
CSO: 4005

DESIGNS OF THE FLAG AND INSIGNIA OF THE PLA

Order of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission

15 June 1949

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peiping, 15 Jun--The Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission today issued an order on the designs of the military flag and insignia of the PLA. The full text of the order is as follows:

Order of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission.

The designs of the military flag and insignia of the Chinese People's Liberation Army are announced as follows:

I. Military Flag

The military flag of the PLA has a red background and is decorated with a gold pentacle and the figures "8-1," indicating that the PLA, since its birth in the Nan-ch'ang uprising on 1 August 1927, and after a long struggle, is illuminating the entire nation with its brilliant starlight.

A. Specifications

1. The flag is red, rectangular in shape, in a ratio of 5 horizontal to 4 vertical. The sheath for the flagpole is white, and its width is 1/16 of the horizontal measurement of the flag. The flagpole is alternating red and yellow whirling ripples, with a yellow spearhead on top.
2. From the center of the flag, a perpendicular center line from top to bottom and a horizontal center line from left to right are drawn, dividing the flag into 4 equal rectangles.
3. Both the pentacle and the figures "8-1" are gold in color, located in the upper rectangle next to the pole.

4. Divide the vertical length of said rectangle into 16 equal divisions and its horizontal length into 20 equal divisions. Locate the center at 8 to 8 vertical and 6 to 14 horizontal. Use the length of 4 equal divisions as the radius and draw a circle. Divide its circumference into 5 equal parts and connect the division points by straight lines to form a pentacle. Place the apex of the pentacle at the upper part of the perpendicular line.

5. Use Chinese characters for the figures "8-1," each stroke in the form of equilateral slips. With the flag pole on the left, place the two figures in the lower right corner below the pentacle, proceeding from left to right. With the flag pole on the right, place the two figures in the lower left corner below the pentacle, proceeding from right to left.

6. For the figure "8," the length of each stroke is 3 equal divisions and the width 1 equal division. The figure is contained in a small rectangle. The top line of the small rectangle is 7 equal divisions above the horizontal center line, and its bottom line is 4 equal divisions above the horizontal center line; its left side (right side if the pole is on the right) is on the perpendicular line downward from the tip of the right upper segment (or left upper segment) of the pentacle, and its right side (or left side) is 4.5 equal divisions from the perpendicular center line. The outside tips of the two strokes of the figure "8" must be closely adjacent to the corresponding sides of the small rectangle, and the two inside tips are about 1/2 equal division away. For the figure "1," the length is 4 equal divisions and the width 1 equal division. The bottom of the figure is 5 equal divisions above the horizontal center line, and its right tip is on the perpendicular center line.

B. Dimensions of the Flag of the Various Levels

	<u>Width (cms)</u>	<u>Length (cms)</u>
1. General Headquarters of the PLA	170	136
2. Field forces (same for Class 1 military districts) and army groups (same for class 2 military districts)	165	132
3. Army (same for class 3 military districts)	160	128
4. Division (same for military sub-district)	155	124
5. Regiment (same for county command unit or armed unit)	150	120

II. Military Insignia

A. When used on hats, the specifications and dimensions of the insignia are as follows:

1. The radius of the circle around the red pentacle is 15 mm (about 2 mm in relief). The angle of each segment of the pentacle is 36°, inlaid with 1.5-mm wide gold edging.

2. The figures "8-1" are in Chinese characters of the style of the Sung Dynasty, placed appropriately inside the red pentacle.

B. When used on sleeves, awards, documents, vehicles, ships, airplanes, and buildings, the insignia is enlarged or reduced in size according to the above proportions.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission

Chu Te, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chou En-lai, P'eng Te-huai, vice chairmen

15 June 1949

° "Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Commission Issues Order on the Designs of the Military Flag and Insignia of the PLA," JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 15 June 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 26, Vol 3, 23 June 1949

6080

CSO: 4005

PROCLAMATION OF THE PARTIES AND BODIES OF THE PREPARATORY COMMITTEE OF THE
NEW POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY
OF THE OUTBREAK OF THE WAR OF RESISTANCE ON 7 JULY

7 July 1949

[Text] In commemoration of the 12th anniversary of the "7 July" resistance war, the parties, factions and organizations of the preparatory committee for the new Political Consultative Conference issued the following declaration:

Ever since our nation began its great patriotic war against the Japanese aggressors on 7 July 1937, "7 July" this year is the most joyous and encouraging commemoration. Due to the victory of the people's liberation war and the formation of the preparatory committee for the new Political Consultative Conference, the many demands of the people which were not fulfilled during the resistance war on a national scale have begun to be fulfilled.

