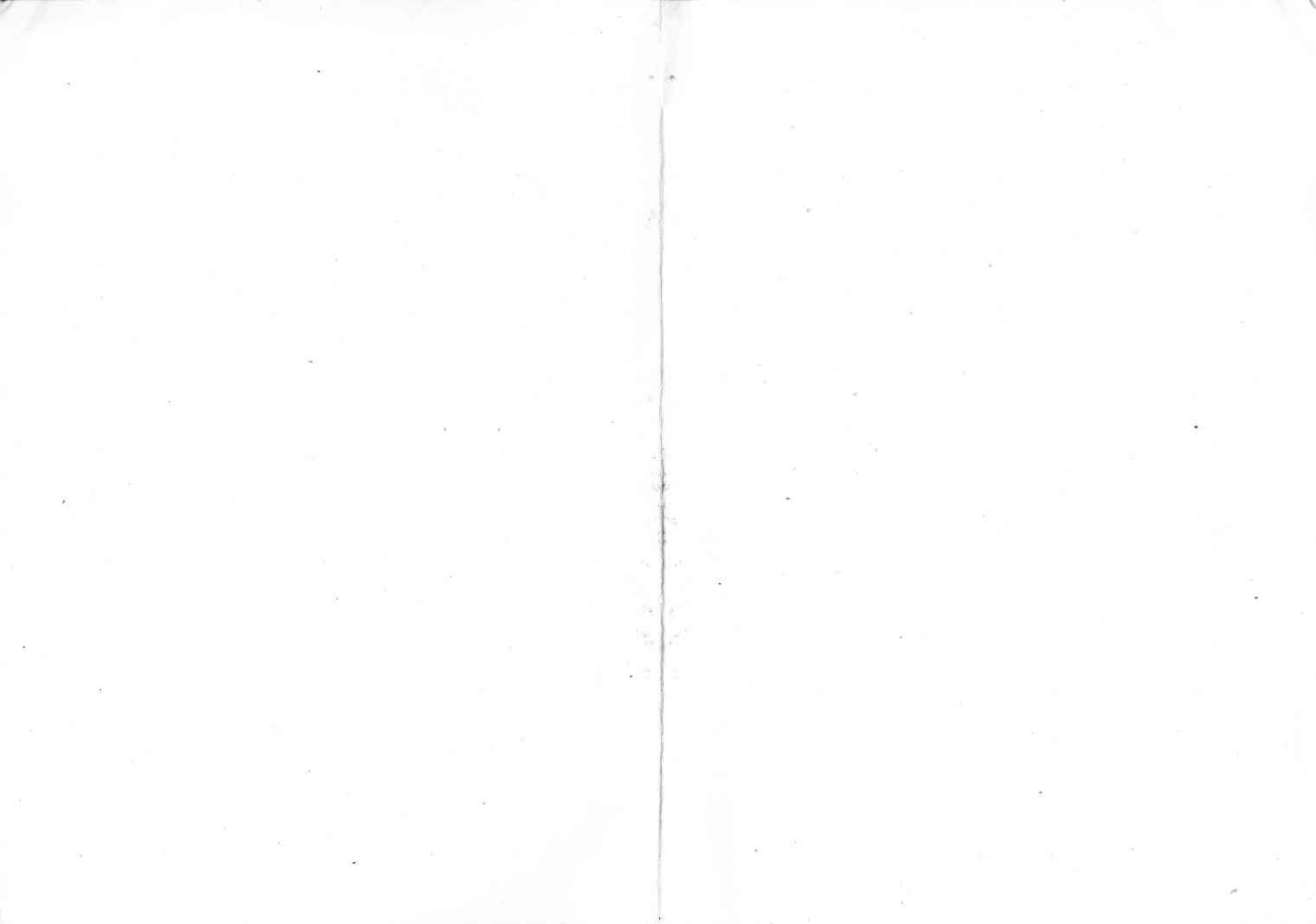


**COMPLETE AND CONSOLIDATE
THE VICTORY**





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**COMPLETE AND CONSOLIDATE
THE VICTORY**

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PREFACE

In response to popular, world-wide demand for information and literature on New China, we have undertaken the publication of a series of collections of important State papers, diplomatic notes, statements by responsible government leaders and editorial articles of leading Chinese newspapers. These documents, it will be noted, are useful for reference purposes, throwing as they do much light on the current state of affairs and future trends in this country. It is hoped that the present series will prove helpful to those who wish to be kept informed and up-to-date on what is happening in People's China.

THE PUBLISHERS.

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COMPLETE AND CONSOLIDATE THE VICTORY

(New Year Editorial of the New China News Agency)

The new year 1950 unfolds before us amidst a chorus of victory. In 1950, the Chinese people will liberate all the territory of China, fundamentally overcome the financial and economic difficulties and turn the country to the path of production and construction. In 1949, the Chinese people won great victories never seen before in the history of China. They will complete and consolidate this victory in 1950.

The year 1949 was a year of great victories scored in the people's liberation war and the declaration of the birth of the People's Republic of China. In 1949, the Chinese people smashed the "peace" offensives of the domestic and foreign reactionaries; they swept away the Kuomintang brigands from the mainland of China; they annihilated 2,600,000 enemy troops, liberated more than 90 per cent of China's population and won a basic victory in the war.

In 1949, the representatives of democratic forces throughout the country held the People's Political Consultative Conference, passed the fundamental law of the

state—the Common Program—and formed the Central People's Government. The government was not only universally supported by all the people in the country but also universally welcomed by the world anti-imperialist camp. The Soviet Union and the People's Democracies quickly established relations of equality and friendship with China.

In 1949, the Chinese people liberated and administered all the major cities of China and the vast countryside. Initial revolutionary order was swiftly established in these places. Counter-revolutionary activities were suppressed and first steps have been taken in mobilising and organising the toiling masses. People's conferences of all circles were held in many cities. In many rural areas, the bandits were cleaned up, the policy of equitable distribution of taxation was carried out and the movements for reducing rents and interest and opposing local despots were launched.

