

1950

Speeches/Documents

**Title: DECISIONS CONCERNING THE DIFFERENTIATION OF CLASS STATUS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE**

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**Description:.**

1. These Decisions are promulgated for the purpose of correctly putting into force the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China, which was promulgated by the Central People's Government on June 30, 1950.

2. The Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government is of the opinion that except for some minor sections that have now become obsolete, the remainder of the two documents How to Analyse Class Status in the Countryside and Decisions Concerning Some Problems Arising From Agrarian Reform promulgated by the Democratic Central Government in Juichin, Kiangsi Province, in 1933 to ensure a correct solution of agrarian problems, are in the main applicable in the present agrarian reform. These two documents were again made public by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 25, 1948. They have been put into operation in the course of carrying out agrarian reform and have been proved applicable in the present agrarian reform. Therefore, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government hereby promulgates anew these two documents with slight revisions and additions, to be used henceforth as documents for correctly solving the agrarian problems. In these two documents, the additions made by the Government Administration

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1 A dopted by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government an August 4, 1950.

Council are headed by Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council. To these two documents, there is added Some New Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council.

4. The Agrarian Reform Law shall prevail if or when the interpretation of any provision in the documents made public in these Decisions is found to be at variance with the Agrarian Reform Law.

5. The various provincial people's governments may promulgate supplementary documents

concerning the differentiation of class status in accordance with the actual situation in various localities and in conformity with the principles laid down in the documents published in these Decisions. But such supplementary documents shall be submitted to the Government Administration Council for registration.

## 1. HOW TO ANALYSE CLASS STATUS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

### 1. LANDLORD

A person shall be classified as a landlord who owns land, but does not engage in labour or only engages in supplementary labour, and who depends on exploitation for his means of livelihood. Exploitation by the landlords is chiefly in the form of land rent, plus money lending, hiring of labour, or the simultaneous carrying on of industrial or commercial enterprises. But the major form of exploitation of the peasants by the landlords is the exacting of land rent from the peasants. The management of landholdings owned by public bodies and the collection of rent from school land also belong to the category of exploitation in the form of land rent. Some bankrupt landlords who, despite their bankruptcy and their ability to work, do not engage in labour, and whose living conditions are better than those of an ordinary middle peasant, shall continue to be classified as landlords. Warlords, bureaucrats, local despots and villainous gentry are political representatives of the landlord class and are exceptionally cruel and wicked elements among the landlords. (Among the rich peasants, there are also small local despots and villainous gentry.) Any person who collects rent and manages the landed property for landlords and depends on the exploitation of peasants by the landlords as his main means of livelihood and whose living conditions are better than those of an ordinary middle peasant shall be treated in the same manner as a landlord.

### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

A. Any person who rents large areas of land from landlords, who does not himself engage in labour but sub-lets the land to others for rent, and whose living conditions are better than those of an ordinary middle peasant, shall be classified as a sub-landlord. Sub-landlords should be treated in the same manner as landlords. A sub-landlord who cultivates part of his land should be treated in the same manner as a rich peasant.

B. Revolutionary army men, dependents of martyrs, workers, staff members, professional workers, pedlars and others who rent out small portions of land because they are engaged in other occupations or because they are unable to work, shall not be classified as landlords. Their class status shall be determined according to their occupations or they shall be referred to as small land lessors, whose landholdings shall be dealt with in accordance with Article 5

of the Agrarian Reform Law.

D. The class status of any person who receives income from some other occupation and who at the same time owns and rents out a large area of agricultural land the size of which exceeds the average landholding of each landlord family in the locality, shall be determined according to the major source of his income. He may be referred to either as a person of status and concurrently as a landlord, or as a landlord having other class status. The land and property used directly for his other occupations shall not be confiscated.

The average landholding of a landlord family in the various localities shall be computed by taking one or several counties as a unit, and shall be determined only after the people's government of a region or of a county has submitted it to a provincial people's government and obtained the latter's approval. 1

## 2. RICH PEASANT

A rich peasant generally owns land. But there are also rich peasants who own only part of the land they cultivate and rent the rest from others. There are others who own no land but rent all their land from others. Generally speaking, they own better means of production and some floating capital and take part in labour themselves, but are as a rule dependent on exploitation for a part or the major part of their means of livelihood.

Exploitation by rich peasants is chiefly in the form of exploiting the wage labour (hiring long-term labourers). In addition, they may also let out part of their land for rent, lend out money, or carry on industrial or commercial enterprises. Most of the rich peasants also manage the landholdings owned by public bodies. Some own a considerable amount of fertile land, engage in labour themselves and do not hire any labourers. But they exploit the peasants in the form of land rent and loan interest. In such cases, they should be treated in the same manner as rich peasants. Exploitation by rich peasants is of a constant character, and in many cases the income from such exploitation constitutes their main means of livelihood.

## SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

A. If the area of land rented out by a rich peasant exceeds in size the land cultivated jointly by himself and by hired labourers, he shall be referred to as a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type. The land and other properties of rich peasants, or of rich peasants of a semilandlord type shall be dealt with in accordance with Article 6 of the Agrarian Reform Law.

B. Where a landlord family has some members who are engaged in major agricultural

labour all the year round, or at the same time hires labourers to cultivate part of its land, the said family shall be classified as a landlord, family and not as a rich peasant family if the major part of its land is rented out and the rented-out land is three times or more the size of the land cultivated jointly by the family and by hired labourers (for instance, 150 mou of land rented out and less than 50 mou cultivated by the family and by hired labourers); or in a case where the family possesses large landholdings and the rented-out land is twice or more the size of the land cultivated jointly by the family and hired labourers; (for instance, 200 mou rented out and less than 100 mou cultivated by the family or hired labourers).