The people's liberation war of the past 3 years was actually a continuation of the 8-year resistance war begun 12 years ago. The people of our entire country were the first to fight the aggressive fascist forces on the eastern front and, after 8 years of struggle and tremendous sacrifices, gained final victory alongside our allies. Nevertheless, it is well known throughout the world that, after the end of the war, the Chinese people, having suffered great wounds and intense pain, not only did not attain the goal of the war but encountered new and grave calamities. We sought national independence in the resistance war, but the American and Kuomintang governments forced us to become American colonial slaves. We sought democratic reform in the resistance war, but the American and Kuomintang governments forced us to accept Chiang Kai-shek's fascist terror. We sought domestic peace after the conclusion of the resistance war, in order to resume and develop national construction, but the American Government fully supported the Kuomintang government in tearing up the cease-fire agreement and the resolutions of the Political Consultative Conference and in launching a large-scale antipeople civil war, and the people's loss of life and property was greater than that during the period of the Japanese

aggression. That the American imperialists and Kuomintang reactionaries had the audacity to act so perversely was because they thought their strength was greater than that of the people. Yet they made the wrong assessment. The Chinese people, who needed 8 years and the cooperation of the various nations before defeating the Japanese aggressors, have, after 3 years, basically defeated the Kuomintang reactionaries supported by the American Government. Though the remnant forces of the Kuomintang reactionaries are still attempting to make a last struggle, it will not be long before they are all eliminated. The preparatory committee for a new Political Consultative Conference representing the will of the Chinese people has been organized, and a new Political Consultative Conference will soon be convened to create a democratic coalition government and begin the construction of a new China.

While they are building their own new nation, the Chinese people naturally wish to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments which treat us with equality and friendship, because it is compatible with the interests of our state and people. Meanwhile, we naturally wish to oppose aggression and threats in any form, because they are incompatible with the interests of our state and people. While opposing all types of aggression and threats, we must specially mention the Japan issue. As China is nearest to Japan in distance and closest to it in relationship, and as China was the earliest and largest country to resist it over the longest period of time, China's opinion on the Japan issue must be sought, and the unilateral acts and unauthorized decisions of the American Government must never be permitted. Though China suffered the aggression of Japanese imperialism, the people of China and Japan are willing to coexist peacefully and establish economic and cultural cooperation under the conditions of demilitarization and democratization according to the Potsdam Agreement. Nevertheless, the common desire of the Chinese and Japanese people is being blocked, and American imperialism, which is invading China, is in control of Japan. Instead of implementing the Potsdam Agreement, the Japan policy of the American Government and military command headquarters is designed to overthrow that agreement. Instead of demilitarizing and truly democratizing Japan, they want Japan to become antidemocratic and to continue to militarize. The American Government is unwilling to sign a peace treaty with Japan promptly but plans to postpone it and to occupy Japan indefinitely, so that Japan will not be able to establish peaceful relations with China or any other foreign country and will only serve as America's colony and military base. Obviously, this reactionary policy of the American Government is a direct threat to the Chinese and Japanese people and constitutes severe exploitation of the Japanese people. While we commemorate the 12th anniversary of the outbreak of the great resistance war, China's democratic parties and factions, people's organizations, and democratic forces of all fields must call the attention of the whole world to the following: To finally realize the goal of the resistance war, we unanimously demand the prompt conclusion of a peace treaty with Japan; we unanimously demand that, in the drawing up of a peace treaty with Japan, the procedure prepared by the foreign ministers of the four nations as

provided in the Potsdam Agreement be strictly followed, and that China's democratic coalition government created by its new Political Consultative Conference be permitted to send plenary representatives.