In 1949, the Chinese people overcame the difficulties brought about by enemy destruction, blockade and serious floods and drought. Under the conditions of unfavorable balance of revenue and expenditure, the work of rehabilitating production and restoring communications was carried out to the utmost and considerable achievements were obtained. Under conditions of a raging war, the public finances of 1949 met with great difficulties, which brought about inflation and rising prices. But the people realized that these were difficulties in the course of victorious advance. They endured these difficulties and were determined to help the government overcome them.

The Chinese people know that their victory is of great historic significance. Four hundred and seventy-five million people have been united. Under the leadership of the Communist Party of China and with the assistance of the world anti-imperialist camp, they have overthrown the feudal rule of several thousand years and the imperialist rule of more than a century and are building up a life of freedom and happiness in accordance with their own aspirations. This great onward march will of course not be frightened or set back by any difficulties.

In 1950, the Chinese people will, on the basis of great victories scored in 1949, continue to advance. In order to complete and consolidate victory, the main tasks before the Chinese people in 1950 are:

First, to marshal all forces to conclude the people's liberation war, to wipe out all remnant enemy forces within the country, and liberate Taiwan, Tibet and Hainan Island and so accomplish the great task of unifying all China. In areas where the enemy rule has been overthrown, the bandits, secret agents and covert counter-revolutionaries should be rounded up, and counter-revolutionary activities suppressed. Everywhere revolutionary order should be established and the dictatorship of the people's democracy set up.

It must be pointed out that full preparations are necessary and grave difficulties will have to be overcome in liberating Taiwan, Tibet and other places. The reactionaries at home and abroad will certainly not take their defeat lying down. American imperialism is actively directing and assisting the remnant Kuomintang in Tai-

wan, Hainan Island and other places in preparation for stubborn resistance. They dream of using these islands as bases for counter-attacking the mainland of China. At the same time, the secret service organisations of the Kuomintang and the U.S. have been hatching their counter-revolutionary schemes. They aim to organise once again bandits in areas already liberated and to send secret agents to sneak into the people's democratic camp to engage in disruptive activities. Therefore, in 1950, relentless, bitter and complicated struggles have to be waged both at the front and in the rear, before our victory can be completed and consolidated. We should be highly vigilant against enemy intrigues and we would commit grave political mistakes if we became proud and relaxed our vigilance because of our victories. We are certain that the Chinese people and the People's Liberation Army who are rich in military and political experience and at the same time working hard and intensely will certainly destroy all overt armed enemies and deal severe blows to the disruptive activities of all secret agents.

Second, to carry on production and to practice economy. Whilst the winning of complete victory remains the most important task of 1950, actual warfare in most areas of the country has been ended. Accordingly, all the people, both in the old liberated areas and in the newly-liberated areas, must now be mobilised to exert their utmost efforts in restoring production. In agricultural production, the country's grain output must be increased by 5,000,000 tons and cotton output by 235,000 tons over the 1949 figures. In industrial produc-

tion, especially heavy industry, the first step to rehabilitation must be taken. All these are serious political tasks because the speed of further rehabilitation and construction of the coming years depends on the fulfilment of the production plan for 1950. Hence, production must be the central task of the old liberated areas while in the newly-liberated areas the rehabilitation work must not be such as to hinder production. All famine-stricken areas should aim at self-help by production, that is, by combining famine relief with production so as to tide over the famine period and restore production. As the war is drawing to a close, the financial situation in 1950 will certainly be better than in 1949. But there are still grave difficulties. To overcome them by cooperating with the government remains a serious task for all the people.

The commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army must resolutely carry out Chairman Mao Tse-tung's order to play an active part in production and construction work. Apart from shouldering the tasks of national defense, elimination of bandits, consolidation of order and intensified training, they should engage in production in their spare time in areas where war has been concluded, thus demonstrating the People's Liberation Army to be not only an army of national defense but also an army of production which, together with the people, overcome difficulties and speed up economic restoration and construction. All the personnel in institutions and schools must also make full use of spare time to take part in agricultural and handicraft labour, and partially supply their own daily necessities so as to

reduce the burden on the state and people. Economy must be practiced in all public expenditure. All unnecessary expenditures should be cut out and necessary expenditures decided according to importance and urgency. We should not hope to rehabilitate everything all at once. Work which can be postponed for the time being should be postponed.

As regards the treatment of government and military personnel and teachers, the guiding principle should be to maintain their minimum living standards. No improvement should be requested for the time being. Men of the People's Liberation Army and cadres subject to the government-supply system cannot for the time being be put on a salary or pay basis and our life will remain hard. It is essential, glorious and valuable to continue to lead such a hard life during the difficult years of our revolution. - It was such hard struggles in the past which won the trust of the people and helped ensure military victory. We must uphold this tradition of hard struggle, help our country to accumulate capital, and win speedy success on the economic front. The care of public property and opposition to waste should be widely advocated as part of our general objective of production and economy. Waste in many institutions and enterprises is very serious and it should be overcome by waging anti-waste campaigns on a mass scale. Raising production one stage higher and reducing expenditure are the guarantee for the fulfilment of the 1950 budget of the Central People's Government.

Third, to prepare or begin agrarian reform in newly-liberated areas. The abolition of the feudal ex-

ploitation system is the next serious struggle of the people's democratic revolution following military victories. In the areas where the system of feudal exploitation has not yet been abolished, landlords and old-type rich peasants who make up less than ten per cent of the rural population hold approximately seventy to eighty per cent of the land, cruelly exploiting the peasantry who make up over ninety per cent of the rural population and who toil all the year around without ever having a square meal. Such local despots and hard-fisted gentry, like a mill stone around the necks of the peasants, acted in league with the Kuomintang special service agents in forming bandit gangs, controlling the feudal societies and instigating counter-revolutionary acts. Such feudal land relations and the resultant feudal reactionary rule are the main obstacles to the industrial and agricultural development of China and are also the social basis on which the imperialists and their lackeys, the Kuomintang reactionary clique, are preparing their come-back. The Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference clearly stipulated: "Agrarian reform is the necessary condition for the development of the nation's productive power and for its industrialisation. In all areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, the ownership of the land acquired by the peasants shall be protected. In areas where agrarian reform has not been carried out, the peasant masses must be aroused to establish peasant organisations and to put into effect the policy of 'land to the tiller' through such measures as the elimination of local bandits and despots, the reduction of rent and interest and the distribution of land." Government bodies