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1 A region is an administrative unit below the provincial level, consisting of a number of counties.

The land and other properties of such a family shall be dealt with in accordance with Article 2 of the Agrarian Reform Law. However, the part of the land cultivated by the family's own labour shall, after appropriate readjustment, be mainly retained by the family. The status of those members who take part in labour, if their position in the family is not a dominant, but a subordinate one, should be appropriately determined as labouring people in order to distinguish them in status from other members of the family who do not participate in labour.

### 3. MIDDLE PEASANT

Many middle peasants own land. Some possess only a portion of the land which they cultivate while the remainder is rented. Some of them are landless and rent all their land from others. Middle peasants own certain number of farm implements. They depend wholly or mainly upon their own labour for their living. In general they do not exploit others. Many of them are themselves exploited on a small scale by others in the form of land rent and loan interest. But generally they do not sell their labour power. Some of them (the well-to-do middle peasants) practise a small degree of exploitation, but such exploitation is not of a constant character and the income therefrom does not constitute their main means of livelihood. These people shall be classified as middle peasants.

### 4. POOR PEASANT

Some poor peasants own inadequate farm implements and a part of the land they cultivate. Some have no land at all and own only some inadequate farm implements. In general, they have to rent land for cultivation and are exploited by others in the form of land rent, loan interest or hired labour in a limited degree. These people shall be classified as poor peasants.

In general, the middle peasants need not sell their labour power, but the poor peasants have to sell their labour power for limited periods. This is the basic criterion for differentiating middle peasants from poor peasants.

## 5. WORKER

Workers (including farm labourers) generally have neither land nor farm implements. Some of them have a very small amount of land and implements. They depend wholly or mainly upon the sale of their labour power for their living. These people shall be classified as workers.

## II. DECISIONS CONCERNING SOME PROBLEMS ARISING FROM AGRARIAN REFORM

Many practical problems have emerged in the course of the struggle for land distribution and land investigation. Either because former documents contained only insufficiently explicit provisions or no provisions at all regarding such problems, or because of incorrect interpretation of any such provisions by government functionaries, mistakes were committed in the course of carrying out agrarian reform. In order to properly develop the agrarian struggle and to correct and prevent mistakes in connection with these problems, the Council of People's Commissars, apart from ratifying the document How to Analyse Class Status in the Countryside (concerning the principles for defining the status of landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants and workers), hereby makes the following decisions:

### 1. LABOUR AND SUPPLEMENTARY LABOUR

Under ordinary circumstances a family is considered as being engaged in labour if one member of the family is engaged in essential labour for one third of a year. A family is considered as being engaged in supplementary labour if one member is engaged in essential labour for less than one third of a year; or if he is engaged in labour, but not in essential labour, for one third of a year. EXPLANATION Attention should be paid to the following:

1. Rich peasants engage in labour, while landlords do not engage in labour, or only engage in supplementary labour. Thus labour is the basic criterion for differentiating rich peasants from landlords.

2. It is stipulated that the standard number in a family engaged in labour shall be one person. In cases where one member is engaged in labour in a family of several persons, this family shall be considered as being engaged in labour. Some maintain that a family cannot be considered as being engaged in labour unless two or even all of its members are engaged in labour. This is not correct.

3. It is stipulated that the standard length of time for labour is one third of a year, that is,

four months. The line of demarcation between labour and supplementary labour (namely, the line of demarcation between rich peasants and landlords) is whether a person has engaged in essential labour for four months or less than four months. Some regard those as being engaged in supplementary labour when they have already engaged in essential labour for half a year. This is not correct.

5. Essential labour means labour employed in the main forms of agricultural production, such as ploughing, planting, reaping and other major items of labour in production.

6. Non-essential labour means various kinds of auxiliary labour which play only a part of secondary importance in production, such as helping with weeding, vegetable-growing and taking care of draught animals.

7. Labour is the basic criterion for differentiating rich peasants from landlords. A person shall still be treated as a landlord, who merely hires long-term farm labourers but does not himself engage in essential labour, though he may assume responsibility for directing production and practise no exploitation in the form of land rent, loan interest, etc.

8. As regards the length of time required for determining the class status of a landlord, any person who had lived the life of a landlord for three consecutive years, counting backward from the time of the liberation of the locality, shall be classified as a landlord.

In the course of land distribution and investigation many mistakes have been committed in connection with the problems of labour and supplementary labour. By mistaking labour for supplementary labour, some have been wrongly classified as landlords; by mistaking supplementary labour for labour, others have been wrongly classified as rich peasants. This is because there has been no clear-cut line of demarcation between landlords and rich peasants in the past. Such mistakes may be avoided if the above-mentioned rules are applied.

But such rules cover only ordinary circumstances. Under special circumstances different measures should be taken. There are two categories of such special circumstances.

First, there is the case of a big landlord family with a member of the family taking part in production. Here, for instance, is a man who heavily exploits others by means of land rent and loan interest, collecting more than 100 piculs of grain in rent and lending out more than 1,000 silver dollars. If his family and its expenses are small, he shall be classified as a landlord and not as a rich peasant, even though some one in his family is engaged in essential labour for more than four months a year. However, if the family and its expenses are very large, he shall be classified as a rich peasant, provided someone in his family is engaged in essential labour, despite the fact that he collects 100 piculs of grain in rent and lends out 1,000 silver dollars.