The future of the Chinese people will not be without difficulties, but no difficulty can block our progress; our struggle has never been isolated or unaided. In the international democratic camp we have powerful allies, primarily the Soviet Union and then the new democracies, the people of the colonies and semicolonies struggling for independence, and the people of the whole world struggling for peace and democracy. The strength of the international democratic camp more and more surpasses that of the imperialist camp. Though aiding the Kuomintang reactionaries with all its might, the imperialist camp has no power to block the victory of the Chinese people. Though signing the North Atlantic Treaty in preparation for a new aggressive war, the imperialist camp has no power to block the victory of the Soviet diplomacy of peace, such as the agreement on the principle of the unification of Germany and the peace treaty with Austria recently reached at the four-power foreign ministers conference. Though vigorously advertising the so-called Marshall Plan, the imperialist camp has no power to block the outbreak of the economic crisis of America and England, and the time for this outbreak is imminent. The direction of world development is determined by the strength of the anti-imperialist camp of peace and democracy, not by imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations. Imperialism and the reactionaries of the nations have now lost their initiative; they are in a passive position, walking toward their graves. Unite, all people of China! Unite, people of the whole world! Struggle against the imperialist aggressors and for world peace and democracy!

Mao Tse-tung, Chinese Communist Party

Li Chi-shen, Chang Po-chun, Chinese Kuomintang Revolutionary Committee

Shen Chun-ju, China Democratic League

Huang Yen-p'ei, China Democratic National Construction Association

Kuo Mo-jo, democratic figure without party or factional affiliations

Ma Hsu-lun, China Association for Promoting Democracy

P'eng Tse-min, China Peasants and Workers Democratic Party

Shih Liang, China People's National Salvation Association

T'an P'ing-shan, Federation of Comrades of the Three Principles of Democracy

Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Chinese Kuomintang Association for Promoting Democracy

Ch'en Ch'i-yu, China Chih-kung Society

Chu Te, PLA

Li Li-san, All-China Federation of Trade Unions

Liu Yu-hou, Liberated Area Peasants Organization

Ch'en Shu-t'ung, democratic figure in the field of industry

Shen Yen-p'ing, democratic figure in the field of culture

Chang Hsi-jo, democratic professor

Liao Ch'eng-chih, All-China Federation of Democratic Youth

Ts'ai Ch'ang, All-China Democratic Women's Federation

Hsieh Pang-ting, All-China Students Federation

Chou Chien-jen, Federation of Shanghai People's Organizations

Wu Lan-fu, domestic minority

Ch'en Chia-keng, democratic Overseas Chinese

7 July 1949

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 7 July 1949

* CH'UN-CHUNG (Hong Kong), No 26, Vol 3, 14 July 1949

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CHAIRMAN MAO APPEALS FOR UNITY IN BUILDING A PEOPLE'S CAPITAL

13 August 1949

[Text] HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peiping, 13 Aug--At the conference of delegates of all fields in Peiping this afternoon, Chinese Communist Party Chairman Mao Tse-tung made a short and concise speech. He congratulated the conference for its success and expressed hope that all cities in the nation will promptly hold similar conferences, reinforce the links between the government and the people, aid the government in all items of construction work, overcome the difficulties, and thereby prepare the conditions for a popularly elected people's congress.

Chairman Mao said:

As soon as the conditions are ripe, the people's delegates conference, in its present form, will perform the functions of the people's congress, serve as the city's supreme organ of power, and elect a city government. Judging from conditions in Peiping, this probably can be done in a few months. The advantages are many, and I hope the delegates will intensify the preparations.

Chairman Mao appealed to all the people of Peiping, except the Kuomintang reactionary remnants and the concealed secret service elements, to unite and struggle to overcome the difficulties and build a people's capital.

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 14 August 1949

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CHAIRMAN MAO'S OPENING SPEECH AT THE FIRST SESSION OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S POLITICAL CONSULTATIVE CONFERENCE

21 September 1949

[Text] The following is the opening speech of Chinese Communist Party Central Committee Chairman Mao Tse-tung at the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference:

Delegates, the Political Consultative Conference eagerly hoped for by the people of the entire country is now in session. Our conference is attended by over 600 delegates, representing all the democratic parties and factions, the people's organizations, the PLA, the areas, the minorities, and the Overseas Chinese. It indicates that ours is a conference of the great unity of the people of the entire nation.

The success of this great unity of the people is a result of our victory over the Kuomintang reactionary government aided by American imperialism. In a little over 3 years the courageous and outstanding PLA defeated the several million troops of the Kuomintang reactionary government aided by America and shifted to counterattack and offensive. Currently, several million troops of the PLA field forces have reached the vicinities of Taiwan, Kwangtung, Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechwan and Sinkiang, and the majority of the Chinese people have gained liberation. In a period of 3-odd years the people of the entire country united, aided the PLA, resisted the enemies, and won a fundamental victory. The people's Political Consultative Conference today is convened on this foundation.