at all levels and the entire people must resolutely abide by and thoroughly carry out this basic policy. Agrarian reform must be effected in an organised way, step by step, according to local conditions, the level of consciousness and organisation of the masses and the number and quality of cadres. In 1950, except for the comparatively old liberated areas, efforts must be first directed to overthrowing the reactionary despotic rule and carrying out rent reduction. In the course of this the people's democratic order must be established, the consciousness of the masses raised and the organisation of the peasants strengthened. If these preparations are completed, it may be expected that the work of land distribution in the provinces along the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River can be commenced in the winter of 1950. People's conferences of all circles and peasant congresses should be convened in all places where agrarian reform is being carried out to popularise government policies and decrees and educate the peasants' representatives and masses of peasants to work strictly according to government policies and decrees so as to enable the vigorous, systematic carrying out of agrarian reform on the basis of the consciousness of the masses of peasants. In the newly-liberated areas, every single step of the agrarian reform must go hand in hand with the rehabilitation and development of agricultural production. The carrying out of rent reduction and such like should be done in spare time and so not hinder production. Every effort must be made to preserve to the maximum extent available means of production and livelihood in the course of the fight to weaken and eliminate the feudal ownership

system. Any destruction or waste of such means of production and livelihood by any person must be combated and the peasants persuaded to devote their entire gains towards increasing production and thereby further improving their life.

Fourth, to further strengthen the great revolutionary unity of the people throughout the country and the great revolutionary unity of China, the Soviet Union and all People's Democracies. Within the country, our people's democratic dictatorship has assumed organisational form and a Central People's Government has been founded by the various parties, strata, organisations and nationalities. Local people's governments at various levels have also broadened or are broadening their basis into local democratic coalition governments. Such a great unity of the people throughout the country is an unprecedented phenomenon in the history of the Chinese nation and is a main guarantee for overcoming our difficulties, for winning the ultimate victory and for successfully pushing forward the construction of our country.

We must consolidate and extend this unity. One of the best ways to consolidate and extend this great unity is to convene the people's representative conferences of all circles at provincial, municipal and county levels, in which representatives of the various parties and groups, classes, organisations and nationalities will be drawn into participation in discussion of the affairs of the state and of the given locality. In 1950, all localities are required to convene people's representative conferences at fixed intervals in accordance with the organisational regulations promulgated by the Central People's Government re-

garding people's conferences of all circles at provincial, municipal and county levels, making them a regular system so that the people's democratic dictatorship will be organisationally consolidated and perfected. In order to consolidate unity, it is indispensable that necessary debate and criticism be conducted within the united front. This is beneficial to the progress of the country. But unnecessary debates which do not concern the present basic interests of the people should not be promoted. People throughout the country must work concertedly for the construction of the new China under the leadership of the Central People's Government and in accordance with the Common Program.

In the international sphere, friendly relations have been established with the Soviet Union and all People's Democracies. This is one of the most precious assets of the Chinese people in building up the country. The Chinese people will continue to develop these friendly relations, intensify their efforts to learn from the Soviet Union and extend beneficial relations between the peoples of all countries.

China is making rapid progress. The victory scored in 1949 was much greater and quicker than was expected by the people one year ago. In 1950, conditions will be much better than in 1949. Hence, the achievements must be greater and quicker than we expect at present. When the armed enemy has been swept from the whole Chinese territory, when the political consciousness and organisational state of the people in the country have been universally raised, China will gradually free herself from the serious difficulties brought about by the

long years of war and march step by step towards happiness. Dear fellow-countrymen, let us unite and fulfil the historic mission of liberating the whole of China in 1950, overcome all post-war economic difficulties, consolidate the system of the people's democracy, and fight for the construction of our grand Fatherland.

THE ARMY GOES TO WORK

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman of the People's Revolutionary Military Council, issued on December 5, 1949 a directive, calling on the People's Liberation Army to take part in production and construction work in 1950. The directive reads in part as follows:

The people's war of liberation has already won a basic victory on a nationwide scale. Except for a few fronts where the People's Liberation Army must centre all its attention on pursuing and annihilating the remnant enemy, a great number of the People's Liberation Army men have gone, or will soon go, into training. The Common Program of the People's Political Consultative Conference stipulates that "the armed forces of the People's Republic of China shall, during peace time, systematically take part in agricultural and industrial production to assist in national construction on the condition that this does not hinder the carrying out of military duties." This gives our people's armed forces another glorious and gigantic task besides the great tasks of defending the country, enhancing public security and stepping up training. Because of this, the People's Revolutionary Military Council calls on the army to shoulder

a part of the task of production besides continuing to fight and performing other war services. This will make our People's Liberation Army not only an army of national defence but also an army of production to help the people all over the country to conquer the difficulties left behind by a long war and to speed up the new democratic economic construction.

This production task must be and can be accomplished.

This production task must be and can be accomplished because the protracted war unleashed by domestic and foreign reactionaries against the Chinese people has brought serious calamities to the people and serious destruction to our national economy. Today, we have to carry on the revolutionary war to the very end, to heal the wound caused by the protracted war and to embark on economic, cultural and national defence construction work. But the revenue of the country is insufficient to meet public expenditure. This is an enormous difficulty confronting us today. The way to overcome this difficulty is a step-by-step rehabilitation and development of production by all the people of the country under the leadership of the Central People's Government. The People's Liberation Army must shoulder a part of the task of production, for only thus can the People's Liberation Army overcome this difficulty together with all the people of the country.

This production task can be accomplished because an overwhelming majority of the men in the People's Liberation Army come from the working masses. They

have a high level of political consciousness and are skilled in different kinds of production. They had also once shouldered the task of production during the difficult years of the Anti-Japanese War, and have experience in production as well as a tradition of labouring. The broad masses of the cadres and old fighters in the People's Liberation Army know that, after taking part in production work, the army not only overcame difficulties, cut down government expenditure and improved the livelihood in the army, but also, through their training in labour elevated the political consciousness of the army and improved the relations between the officers and men and between the army and the people. Another reason why this production task can be accomplished is that in the areas where the war has ended, the People's Liberation Army has spare time to take part in production and construction work while carrying on the tasks of national defence, mopping up the bandits and stepping up training. All these are conditions for the People's Liberation Army to accomplish its production task.