Second, there is the case where a man ought to be considered a landlord, so far as exploitation

is concerned, but who cannot be so treated if his living conditions are taken into consideration. Here, for instance, is a man who used to be a rich or middle peasant, but several years before liberation because of death or the sickness of the member of his family who was engaged in essential labour, he had to rent out all his land or to hire labourers to cultivate his land, and, as a result, his family led a life without engaging in labour. It would be inappropriate to classify such a man as a landlord. Rather, he should be treated according to his former status. Here is another case. If someone who though nominally still a landlord, has in fact had his landholdings transferred to somebody else, practises only slight exploitation, engages in supplementary labour himself, and has led a life even worse than a peasant, such a man should be treated as a peasant. The above-mentioned special cases were neglected in the land distribution and land investigation movement in some localities. This is not correct.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

##### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

A. A big family of more than 15 members shall be considered as being engaged in labour only if one third of the members of the whole family who are able to work are engaged in essential labour for one third of a year.

B. To be engaged in essential labour as stated above means to be engaged in major labour in connection with agricultural production. Under ordinary circumstances this is the basic criterion for differentiating landlords from rich peasants. A landlord family may also be considered as being engaged in essential labour when some one in the family is engaged in some other occupation. However, the class status of such a person shall be determined according to the nature and condition of his occupation, and the treatment accorded him shall be determined according to his class status. For instance, if someone in a landlord family is regularly engaged in the medical or teaching profession he should be treated accordingly as a medical practitioner or a school teacher.

##### 2. WELL-TO-DO MIDDLE PEASANT

Well-to-do middle peasants are part of the middle peasants. Their living conditions are better than those of the ordinary middle peasants and in general they practise a small degree of exploitation. The amount of income from such exploitation should not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family. Under certain circumstances, although the income of a middle peasant from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent but not more than 30 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family, he shall still be treated as a well-to-do middle peasant if the masses have no objection. Under democratic rule the interests of well-to-do middle peasants shall receive the same protection as that accorded to ordinary middle

peasants. EXPLANATION Attention should be paid to the following:

1. Well-to-do middle peasants are part of the middle peasants, but they differ from each other in that the former live a better life than the latter and in general practise a small degree of exploitation, while the latter in general do not.
  2. The well-to-do middle peasants differ from the rich peasants in that the income of a well-to-do middle peasant from exploitation does not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual income of his family, while that of a rich peasant does. Such a line of demarcation is necessary in the actual differentiation of class status.
  3. A small degree of exploitation by well-to-do middle peasants means the hiring of herdboys, odd-job labourers, or labourers on a monthly basis; the lending out of small amounts of money, or the lending out of small amounts of money for mortgaged land; the collection of small amounts of rent from school land or the renting out of small tracts of land, etc. However, the income from such exploitation must not constitute the major portion of the family's means of livelihood. In other words, it must not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual family income and the main means of livelihood of the whole family is by their own labour.
  5. Those who in the period just prior to the liberation of the locality practised the same degree of exploitation as rich peasants in the same period shall be treated as well-to-do middle peasants, provided that the duration of such exploitation does not exceed two years.
  6. Under certain circumstances a family whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent but not more than 30 per cent of the total annual income shall still be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant family, provided that the masses have no objection. By "certain circumstances" are meant such cases where the income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent, yet the life of the family is not one of plenty because it is a large family, few members of which are able to work, or because it is faced with difficulties caused by flood, drought, famine, sickness or death. Under such circumstances such a family shall be classified as a middle peasant family and not as a rich peasant family, provided that the income from exploitation does not exceed 30 per cent of the total annual income.
- If no such circumstances exist, a family whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of its total annual income shall be classified as a rich peasant family and not as a well-to-do middle peasant family. The correct judgement in such circumstances should be based upon the consensus of opinion of the masses in the locality.

Well-to-do middle peasants constitute a considerable proportion of the population in the countryside. In the land distribution and land investigation movement it happened in many localities that well-to-do middle peasants were treated as rich peasants. This is not correct. In most cases the middle peasants whose interests have been encroached upon are well-to-do middle peasants. This should be corrected immediately.

#### ILLUSTRATIONS

(1) A family has six mouths to feed, with two members of the family engaged in labour. It owns land with a potential yield of 50 piculs of grain but an actual yield of 35 piculs. The 35 piculs of grain can fetch 140 silver dollars at the current price of four silver dollars per picul. The family's land is entirely cultivated by its own members. The family has five rooms, an ox, and also a pond which brings in an annual income of 12 silver dollars. The family's annual income from the production of coarse grain and the rearing of hogs is about 100 silver dollars. The family has for four years been lending out three piculs of grain at an annual interest rate of 50 per cent (or one and a half piculs of grain worth six silver dollars). It has also for five years been lending out 100 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 25 per cent or 25 silver dollars.

CONCLUSION : This family depends on its own labour as the main means of livelihood. Its own production amounts to over 250 silver dollars. The family exploits others in the form of interest on loans. But the annual income from interest only amounts to 31 silver dollars, constituting less than 15 per cent of the total income. After defraying all the family expenses, there is some surplus. The family lives rather well, but because the degree of exploitation is not large, the family should be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant family, and not as a rich peasant family.

(2) A family has five mouths to feed, with one member engaged in full-time labour and another in half-time labour. It owns land with a potential yield of 25 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 17 piculs. It rents from others a further amount of land with a potential yield of 75 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 42 piculs of grain. It has been paying an annual rent of 25 piculs of grain for ten years. The family's annual income from the production of nonstaple food and the rearing of hogs is 50 silver dollars. It has been hiring a herd-boy for three years. For four years it has been lending out 60 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent or 18 silver dollars. It has five rooms, an ox and a tallow tree grove with an annual production of 30 piculs of nuts.