The reason we have convened the Political Consultative Conference is that 3 years ago we held a similar conference with Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang. The conference at that time was sabotaged by Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices, but it left an indelible impression on the people. It proved that nothing favorable to the people could be accomplished with imperialist running dog Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices, that even if we barely managed to do the work it would be of no benefit, and that the moment they had the opportunity they would tear up all the resolutions and oppose the people with a cruel civil war. The only product of that conference was its profound lesson to the people, enabling them to

understand that there was no room for compromise with imperialist running dog Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang and its accomplices; either we overthrew such enemies or were killed and oppressed by them, either one or the other, without any other way. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, the Chinese people, in a period of 3-odd years, rapidly became conscious, organized themselves, formed a united front on a national scale to resist imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism and its representative, the reactionary Kuomintang government, aided the people's liberation war, basically smashed the reactionary Kuomintang government, overthrew imperialist control in China, and restored the Political Consultative Conference.

The current Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is convened on a completely new foundation. It represents the people of the entire country and has their confidence and support. Therefore, it declares that it will perform the functions of the National People's Congress. It will formulate its own organization law, the organization law of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, and the common program of the Political Consultative Conference, elect the Political Consultative Conference National Committee and the Central People's Government Committee, decide on the national flag and national emblem of the People's Republic of China, determine the location of the capital, and adopt the calendar followed by the majority of the nations of the world.

Delegates: We have a common feeling that our work will be recorded in the history of mankind. It will show that the Chinese people, constituting one-quarter of mankind, have stood up. The Chinese people have always been a great, courageous, and industrious people, but they have dropped behind in modern times. This was completely the result of the oppression and exploitation of foreign imperialism and domestic reaction. In the past century or more our forebears never stopped their indomitable struggles against internal and external oppressors. Such struggles included the 1911 revolution led by China's great revolutionary pioneer, Dr Sun Yat-sen. Our forebears instructed us to carry out their wishes, and we have now done so. We rallied together, smashed the internal and external oppressors by means of the people's liberation war and the great people's revolution, and declared the founding of the People's Republic of China. Our nation will, from now on, become a member of the big family of all peace-loving and freedom-loving nations of the world, working with a courageous and industrious attitude and creating our own civilization and happiness, while also promoting the peace and freedom of the world. Our nation will never again be humiliated. We have stood up. Our revolution has won the sympathy and applause of the broad masses throughout the world; our friends are found everywhere.

Our revolutionary work has not ended. The people's liberation war and the people's revolutionary movement are still progressing, and we must continue our efforts. The imperialists and domestic reactionaries will never accept their failure but will make a last desperate struggle. Even after the whole country is settled, they will sabotage and disrupt in all kinds of ways; they will attempt a restoration in China every day and every hour. This is inevitable and without doubt. We must not relax our vigilance.

Our state system of the people's democratic dictatorship is an effective weapon for safeguarding the victorious results of the people's revolution and resisting the restoration conspiracies of internal and external enemies. We must tightly grasp this weapon. Internationally, we must ally with all peace-loving and freedom-loving nations and peoples, primarily the Soviet Union and the new democracies, so that our struggles to safeguard the victorious results of the people's revolution and resist the restoration conspiracies of internal and external enemies will not be conducted in isolation. As long as we adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends, we will always be successful.

The people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends will bring rapid success to our construction work. Economic construction on a national scale confronts us. Our most favorable conditions are the 475 million people and 9.597 million square kms of land. We will have difficulties ahead of us, and many, but we believe that all difficulties will be surmounted by the courageous struggles of the people of the whole country. The Chinese people have extremely abundant experiences in overcoming difficulties. If our forebears and we ourselves could survive extremely arduous times over a long period and overcome powerful internal and external reactionaries, why can't we build a prosperous and flourishing nation after our victory? As long as we preserve our work style of arduous struggle, as long as we unit, and as long as we adhere to the people's democratic dictatorship and unity with our international friends, we will rapidly win victories on the economic front.

With the arrival of the high tide of economic construction, a high tide of cultural construction will be inevitable. The time when the Chinese were considered uncivilized has passed, and we will emerge in the world as a highly civilized nation.