The People's Liberation Army should take part in production from the viewpoint of long-term construction, not just temporary construction. Emphasis should be laid on increasing the wealth of society and the state through labour. Therefore, the chiefs of all military areas must instruct the troops under their command to take part in the work of productive construction as of the spring of 1950 in order to improve their own livelihood and to save part of the state expenditure. To facilitate its spread, this productive construction work should be made into a movement, and a long-term plan

and concrete steps for such a production movement should be worked out. The kinds of production should, with the permission of the People's Government, be limited to agriculture, stock raising, fishery, irrigation, handicrafts, various kinds of construction work, industry and transportation. To engage in commercial transactions is to be prohibited. Preparations for production should be made this winter by the leading organ of the army by surveying and studying the conditions of the places in which the army units are stationed.

AGRARIAN REFORM IN SUBURBAN AREAS

(This decree was passed by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on January 13, 1950—Editor)

The agrarian reform eliminating the feudal and semi-feudal system of exploitation has been entirely completed in Northeast China. It has also been completed in the old liberated areas of six provinces—Hopei, Shansi, Chahar, Suiyuan, Pingyuan and Shantung. In certain parts of newly-liberated areas, agrarian reform will soon be completed or is being carried out. In the suburbs of the cities under the influence of prolonged encirclement of these rural areas, the conditions are ripe for agrarian reform. Agrarian reform has already begun in the suburbs of Peking and Tientsin. Hence, it is decided that agrarian reform should be completed before the spring cultivation or after the autumn harvest of this year in the suburbs of Peking, Tientsin and of the cities in the above-mentioned six provinces. But as the suburbs have close economic relations with the cities and commodity economy is more developed there and, moreover, as municipal construction and development of industry have to be taken into account, agrarian reform in the suburbs of the cities should differ in certain respects from

agrarian reform in the countryside. In the light of certain experiences in Peking and Tientsin, the measures for agrarian reform in the suburbs of the cities should be as follows:

1. All land of the landlords shall be confiscated and all land rented out by the old-type rich peasants shall be requisitioned. In the interests of municipal construction and industrial development, this land shall be placed under state ownership and administered by the People's Municipal Governments. They shall be redistributed for the use of peasants who possess little or no land. Landlords, who desire to make a living out of farming after the agrarian reform, should also receive the same amount of land as that distributed to the peasants. Less or no land, depending on the circumstances, will be distributed to landlords who have other means of supporting themselves.

2. Draught animals and the surplus grain of the landlords shall be confiscated for redistribution to the peasants in order to solve difficulties arising from lack of capital for production. The surplus houses and buildings of the landlords in rural areas may be requisitioned for redistribution to the peasants in order to solve the housing shortage of poor peasants. Big buildings, villas in scenic spots, and the like, are exceptions and will be set aside for public use according to the needs of municipal construction. All land and buildings connected with industry and trade shall be left untouched; all other properties of the landlords shall be left untouched. It is forbidden without exception to search for any hidden

wealth of the landlords. The landlords are allowed to invest their hidden wealth in industry and trade.

3. Industry and trade operated concurrently by landlords and old-type rich peasants, including draught animal transport, are not to be confiscated or distributed. Industry and trade operated concurrently by landlords and old-type rich peasants must be strictly differentiated from their feudal land and property and should not be infringed upon when their feudal land and property has been confiscated or requisitioned.

4. Right of ownership and use of the land of all independent farmers, including land which is cultivated with hired labour by old-type rich peasants are to remain unchanged. All those who rent out small pieces of land owing to lack of labour power or by reason of their having been engaged in other occupations are not to be regarded as landlords or old-type rich peasants. Their land is not to be classed among that to be confiscated and they are allowed to continue to rent out their land. Rentals are to be fixed by agreement between land-owner and tenant.

5. All farms, vegetable gardens, orchards and experimental farms using machinery or modern equipment, should continue to be operated by those persons who have been operating them regardless of changes in the ownership of the land itself.

6. All land used for financing schools, land belonging to clans and land devoted to ancestral shrines, temples, churches and public organisations should come under state ownership and should be properly redis-

tributed. Appropriate measures should, however, be adopted in the case of schools, orphanages and hospitals relying on the income from such land. Monks and nuns desirous of engaging in agricultural production should be given a portion of land. In the case of Mohammedan mosques, lama temples and churches, dealing with their land should be separated from the question of religious beliefs and this should be thoroughly explained to the various religious followers.

7. Graveyards and trees on the graveyards should be protected and left untouched in the course of confiscating or requisitioning the land of the landlords or old-type rich peasants.

8. Confiscated or requisitioned land, together with public land belonging to the people's government, should come under unified distribution with the administrative village as a unit and be distributed first of all to landless peasants or those with only a little land in the village. A certain amount of land may, in accordance with the circumstances, also be distributed to the unemployed poor workers or poor people who wish to engage in farming.

9. All those who till state-owned land in the suburbs need not pay rent but only agricultural taxes according to regulations laid down by the authorities.

10. Concrete records and evidence should be collected where heinous crimes have been committed by despotic elements who are bitterly hated by the masses and whose trial and punishment are demanded by the people. Charges should be filed against them with the

People's Court, which shall pass sentence on them according to law. Indiscriminate maltreatment and penalisation are forbidden.

11. Peasant representatives' meetings, peasants' meetings or such committees as elected by them under the leadership of the municipal and district people's government shall be the executive organs for carrying out agrarian reform. The question as to whether a person falls into the category of landlord or rich peasant should be judged by the village peasants' meeting which will invite the persons concerned to attend the meeting. Such judgment is subject to ratification by the chu (district) people's government.

12. All arable wasteland should come under unified distribution by the people's government, which will distribute it among peasants with little or no land for use on the condition that such cultivation does not obstruct city development, or damage famous historical scenic places. All tillers of waste land will be exempt from agricultural taxes for from one to three years.

13. These provisions are applicable only to agricultural land in the suburbs of cities. Agricultural land in the outskirts of county seats and land surrounding towns will be dealt with according to the existing provisions relating to agrarian reform in newly-liberated areas.