CONCLUSION : This family depends on its own labour as the main means of livelihood. It exploits others only slightly, amounting barely to 20-odd silver dollars a year (including the

hiring of the herd-boy and the lending out of money), while the family is exploited by others in the form of rent up to 25 piculs of grain a year. After defraying all the family expenses, very little is left. This family should be classified as an ordinary middle peasant family, and not as a well-to-do middle peasant family.

### 3. RICH PEASANT EXPLOITATION -- ITS DURATION AND DEGREE

A person shall be classified as a rich peasant, who for three consecutive years counting backward from

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Grain other than rice and wheat, such as maize, soya bean, etc.

the time of the liberation of the locality had engaged in production himself and had depended for part or the major part of his family's means of livelihood on exploitation, the income from which exceeded 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family. Under certain circumstances, a person whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent, but not more than 30 per cent of the total income, shall still be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant and not as a rich peasant if the masses have no objection. EXPLANATION Attention should be paid to the following:

1. The duration of exploitation should be counted from the time of the liberation of the locality, and not from any other time. Some want to settle "old scores" and determine the class status on the basis of exploitation long since past. This is not correct.
2. Exploitation for three consecutive years is the standard duration that constitutes rich peasant status. If the duration of exploitation is less than three years or if it is three nonconsecutive years, such a person should be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant even though the degree of his exploitation is the same as that of a rich peasant during the same period.
3. A person can be classified as a rich peasant only when his income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family. If the income from exploitation is less than 15 per cent of the total annual income, he shall still be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant and not as a rich peasant even though his duration of exploitation lasts for three or more consecutive years.
4. By "the total annual income of the whole family" is meant the total value of the production of the whole family, plus the income from exploitation of others. For instance, a whole family in one year produces the equivalent of 400 silver dollars and exploits others to the value of 100 silver dollars, the total income is therefore 500 silver dollars. Since the income from exploitation constitutes 20 per cent of the total income,

such a family should be classified as a rich peasant family.

ILLUSTRATIONS(1) A family has 11 mouths to feed, with two members of the family engaged in labour. The family owns land with a potential yield of 160 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 120 piculs of grain (worth 480 silver dollars). It owns two tea groves which bring in an annual income of 30 silver dollars and a pond which brings in an annual income of 15 silver dollars. The annual income from the production of non-staple food and the rearing of hogs is about 150 silver dollars. It had hired, for seven years prior to the liberation, a long-term labourer and exploited his surplus labour to the value of 60 silver dollars a year. It had lent out, during the five years prior to the liberation, 250 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent (or 75 silver dollars). CONCLUSION : This family itself engages in labour, but it hires a long-term labourer, makes big loans, and its income from exploitation is more than 15 per cent of the total income of the whole family. Although the family is a large one, there, has been still a considerable surplus left after meeting all family expenses.

Therefore, this family should be classified as a rich peasant family.(2) A family has three mouths to feed, with one member of the family engaged in essential labour for four months. The family owns land with a potential yield of 60 piculs of grain, and itself cultivates land with a potential yield of 30 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 18 piculs of grain. The family rents out land with a potential yield of 30 piculs of grain and has for five years been collecting an annual rent of 12 piculs of grain. It usually hires a short-term labourer for 20 days each year. It owns an ox which it hires out for an annual charge of two piculs of grain. It has for three years been lending out 120 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent or 36 silver dollars. CONCLUSION : This family's income from exploitation exceeds that which it produces itself. But because one of the family members is engaged in essential labour for four months, such a family should be classified as a rich peasant family.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

##### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

A. The line of demarcation between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants, according to the aforementioned Sections 2 and 3, lies in whether or not the income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family. It is hereby changed to whether or not the income from exploitation exceeds 25 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family. A person whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 per cent of the total annual income shall be classified as a middle peasant or well-to-do middle peasant as the case may be. C. In order to facilitate calculation, it is necessary to lay down the following criteria:

1. A person shall not be classified as a rich peasant if he regularly hires one long-term labourer or practises exploitation in other form the income from which is equal to or less than the income derived from hiring one longterm labourer.

2. A person may be classified in general as a rich peasant if he regularly hires two longterm labourers or practises exploitation in other form the income from which is equal to or more than the income derived from hiring two long-term labourers. But a family like this may not be classified as a rich peasant family if it has many mouths to feed and is by no means well-to-do.

3. In the case of a family regularly practising other forms of exploitation the income from which is more than the income derived from hiring one long-term labourer but less than the income derived from hiring two long-term labourers, the family's income from exploitation must be carefully calculated to determine whether it exceeds 25 per cent of the total income. If it does, the family should be classified as a rich peasant family. If not, it shall be classified as a middle peasant or well-to-do middle peasant family.

4. The hiring of odd-job labourers or labourers on a monthly basis for 120 days in the course of a year is to be calculated as the equivalent of hiring one long-term labourer.

5. In calculating the degree of exploitation practised by a family, care must be taken to balance against each other the income derived by the family from the exploitation of others and the income derived by others from the exploitation of the said family.