Our national defense will become consolidated, and no imperialist will be permitted to invade our land. On the foundation of the courageous and tested PLA, our people's armed forces must be preserved and developed. We will have not only a powerful army but also a powerful air force and a powerful navy.

Let the internal and external reactionaries tremble in fear before us; let them say that we are no good at this or at that; the Chinese people, by their indomitable effort, will steadily achieve their goal.

Long live the people's heroes sacrificed in the people's liberation war and the people's revolution!

Celebrate the victories of the people's liberation and the people's revolution!

Celebrate the founding of the People's Republic of China!

Celebrate the success of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference!

° JEN-MIN JIH-PAO, 22 September 1949

* HSIN-HUA YUEH-PAO, 15 October 1949

* "Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Communist Party,"
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PROCLAMATION OF THE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC
OF CHINA

1 October 1949

[Text] Ever since Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary Kuomintang government betrayed the nation, colluded with imperialism, and launched a counter-revolutionary war, the people of the whole nation found themselves in a situation of deep water and intense heat. To defend the territorial sovereignty of the mother country, to protect the life and property of the people, and to relieve the people of their misery and strive for their rights, our PLA, with the aid of the people of the entire country, disregarded personal safety and fought courageously, thus wiping out the reactionary troops and overthrowing the reactionary control of the National Government. Currently, a basic victory has been won in the people's liberation war, and the majority of the people in the nation have gained liberation. On this foundation, the plenum of the first session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, organized by all the democratic parties and factions, the people's organizations, the PLA, the areas, the minority nationalities, and representatives of Overseas Chinese and other patriotic elements, has been convened. Representing the will of the people of the entire nation, it has formulated the organization law for the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, elected Mao Tse-tung as chairman of the Central People's Government, Chu Te, Liu Shao-ch'i, Sung Ch'ing-ling, Li Chi-shen, Chang Lan, and Kao Kang as vice chairmen, and Ch'en I, Ho Lung, Li Li-san, Lin Po-ch'u, Yeh Chien-ying, Ho Hsiang-ning, Lin Piao, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Po-ch'eng, Wu Yu-chang, Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien, P'eng Chen, Po I-po, Nieh Jung-chen, Chou En-lai, Tung Pi-wu, Sai Fu-ting, Jao Sou-shih, Ch'en Chia-keng, Lo Jung-huan, Teng Tzu-hui, Wu Lan-fu, Hsu T'e-li, Ts'ai Ch'ang, Liu Ko-p'ing, Ma Yin-ch'u, Ch'en Yun, K'ang Sheng, Lin Feng, Ma Hsu-lun, Kuo Mo-jo, Chang Yun-i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, Kao Ch'ung-min, Shen Chun-ju, Shen Yen-ping, Ch'en Shu-t'ung, Szu-t'u Mei-t'ang, Li Hsi-chiu, Huang Yen-p'ei, Ts'ai T'ing-k'ai, Hsi Chung-hsun, P'eng Tse-min, Chang Chih-chung, Fu Tso-i, Li Chu-ch'en, Li Chang-ta, Chang Po-chun, Ch'eng Ch'ien, Chang Hsi-jo, Ch'en Ming-shu, T'an P'ing-shan, Chang Nan-hsien,

Liu Ya-tzu, Chang Tung-sun, and Lung Yun as committee members to form the Central People's Government Committee, declared the founding of the People's Republic of China, and decided on Peking as the national capital. The members of the Central People's Government Committee took office in the capital today. They unanimously resolved to declare the founding of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, accept the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference as the policy of the government, mutually elect Lin Po-ch'u as secretary general of the committee, appoint Chou En-lai as premier of the Political Council and minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mao Tse-tung as chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Commission, Chu Te as commander in chief of the People's Liberation Army, Shen Chun-ju as president of the Supreme People's Court, and Lo Jung-huan as chief procurator of the Supreme People's Procuratorate, and charge them to promptly organize the various government organs and promote all items of government work. The committee also resolved to declare to the governments of all nations that this government is the only legitimate government representing the People's Republic of China and the people of the entire country. This government is willing to establish diplomatic relations with all foreign governments which are willing to follow the principles of equality, reciprocity, and mutual respect of territorial sovereignty. It is so proclaimed.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China

(HSIN-HUA NEWS AGENCY, Peking, 1 Oct)

1 October 1949

° -MIN JIH-PAO, 2 October 1949

* HSIN-HUA YUEH-PAO, 15 November 1949

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