AGRARIAN REFORM AND GRAIN TAX IN NEWLY-LIBERATED AREAS

(This decree concerning agrarian reform and collection of grain tax in kind was made public on February 28, 1950, by the Government Administration Council—Editor)

Part One

1 Agrarian reform in the form of redistribution of land will not be carried out in the newly-liberated areas in East China, Central China, South China, Northwest China, and Southwest China prior to the autumn harvest of 1950, because the preparatory work and the consciousness and organisation of the masses have not reached an appropriate level.

After the autumn harvest of 1950 in the nine provinces of Kiangsu, Chekiang, Anhwei, Fukien, Kiangsi, Hupeh, Hunan, Kwangtung, Shensi and in the Chinese-populated areas of the three provinces of Kansu, Ninghsia and Chinghai, agrarian reform in the form of redistribution of land should be carried out upon the decision of the provincial People's Governments concerned if the preparatory work is adequate, and if the consciousness and organisation of the masses have reached an appropriate level.

In the above-mentioned provinces, if there are still places which are inadequately prepared or the consciousness and organisation of the masses are not adequate or there is banditry, the provincial governments may decide that agrarian reform in the form of land redistribution should not be carried out after the autumn harvest of 1950 but postponed until the autumn harvest of 1951.

2 In the six provinces of Kwangsi, Yunnan, Kweichow, Szechuan, Sikang, and Suiyuan it is decided that agrarian reform in the form of land redistribution should not be carried out prior to the autumn harvest of 1951. Following this, the provincial people's governments concerned will decide upon land redistribution.

3 Agrarian reform in the form of land redistribution should not be carried out prior to the autumn harvest of 1951 in Sinkiang and in other areas where national minorities are concentrated or where Chinese and other national minorities live together.

Whether land redistribution should be carried out in the above mentioned areas after the autumn harvest of 1951 is to be decided later on.

Part Two

4 Rent reduction should be carried out in all newly-liberated areas prior to the redistribution of land. Decrees and regulations on rent reduction will be promulgated by the provincial People's Governments. Prior to the redistribution of land it will be considered lawful for the landlord to collect rent from peasants after the introduction of rent reduction. Peasants should pay rent to landlords, who shall still retain possession of

the land. But the landlord shall not be permitted to split up his land by selling, mortgaging, or giving to others as gifts. All lands split up by landlords by sale or other of the above-mentioned forms after liberation should be proclaimed null and void. But the buying and selling of land between peasants is not forbidden, because all land of middle peasants, poor peasants and farm labourers belongs to them at present and in the future and will not be confiscated or redistributed.

5 No land should be laid waste. The People's Governments of the various regions should protect the right of all tillers of land to reap whatever they have sown. If anyone allows his land to be laid waste, the People's Government will punish him and may allot the land to others for cultivation. The People's Government protects the right of tillers to reap whatever they have sown. The land of absentee landlords, the confiscated land of rural despots, and ownerless land will be temporarily placed in the charge of the local People's Government and will be cultivated by the peasants who originally cultivated the land.

6 The People's Government at all levels should prohibit all sabotage prior to the redistribution of land, such as killing draught animals, destroying farm implements, felling trees, etc. All persons proved guilty of engaging in such acts of sabotage shall be punished according to law.

Part Three

7 At present, in the newly-liberated areas, landlords in some places have reduced their rents; in other

places this has not been done. In some areas peasants do not pay rent and the landlords dare not collect it. Owing to these circumstances and the fact that the collection of grain tax in kind in the newly-liberated areas is a very important task and that there are shortcomings in the methods of grain tax collection, such as unfairness, a number of serious problems have arisen. For example, some landlords have to pay grain tax amounting to over eighty per cent of their total income while others have to pay the whole of their grain as grain tax and in some cases even this is not regarded as adequate. This is a shortcoming and a mistake which must be corrected and remedied, otherwise the steps which the People's Government proposes to take in its agricultural policy would be thrown into confusion and the proclamation of the People's Government (that the redistribution of land will not be put into effect before the autumn harvest of 1950 and that only rent reduction is to be applied) would become meaningless to some extent. And, in addition, the government grain collection has been so affected that in certain areas the program for the grain collection has not yet been fully worked out. In order to correct these shortcomings and mistakes, and in order to fulfill the task of grain collection, the following measures are hereby ordered:

(a) The grain tax to be collected by the Central People's Government should not exceed seventeen per cent of the total agricultural income in newly-liberated areas. The surtax on grain to be collected by the local People's Governments must not exceed fifteen per cent of the amount collected by the Central People's Govern-

ment. That is, if the Central People's Government collects one hundred piculs in grain tax, the local surtax to be collected should not exceed fifteen piculs. If any local People's Government collected more than this amount a correction must be made by reducing the amount to the proper rate of fifteen per cent. When grain collection quotas are assigned for each area a comprehensive investigation should be conducted on the spot. If any of the quotas are found to be excessive they must be reduced accordingly.

(b) The amount of grain tax should be decided according to the actual agricultural income of each family. The highest grain tax to be paid by a landlord family should in general not exceed sixty per cent of their total agricultural income. Even under special circumstances, it should not exceed eighty per cent. Any collection exceeding this amount should be reduced, and part must be returned to the landlord who has paid in excess. But this is not applicable to landlords who sold their grain prior to the collection of the grain tax.

(c) Those who have to pay the grain tax must, in general, be not less than ninety per cent of the village population.

(d) Landlords who do not reduce rent or who collect rent in advance must pay an appropriate grain tax due on the land, the tenant farmer is under no obligation to pay this tax.

(e) Landlords who have already reduced rent by twenty-five per cent should pay the grain tax equally

with the tenants except for that part of his land on which a progressive rate of tax is due, and which must be paid by the landlords. The grain tax to be paid by landlords and tenants should be adjusted according to whether the amount of rent reduced was in excess of twenty-five per cent or less.

(f) In cases where the landlords do not collect rent or where the tenants do not pay rent, the grain tax should be paid by the tenants and not by the landlords.

(g) In accordance with the above provisions, necessary and appropriate modifications should be made in the measures taken by the local governments for the collection of the progressive agricultural tax.

8 The People's Governments at all levels should work out detailed measures according to the above provisions and actual investigations should be carried out. The grain tax should be made up to its full amount by those who did not pay the tax or who paid insufficiently, as the case may be. Reductions should be made in the case of those who were over-taxed. To those who are without means of livelihood on account of having paid too much grain tax a portion of the grain should be returned, or a receipt given for the grain tax for the coming summer or autumn. Those who wish to buy government bonds with the amount returned should be permitted to do so.