#### 4. REACTIONARY RICH PEASANT

A rich peasant who engaged in serious counterrevolutionary activities before, and especially after the liberation, shall be classified as a reactionary rich peasant. The land and other property of such reactionary rich peasants and of their family members who took part in those counter-revolutionary activities shall be confiscated. The above principle also applies to reactionary capitalists. EXPLANATION Attention should be paid to the following:

1. Only those rich peasants who engaged in serious counter-revolutionary activities are to be classified as reactionary rich peasants, such as those who led the "militia" in the massacre of workers and peasants during the revolution, who stubbornly fought against the democratic government, especially those who after the liberation continued to lead others in the formation of counter-revolutionary groups and organisations, or who individually carried out serious counter-revolutionary

activities, such as assassination, spying for the enemy, voluntarily serving as guides for enemy troops, escaping to the enemy side to assist the Kuomintang, or actively and persistently sabotaging the land distribution and land investigation movement and economic construction. The land and other properties of rich peasants who, although taking part in counter-revolutionary activities, did not play a leading part or important part, shall not be confiscated.

2. Only the land and other properties of those family members of reactionary rich peasants who took part in such serious counter-revolutionary activities shall be confiscated. The land and other properties of the rest of the family members shall not be confiscated.

3. Those rich peasants who temporarily crossed over to the enemy side in order to seek a living are not counterrevolutionary rich peasants and shall not be treated as such.

4. The above principle applies in full in defining and dealing with reactionary capitalists.

In a number of places in the past, the land and other properties of the rich peasants who did not engage in serious counter-revolutionary activities were confiscated. Moreover, the land and other properties of those members of rich peasant families who did not take part in counter-revolutionary activities were also confiscated. This is wrong. These mistakes were due to Article 3 of the Kiangsi Regulations Governing the Confiscation and Distribution of Land which stipulated: "The property of the whole family of the rich peasants who join counterrevolutionary organisations shall be confiscated." It failed to differentiate those who played a leading role from those who were mere followers, nor did it differentiate those who actually took part from those who did not. Regarding the question of family members, the latter part of the said article provided that "the land of those family members who did not join counter-revolutionary organisations or engage in counter-revolutionary activities, and who have severed relations with their family members who did, may be returned to them if the local masses raise no objection."

However, this measure of first confiscating the property of the whole family and then returning a portion of it, is not proper. Therefore, it is necessary to revise the said article to make it conform to the present regulations. Moreover, in the past, the definition of reactionary capitalists was stretched beyond proper limits in some cases with the result that some business establishments were wrongly confiscated. This is not correct either.

#### ILLUSTRATION

A family has nine mouths to feed, with one member of the family engaged in labour and

another in supplementary labour. It owns land capable of yielding 160 piculs of grain and cultivates land with a potential yield of 80 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 56 piculs of grain. For 10 years the family has been renting out land with a potential yield of 80 piculs of grain for which it has been drawing an annual rent of 30 piculs of grain. The family owns five tracts of hilly land which brings in an annual income of 70 silver dollars. It regularly hires a long-term labourer. It has for three years been borrowing 425 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 25 per cent. It has for five years been lending 380 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent. One member of the family was a company commander of the "Security and Protection Regiment" for two years. He took part in five battles against the Red Guard. Another member of the family was a member of the "A-B Corps" (Anti-Bolshevik Corps) for one year, but he was not an important or active member of the Corps. There was no evidence of any counterrevolutionary activities on the part of the other members of the family.

CONCLUSION : This family should be classified as a rich peasant family in status. One member of the family has been engaged in serious counter-revolutionary activities. He is a reactionary rich peasant and his property should be confiscated.

The property of the rest of the family should not be confiscated. The other member of the family, although having joined the "A-B Corps," was not an important or active member of the Corps. His property should not be confiscated.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

##### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

The provisions of this section also apply to the criminal elements amongst the landlord or other classes.

#### 5. THE LAND, BUILDINGS, DRAUGHT ANIMALS AND FARM IMPLEMENTS

##### WHICH SHOULD BE OWNED BY THE RICH PEASANTS

Within the limits of the laws and decrees of the government, the rich peasants shall have the unrestricted right to dispose of the land, buildings, draught animals and farm implements, over which their ownership has been established in the course of the agrarian reform. EXPLANATION

1. It has happened recently in some localities that workers, peasants and poor odd-jobbers exchange their land, buildings, draught animals and farm implements for the land, buildings, draught animals and farm implements which are the rightful property of the rich peasants. There have even been instances of exchanging clothing and fertilisers. This is not correct.

2. After the land problem has been correctly solved and the land distributed to the rich peasants has been improved and turned into richer land, no person shall be allowed to take such land in exchange. The draught animals, farm implements and buildings purchased by the rich peasants, even if they are more than sufficient, shall not be confiscated or exchanged.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

The provisions of this section apply to landlords as well.

#### 6. BANKRUPT LANDLORD

Any landlord who has, prior to the liberation, lost all or the major portion of his land and other properties which were used for exploitation, who is able to work but who does not engage in labour, and who lives in better conditions than ordinary middle peasants, shall be classified as a bankrupt landlord. Such bankrupt landlords remain to be a part of the landlord class. The class status, however, shall be changed in the case of the landlords who, after going bankrupt, have depended on their own labour as the principal means of livelihood for one year. A landlord who, after going bankrupt, has depended on his own labour to earn a part of his livelihood, may be treated as a rich peasant, provided the said part of his income amounts to one third of his annual living expenses. EXPLANATION

1. There have been instances of classifying partially bankrupt landlords as bankrupt landlords. This is not correct, because such landlords still retain a part of their property which they use for exploitation and the only difference is in the amount of income from exploitation.

2. There have been instances of classifying as bankrupt landlords those who, after going bankrupt, have engaged in essential labour for one year. That is all the more incorrect. Since the landlord, after going bankrupt, had engaged in essential labour for one year (prior to the liberation), he has already changed his class status from that of a landlord to a worker, peasant or poor odd-jobber.

3. There have been instances of continuing to treat as landlords those landlords who, after going bankrupt, have been partly engaged in labour. This is not correct, because, if such people earn one third of their families' annual living expenses by means of their own labour, they should have been treated as rich peasants.

#### 7. POOR ODD-JOBBER

With the exception of workers and peasants, all those, who depend on their own labour for subsistence or for the most part depend on their own labour for subsistence, or who depend on

the management of their limited means of production to earn their living expenses, shall be classified as poor odd-jobbers, provided they do not have fixed occupations and their life is hard. The unemployed among the poor oddjobbers in rural areas and small towns should be given land.EXPLANATION

1. Poor odd-jobbers constitute a rather considerable number in the cities. A number are also to be found in rural areas and small towns. They follow diverse occupations, some of which are irregular, and often vary from season to season and from time to time. The life of the poor odd-jobbers is very hard; their income is often insufficient to meet their expenses.

2. With the exception of workers and peasants, all such people as independent producers, professional workers, pedlars, small shopkeepers who do not employ assistants, and other labouring people fall into the category of poor odd-jobbers, if they have no fixed occupations and their life is hard.

## 8. INTELLECTUAL

The intelligentsia should not be considered as a class in itself. The class origin of intellectuals is to be determined according to the status of their families. The class status of the intellectuals themselves is to be determined in accordance with the means they employ to earn the major part of their income. All intellectuals who come of the landlord or capitalist class should be fully employed in work for the democratic government, provided they obey the laws of the democratic government, and they should be educated to overcome their erroneous ideas of looking down upon the labouring people. When intellectuals are engaged in work which does not involve the exploitation of other people -- such as serving as school teachers, editors, journalists, clerks, writers and artists -- they should be regarded as brain workers and afforded legal protection by the democratic government.EXPLANATION

1. Recently, intellectuals have been subjected to boycott in some localities. This is not correct. It is a policy helpful to the cause of the people's revolution to draw intellectuals of landlord or bourgeois origin willing to give their service into the democratic government. During the period when they are working for the democratic government, measures should be taken to help solve their problems of livelihood.

2. The class origin of intellectuals is to be determined according to the status of their families. For instance, one who comes of a landlord family is of landlord origin; one who comes of a rich peasant family is of rich peasant origin; one who comes of a middle peasant family is of middle peasant origin; and so on. The class status of the intellectuals themselves is to be determined in accordance with the means they employ to earn the

major part of their income. For instance, one who makes his living as a landlord is a landlord; one who makes his living as a capitalist is a capitalist; one who makes his living as a professional worker is a professional worker; one who makes his living as a clerk is a clerk; one who makes his living as an army man is an army man; and so on. The status of an intellectual who depends on his family for the supply of the major part of his means of livelihood is to be determined in accordance with the status of his family. It is incorrect to consider the intelligentsia as constituting a separate class in itself. It is all the more so to consider the children of labouring people who have received schooling (the so-called "graduates") as of an undesirable status.

4. It is also incorrect not to consider as labour such work as that of the school teachers and medical practitioners.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

A. Any person who is employed on the staff of institutions, enterprises and schools of the State, or of cooperative societies or of private individuals, and who depends entirely or mainly on salary for his means of livelihood, shall be classified as a staff member. Staff members are part of the working class.

B. Intellectuals who have technical skill and special knowledge, who are employed in brain work by the institutions, enterprises and schools of the State, of cooperative societies or of private individuals, and who depend wholly or mainly on high salaries for their means of livelihood -- such as engineers, professors and specialists -- are to be classified as senior staff members, whose class status shall be the same as that of the ordinary staff members. But in private economic institutions and enterprises, the representatives of the management shall not be classified as staff members.

C. Former responsible officials of various grades in the Kuomintang government shall not be classified as staff members. The class status of those who, after the liberation, found other occupations as their main means of livelihood shall be determined according to their respective occupations.

#### 9. IDLER

Workers, peasants and other people, who had, shortly before the liberation, lost their occupations or their land as the result of the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary government or the landlord and compradore-capitalist classes, and who have resorted to improper methods as their main means of livelihood for three consecutive years, are to be

referred to as idlers (customarily, they are called vagabonds). The policy of the democratic government towards idlers is to win over the majority whilst opposing those elements who ally themselves with the reactionary forces and take an active part in counterrevolution. The chief method of winning over ordinary idlers is to help them return to production by giving them land and work. The land, however, must be given only to those who reside in rural areas and who are able to cultivate the land by themselves. EXPLANATION

1. By resorting to improper methods as the main means of livelihood is meant living on such improper gains as are derived from theft, robbery, cheating, begging, gambling or prostitution.

There have been instances of listing as vagabonds all those people, employed or partly unemployed, who obtain a certain amount of improper income, which, however, is not their major means of livelihood. This is not correct. It is all the more so to list as vagabonds those workers, peasants and poor odd-jobbers who have contracted such bad habits as brothel-going, gambling and opium-smoking.

2. In some localities, the leading elements among the idlers (the so-called ringleaders), who take an active part in counterrevolution, are not subjected to punishment but instead are given land. This is not correct. In some localities, the ordinary idlers' request for land is rejected. This is not correct either.

#### 10. RELIGIOUS PRACTITIONER

All those people who, for three years immediately prior to the liberation, derived the main part of their income from such religious and superstitious professions as those of clergymen, priests, monks, Taoists, lay Taoists, geomancers, fortune-tellers and diviners, are to be classified as religious or superstitious practitioners.