9 The People's Governments at all levels should correct all shortcomings and mistakes which occurred in the grain tax collection so as to promote the people's

trust in the government, bring about stability in the rural areas and carry out spring sowing; otherwise this year's sowing will suffer serious harm.

Part Four

10 The Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government will promulgate the necessary decrees on agrarian reform in order that land redistribution may be carried out successfully in all newly-liberated areas after the autumn harvests of 1950 or 1951. All People's Governments in the newly-liberated areas and all Military and Political Councils should make maximum use of the time to combine the spring sowing, production, and famine relief in order to speed up the preparatory work. This preparatory work should consist of the following measures: steps to map out measures for the redistribution of land in accordance with this directive and other decrees on land reform issued by the Central People's Government; to allocate competent cadres for conducting experimental work and to utilize successful experiences as models for other areas. These measures should also include: the training of cadres in great numbers for carrying out agrarian reform; rapid formation of peasant unions, the convening of peasant congresses at all levels; the election of peasant committees at all levels; and the calling of people's representative conferences at all levels for the purpose of thoroughly reconstructing the government bodies at sub-district and village levels. In the course of carrying out these measures it is necessary to unite as far as possible all the enlightened gentry who support agrarian reform.

11 Banditry should be speedily stamped out in those places where it still remains and rents should be immediately reduced in places where they have not yet been reduced. If there are rural despots who have committed the worst kind of crimes and other elements who resist the peasant movement or undermine agrarian reform, the provincial and county People's Governments should take the initiative in arresting them at the proper time and bring them before the People's Tribunals for trial and appropriate punishment. There should be no delay in this respect. The peasants should be allowed to file charges against such elements, but such acts as unlawful beating, unlawful killing, unlawful arrest and unlawful punishment including tarring and feathering, should be strictly forbidden. If the provincial and county governments and judicial bodies should fail to take the initiative in time to arrest, try and punish these criminals then it will be very difficult to avoid the previously-mentioned disorders which may take place in the course of the upsurge of the mass movement.

THE JAPANESE PEOPLE'S ROAD TO LIBERATION

(Editorial of the Peking People's Daily of January 17, 1950)

Japanese imperialism has been and still is the enemy of the Chinese people, but the Japanese people are the friends of the Chinese people. The Japanese and Chinese peoples have their common enemies—namely, Japanese imperialism and its supporter, American imperialism. They have their common friends—namely, the *Socialist Soviet Union*, the People's Democracies and the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the whole world, who are struggling against imperialism. The Chinese people are greatly concerned over the liberation of the Japanese people.

The Japanese people's struggle for liberation is at present carried on under complicated and difficult conditions. Like Western Germany, Japan is being turned by the imperialist American occupation authorities into a reactionary bastion opposing democracy and Socialism and for the planning of a new war. With this counter-revolutionary end in view, the American occupation authorities want to preserve the forces of Japanese militarism, to launch savage attacks upon the fundamental

rights of the Japanese people and to reduce Japan to a colony.

Under such conditions, the Japanese people have to conduct resolute, revolutionary struggles against American imperialism and against the Japanese reactionary forces. Only by so doing can the Japanese people put an early end to the American occupation and the rule of the reactionaries so as to build up a democratic Japan. The vanguard of the Japanese revolutionary people, the Communist Party of Japan, must educate the people in a revolutionary spirit, unite them and gradually revolutionize them. Only in this way can it actually achieve the objective of ending the American occupation and the reactionary rule and of building up a democratic Japan. In doing this, there is no short cut.

We have not seen many documents of the Communist Party of Japan. But from the few theses we have read, written by Sanzo Nosaka, one of the leaders of the Communist Party of Japan, (including those written in 1949), we cannot but hold the view that they contain various mistakes of principle. Sanzo Nosaka told the Japanese people that they could use the bourgeois parliament to take state power by peaceful means. He also tried hard to prove that this conclusion of his could be carried out under present conditions in Japan.

It is very apparent that this viewpoint of his is utterly erroneous. In propagating such views, he could not but cause ideological confusion among the Japanese people and their vanguard and loss of direction in their actions. It would also weaken the revolutionary propaganda of the Communist Party of Japan (for example,

on opposing the Japanese reactionary forces, defending the rights of the workers, supporting Socialism and expressing sympathy for the Chinese revolution). This will of necessity endanger the cause of the Japanese people and play into the hands of their enemy. Therefore, after reading the commentary entitled "On the Situation in Japan" published in the January 6th issue of *For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy*, organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties, we have come to the conclusion that this article provides our comrades in Japan with a good opportunity to make a really strict review of their mistakes and to correct them thoroughly.

We are still not very clear about the reaction of the Communist Party of Japan to the criticism by the organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties. According to reports of foreign news agencies, the Communist Party of Japan will soon call a plenary session of its Central Committee to discuss the questions arising from such criticism. This is very necessary.

However, foreign news agencies also reported that the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Japan had issued a statement on January 12 in which it stated that the mistakes committed by Nosaka "have already been overcome" and that the criticism by the organ of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties failed to take into "due consideration" the position of the Communist Party of Japan, thus expressing disagreement with the conclusions of this critical article. Should this be true, it is very apparent that the views and

the attitude of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of Japan are incorrect and improper. We very deeply regret this. We hope that the plenary session of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Japan, which is about to be convened, will have an accurate understanding of the matter and change this attitude so that appropriate steps may be taken to correct Nosaka's mistakes.

At any rate, the Communist Party of Japan is now facing a crucial phase in its history. Every serious-thinking and far-sighted Communist who is loyal to Marxism-Leninism, to the international Communist movement and to the cause of liberating the Japanese people, must seek appropriate steps to unite together under a correct political line, and to adopt correct methods of criticism and self-criticism in order to help Comrade Sanzo Nosaka and other comrades who hold erroneous views to fully realize their mistakes and correct them. This must be done in order to lay a foundation for the sound growth of the Communist Party of Japan from now on and to remove the danger of giving the enemy an opportunity to undermine and split the Communist Party of Japan. It should, however, be admitted that Nosaka's mistakes are not simple or accidental errors which can be corrected easily. Under any bourgeois rule, and certainly in present-day Japan under the rule of American imperialism, the fight of the labouring people for state power can only be a kind of hard-fought revolutionary struggle. Parliament can only be used as a supplementary means in this struggle, that is, as a rostrum for exposing the enemy.