#### 11. THE RED ARMY MAN OF LANDLORD OR RICH PEASANT ORIGIN AND HIS LAND

All Red Army men of landlord or rich peasant origin (be they commanders or fighters) and their dependents shall have the right to share in the distribution of land provided they fight determinedly for the interests of the workers and peasants. EXPLANATION

1. Article 1 of the Regulations Governing Preferential Treatment for the Red Army reads: "All those Red Army men whose homes are located in the areas under the jurisdiction of the democratic government, together with their dependents, shall share equally with the impoverished peasants in their respective localities in the distribution of land, buildings, forests and ponds." This article covers all Red Army men. But recently, in some localities, only social origin has been taken into consideration while political activities

have been disregarded. As a result, it happened that the land already distributed to Red Army fighters of landlord or rich peasant origin who, nevertheless, fight staunchly for the interests of the workers and peasants, was confiscated for the second time. This is wrong.

2. The dependents of the Red Army men include parents, wives, sons, daughters, and brothers and sisters under the age of sixteen. Other family members shall not enjoy such rights.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

##### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

The provisions of this section apply to all commanders and fighters of the People's Liberation Army, and to the commanders and fighters of the armed forces who have crossed over to the side of the revolution as from the date of their re-organisation into the People's Liberation Army. All these people shall be classified as revolutionary army men.

#### 12. WORKER FROM RICH PEASANT OR LANDLORD FAMILY

Workers of rich peasant or landlord origin, their wives and their children shall retain their status as workers. The other members of their families shall be treated as landlords or rich peasants in status.

EXPLANATION

1. If a member of a landlord or rich peasant family had, immediately before the liberation, sold his labour power for one year, he should be classified as a worker. The said member himself, his wife and his children shall be treated as workers. The other members of his family shall be treated as landlords or rich peasants and shall not be entitled to the rights of workers. If there are members in the family belonging to any other class status, they should be treated according to their respective status. In one family, for instance, if there is a person in the rural area who has, for three years, depended on land rent and loan interest as his major means of livelihood, then the said person is a landlord. If there is another person who has, for one year, depended on the sale of his labour power as his main means of livelihood, then the said person is a worker.

There is still another person who runs a small manufactory in town, producing and selling the goods all by himself, and who has depended on this as his main means of livelihood for one year, the said person is an independent producer. Each shall have his status determined in accordance with the nature of the means he employs to earn a living during the given period. The status of each person, in turn, determines the treatment he receives under the laws of the democratic government.

2. There are rural workers, independent producers, school teachers and medical practitioners who own small plots of land. They shall not be treated as landlords when,

failing to make a living in the rural area, they go elsewhere to seek a living and rent out their small plots of land, provided they are not depending on their land rent for their main means of livelihood.

### 13. THE CLASS STATUS OF LANDLORD, RICH PEASANT OR CAPITALIST AFTER MARRIAGE WITH WORKER, PEASANT OR POOR ODD-JOBBER AND VICE VERSA

1. The class status of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists after their marriage with workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, and vice versa, should be determined in accordance with their original class status, their living conditions after the marriage and whether the marriage took place before or after the liberation.

2. In cases where marriages took place before the liberation: The women from the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, who married workers, peasants or poor oddjobbers and have been engaged in labour as their major means of livelihood for a year, shall be recognised as having the class status of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers. Those, who have not been engaged in labour or have been engaged in labour for less than a year, shall retain their original class status.

The women from the families of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, who married landlords, rich peasants or capitalists and have lived the same life with them for three years, shall be recognised as having the class status of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists. Those, who have not lived the same life as the landlords, rich peasants or capitalists (that is, depending on their own labour as their main means of livelihood) or who have lived the same life as the landlords, rich peasants or capitalists for less than three years, shall retain their original class status.

3. In cases where marriage took place after the liberation: The women from the families of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, who married landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, should retain their original class status. Those from the families of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, who married workers, peasants or poor oddjobbers and have been engaged in labour and have depended on it as their major means of livelihood for a year, shall be recognised as having the class status of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers. Those who have not been engaged in labour or have been engaged in labour for less than a year, shall retain their original class status. 5. The foregoing three articles apply to the children of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, who were sold to landlords, rich peasants or capitalists before the liberation, and to the sons of workers, peasants or poor oddjobbers who were adopted before the liberation as sons-in-law by landlords, rich peasants or

capitalists, and vice versa. 6. As regards the adoption of the sons of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers by landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, or vice versa, which took place before the liberation, if the sons of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers were adopted by landlords, rich peasants or capitalists as sons and have lived the same life as the step-parents for five years, they should have the same class status as the step-parents. If they have not lived the same life as their step-parents but have continued to live the same life as their own parents, they shall retain their own class status. If the sons of landlords, rich peasants or capitalists were adopted by workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers as sons and have lived the same life as their step-parents and have been engaged in labour for a year, they shall have the same class status as their step-parents. If they have not been engaged in labour and have not lived the same life as their step-parents but have continued to live the same life as their own parents, they shall retain their original class status. EXPLANATION Here "labour" includes household work.

#### SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

It is provided in Article 2 of this section that the women from the families of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, who married landlords, rich peasants or capitalists before the liberation and have lived the same life with them for less than three years, shall retain their original class status. After the liberation those who married landlords shall retain their original class status, but those who married rich peasants or capitalists and have lived the same life with them for a year shall be recognised as having the class status of rich peasants or capitalists. It is provided in Article 3 of this section that the women who married, after the liberation, landlords, rich peasants or capitalists shall retain their original class status. In the present application of this provision, those who married landlords should retain their original class status. Those who married capitalists or rich peasants and have lived the same life with them for a year should be recognised as having the class status of capitalists or rich peasants.