This fundamental Marxist-Leninist stand must never be revised for the purpose of misleading the enemy by adopting certain tactics of expediency. It is true that the Communists in Japan are at present in a serious situation, but Nosaka's theses have under-estimated, overlooked and whitewashed precisely this seriousness. Communists of the Bolshevik type who find themselves in serious surroundings should be sufficiently flexible in tactics, but they must not, because of this, relax their fundamental stand on questions of principle. On the contrary, they should, in such serious surroundings, stand firm on principles and come through all tests, thereby winning the confidence of the people. If this platform is violated, the so-called attempt to mislead the enemy will actually turn out to be misleading the masses.

Neither a revolutionary political party of the working class nor its leaders can guarantee that no mistakes will be committed. If, having committed errors, this political party and its leaders do not persist in their errors when they have been pointed out, and if they speedily and humbly correct them, then this will prove that the political party and its leaders are loyal to the people and they will still maintain their prestige among the people. In no other way can any prestige whatsoever be maintained and, in any case, such prestige would be worthless. This rule has been verified time and again by the revolutionary movement of the international working class (including the Chinese revolutionary movement). The bravery displayed by the Communist Party of Japan in fighting the enemy has won the admiration of the Chinese people as well as the Japanese people. From our com-

radely standpoint, we ardently hope that the Communist Party of Japan will display the same courage in accepting the criticism of the Information Bureau of the Communist and Workers' Parties and in correcting Nosaka's mistakes. We believe that only by so doing can the Japanese Communists live up to the expectations of the Japanese people and of the Communists in China and in other countries. Only by so doing can they combat all the traps prepared by the imperialists. We hope that the Communist Party of Japan will endeavour to march forward along the correct path of revolution and surmount whatever obstacles it encounters. We hope that the cause of liberating the Japanese people will proceed along the correct path of revolution and attain final victory.

OUR ANSWER TO ACHESON'S FABRICATIONS

Hu Chiao-mu, Director of the Press Administration of the Central People's Government, denounced the shameless fabrications by Dean Acheson, Secretary of State of the United States, in a statement issued on January 20, 1950, to a correspondent of the New China News Agency.

Hu Chiao-mu said: "American Secretary of State Dean Acheson has manufactured in his lengthy speech at the American National Press Club on the 12th a string of fabrications. The officials of American imperialism with Acheson and his kind as representatives have day by day become political charlatans of the lowest calibre who cannot live without resorting to the most shameless fabrications. This indicates the extent to which the American imperialism has degenerated spiritually. Acheson's speech was filled with fabrications screening the realities of the American aggressive policy. For instance, he said, 'our interests have been parallel to the interests of the people of Asia.' When referring to China he said that 'there was not conflict but parallelism between American interests and the interests of the people of China,' and 'from the time of the announcement

of the Open Door Policy through the Nine-power Treaty to the very latest resolution of the General Assembly of the United Nations, we have stated that principle and we believe it.' Every word here is a lie.

"To bore into China by all possible means and turn China into an American colony—this is the basic policy of the United States. Helping Chiang Kai-shek with six billion American dollars during the last few years to butcher several million Chinese people—this is the so-called 'not conflict but parallelism between American interests and the interests of the people of China'."

Hu Chiao-mu went on to say: "These are not the most shameless fabrications of Acheson. The most shameless ones are those on Sino-Soviet relations.

"Acheson said, 'the Soviet is detaching the northern areas of China from China and attaching it to the Soviet Union. This process is complete in Outer Mongolia. It is nearly complete in Manchuria and I am sure that in Inner Mongolia and in Sinkiang there are very happy reports coming from Soviet agents to Moscow. This is what is going on. It is the detachment of these whole areas, vast areas—populated by Chinese—detachment of these areas from China, and their attachment to the Soviet Union. That the Soviet Union is taking four northern areas of China is the single most significant, most important fact in the relations of any foreign power with Asia. What does that mean for us? Something very, very important.'

"The U.S. State Department version of the Sino-Soviet relations has its own history. Talk of Soviet assistance to the Chinese Communist Party is groundless—this was often said by 'gentlemen' of the U.S. State Department before 1948. This was because at that time these 'gentlemen' thought that there appeared to be still hope for the American war gamble in China. The Soviet Union attempts to control China—this allegation was made by the U.S. State Department in 1949 in its White Paper on the China question. This was because at that time the 'gentlemen' of the U.S. State Department felt that they would soon lose all their stakes in China. The Soviet Union has occupied the four northern areas of China—this allegation was made on January 12, 1950. This was because the United States had completely lost its gamble on the mainland of China and only Taiwan was left on which it seems they still contemplate certain designs. Thank God, before the sweeping drive of the Chinese people and the Chinese People's Liberation Army, the American imperialists have now no better means at hand than that of manufacturing such fabrications. Fabrications and slanders of low intelligence such as that the Chinese Communist Party is a lackey of the Soviet Union and that the Soviet Union has already annexed or will annex China, will only evoke the indignation of the Chinese and Soviet peoples and strengthen the friendly cooperation between China and the Soviet Union. Apart from this there will be no other result.

"The system of imperialism which is rotting to the very core and is full of contradictions displays itself in

such an interesting way that two days after Acheson's speech of low intelligence, January 14, 1950, a resounding smack was given to Acheson by Angus Ward, former U.S. consul at Mukden, who was arrested, tried and deported by the People's Government of China.

"According to a January 14 Washington despatch of Tass, 'the recently-returned United States Consul-General at Mukden, Ward, conferred with State Department officials in Washington. Afterwards, he said in response to press questions that he had not seen any evidence of Soviet control over Manchuria except that the Soviet Union exercised treaty rights in connection with the joint control of railroads.' He said he had not observed any indications of Soviet efforts to incorporate Manchuria. . . . In response to the question whether Manchurian Communist authorities are under close control of Peking, he replied that all Communist governments exercise highly centralised control and as far as he knew, 'Manchuria is part of Communist China.'

"People can see for themselves what has happened in the Western Hemisphere. One person says, Manchuria is being detached by the Soviet Union. Another says, no such thing was observed. Both these persons are none other than well-known officials of the U.S. State Department."

FOREIGN MINISTER CHOU EN-LAI'S NOTES TO UN

Foreign Minister Chou En-lai on November 15, 1949, wired President Carlos P. Romulo of the United Nations General Assembly and Secretary-General Trygve Lie of the United Nations, repudiating the legal status of the delegation sent by the Kuomintang regime. The messages follow:

"Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly, care of Secretary-General Trygve Lie, Lake Success, New York:

"Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China officially declared to the world in the proclamation of the formation of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China on October 1: 'The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China.' The liberation war of the Chinese people has now won a decisive nationwide victory, the remnant reactionary Kuomintang government is fundamentally doomed and is no longer qualified to represent the Chinese people. On behalf of the Central

People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I formally inform you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China repudiates the legal status of the delegation under Tsiang Ting-fu sent by the so-called 'Chinese national government' which is now attending the present session of the United Nations General Assembly, and holds that it cannot represent China and has no right to speak for the Chinese people in the United Nations Organisation."

CHOU EN-LAI
*Foreign Minister of the Central
People's Government of the
People's Republic of
China*

Peking, China
November 15, 1949.

* * *

"Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary General of the United Nations Organisation:

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China was formally formed on October 1. On the day of its formation, Chairman Mao Tse-tung of the Central People's Government solemnly proclaimed to the world: 'The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is the sole legal government representing all the people of the People's Republic of China.'

"The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has now fundamentally liberated the territory and people of all China and also won the enthusiastic support of the people throughout the country while the Kuomintang reactionary government is now in exile and dispersed and its remnant forces will soon be eliminated; this reactionary government has lost all de jure and de facto grounds for representing the Chinese People.

"The so-called 'delegation of the Chinese national government' participating in the United Nations Organisation and attending the present session of the United Nations General Assembly in the name of the Chinese people has therefore become the tool of a handful of exiled elements, and is absolutely unqualified to represent the Chinese people.

"On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I formally demand that the United Nations Organisation immediately deprive the 'delegation of the Chinese national government', in accordance with the principles and spirit of the United Nations Charter, of all rights to further represent the Chinese people in the United Nations, so as to conform to the wishes of the Chinese people."

CHOU EN-LAI
*Foreign Minister of the Central
People's Government of the
People's Republic of
China*

Peking, China
November 15, 1949:

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Foreign Minister Chou En-lai of the Central People's Government demanded the expulsion of the delegates of the Kuomintang reactionary remnants from the United Nations Security Council in a telegram addressed on January 8, 1950 to Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations, and to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. The telegram reads in full as follows:

"To Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations; Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations; and Member Delegations to the Security Council; Delegations of the U.S.S.R., U.S.A., France, United Kingdom, Ecuador, India, Cuba, Egypt and Norway:

"This is to inform you that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China holds as illegal the presence of the delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique in the Security Council of the United Nations. The position of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China is that the said delegates be expelled from the Security Council. It is hoped that this position be adopted and action be taken accordingly.

CHOU EN-LAI

*Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Central People's Government
of the People's Republic
of China*

Peking, China
January 8, 1950.

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Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, on behalf of the People's Republic of China, sent on January 19, 1950, the following note to Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the General Assembly of the United Nations; to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations; and to member delegations to the United Nations and the Security Council:

"On the 8th of January, 1950, I addressed to the United Nations a note demanding that the United Nations and the Security Council expel the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique. Mr. Trygve Lie has kindly replied, acknowledging the receipt of this note of protest and stating that copies of it have been given to the member delegations to the Security Council.

"I would like to inform you further, Messrs. President and Secretary General, that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chang Wen-tien Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings and to participate in the work of the United Nations, including the meetings and work of the Security Council.

"Also may I request you, Messrs. President and Secretary General, to answer the following two questions:

"1. When will the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique be expelled from the United Nations and from the Security

Council? I consider the continued presence to this day of the illegitimate delegates of such a reactionary remnant clique in the United Nations and the Security Council as completely unjustified.

"They should be expelled immediately.

"2. When can the legitimate Delegation of the People's Republic of China under the chairmanship of Chang Wen-tien attend the meetings and participate in the work of the United Nations and the Security Council? I consider that this delegation should attend the meetings and participate in the work without delay.

"An early reply will be appreciated."

CHOU EN-LAI

*Minister of Foreign Affairs of the
Central People's Government
of the People's Republic
of China*

Peking, China
January 19, 1950.

VICE FOREIGN MINISTER LI KE-NUNG'S NOTE TO UN

Vice Foreign Minister Li Ke-nung of the People's Republic of China on February 2, 1950, cabled to Mr. Carlos P. Romulo, President of the United Nations General Assembly; to Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations and to member delegations to the United Nations and the Economic and Social Council stating that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had appointed Chi Chao-ting as representative to the United Nations Economic and Social Council which was scheduled to meet on February 7. The message follows:

"On the 19th of January, 1950, Mr. Chou En-lai, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, addressed to you a notification that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China had appointed Chang Wen-tien Chairman of the Delegation of the People's Republic of China to attend the meetings and to participate in the work of the United Nations, including the meetings and work of the Security Council, and asked you to communicate it to the member delega-

tions to the United Nations and the Security Council. Since then more than ten days have passed, and yet the illegitimate delegates of the Chinese Kuomintang reactionary remnant clique are still tolerated in the Security Council and in the other organisations of the United Nations, and are not expelled immediately. I consider this as unjustified. As the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is due to convene its session on the 7th of February, I would like to inform you further, Messrs. President and Secretary-General, that the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China has appointed Chi Chao-ting as representative of the People's Republic of China to the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations. Please communicate this to the parties concerned, and give an early reply to the question, when can the legitimate delegation of the People's Republic of China, under the chairmanship of Chang Wen-tien, and when can Chi Chao-ting attend the meetings of the Security Council and the Economic and Social Council of the United Nations respectively."

LI KE-NUNG

*Vice Minister of Foreign Affairs
of the Central People's
Government of the People's
Republic of China.*

Peking, China
February 2, 1950.