#### 14. LANDLORD OR RICH PEASANT WHO IS CONCURRENTLY MERCHANT OR INDUSTRIALIST

1. The land as well as buildings and other properties thereon, owned by landlords who are concurrently industrialists or merchants, should be confiscated, but the industrial and/or commercial enterprises as well as the factory buildings, business premises, dwelling houses and other properties in connection with such enterprises shall not be confiscated.

3. The land as well as buildings and other properties thereon, owned by rich peasants who

are concurrently industrialists or merchants, shall be treated as belonging to those who are of rich peasants status, but the industrial and/or commercial enterprises, as well as the factory buildings, business premises, dwelling houses and other properties in connection with such enterprises shall be treated as belonging to industrialists or merchants.

#### 15. MANAGEMENT OF LANDHOLDINGS OF PUBLIC BODIES

The management of landholdings of public bodies is an act of exploitation. But distinction must be made between the management of landholdings of public bodies by landlords, rich peasants or capitalists and that by workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers.

#### EXPLANATION

By the management of landholdings of public bodies is meant management of landholdings and other properties belonging to all kinds of ancestral shrines, temples, associations and societies. There is no doubt that this system has been one of the forms of feudal exploitation in the countryside. The concentrated ownership of large amounts of land and other properties by the landlord class and rich peasants, as the result of this system, has been one of the principal forms of feudal exploitation. The practice of managing such organizations, as are controlled by a few who make a large income through feudal exploitation, should be one of the factors in determining the class status of those who are engaged in the management. Some of such organisations, however, are not controlled by a few, and those who are in charge of them can by no means make an income out of the management. There are still others of a smaller size which are alternately managed by the masses of workers, peasants and poor oddjobbers and which permit very little exploitation. The management of such can by no means be one of the factors in determining the class status of those who are engaged in the management. Some maintain that all those who have shared in the management should be regarded as landlords, rich peasants or capitalists. This is not correct.

#### III. SOME NEW DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT

##### ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

With a view to correctly carrying out agrarian reform in the future, the Government Administration Council, in addition to the principles as laid down in the two documents How to Analyse Class Status in the Countryside and Decisions Concerning Some Problems Arising From Agrarian Reform, hereby makes the following decisions:

1. Small handicraft producers: Those, who possess such means of production as a small quantity of handicraft implements, small workshops and raw materials, are personally engaged in independent handicraft production and wholly or mainly depend on the sale of their manufactured goods for their means of livelihood, shall be classified as small

handicraft producers or independent producers. The small handicraft producers in general do not hire workers. Sometimes they hire assistants and apprentices whose services are auxiliary in nature, but they chiefly depend on their own handicraft labour for their main means of livelihood. These small handicraft producers shall have a similar social status as the middle peasants.

2. Handicraft capitalists: Those, who possess such capital as a considerable number of handicraft implements, workshops and raw materials, hire workers and apprentices to carry on handicraft production and wholly or mainly depend on the profit thus derived as their means of livelihood, shall be classified as handicraft capitalists. The small handicraft producers hire only assistants and apprentices whose labour is auxiliary to their own. The handicraft capitalists, however, hire workers and apprentices not for their auxiliary labour but for the profit derived therefrom. This is the chief distinction between small handicraft producers and handicraft capitalists.

4. Handicraftsmen: Those, who do not possess any means of production or possess only a few handicraft implements, sell their labour power to consumers, handicraft capitalists or small handicraft producers, carry on handicraft production for the employers and depend wholly or mainly on wages for their means of livelihood, shall be classified as handicraftsmen. The handicraftsmen shall have the same social status as workers and farm-labourers.

5. Professional workers: All those who depend on their independent professions as a means of livelihood without exploiting others, such as medical practitioners, school teachers, lawyers, journalists, writers and artists, shall be classified as professional workers. In order to carry on their business, these professional workers sometimes hire assistants or help to assist them in domestic labour. Those who employ such people are not to be reckoned as of the category of exploiters. If these people are not engaged in independent professions but are working in the State or private organisations as employees, they shall be classified as staff members.

6. Small traders and pedlars: Those, who do not possess capital or possess only a small amount of capital, purchase commodities from the merchants or small producers and sell them to the consumers, do not hire workers or assistants and depend on their own labour in the purchase and sale of commodities as the entire or main means of livelihood, shall be classified as small traders. Small traders who are constantly travelling from place to place are called pedlars.

7. Commercial capitalists or merchants: Those, who possess commercial capital, employ workers or shop-assistants to conduct the buying and selling of commodities, and depend on the profit derived therefrom as their entire or main means of livelihood, shall be classified as commercial capitalists or merchants.

8. Enlightened gentry: The enlightened gentry are certain individuals of the

landlord class, who have opposed Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary regime and imperialist aggression and who have rendered positive help to the cause of the people's democracy, the people's democratic dictatorship and agrarian reform. Although their landholdings and other properties should be dealt with in accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law and other laws and decrees concerned, the enlightened gentry should be given consideration both politically and economically, and should be drawn in to participate in the work of agrarian reform, people's governments or people's organisations.

9. Dependents of revolutionary martyrs: The dependents of revolutionary martyrs refer to the parents, widows or widowers, children, and brothers and sisters under the age of 16, of those killed in battle and of martyrs killed since the Revolution of 1911 and those killed in battle during the War of Resistance to Japanese Aggression and the People's Liberation War. The dependents of other people (army men, functionaries of the People's Government and the people's organisations -- Ed.) as referred to in the Agrarian Reform Law cover the same family members as above.

10. The family status of children, juveniles and young students: Children and juveniles under 18 and young students at school should not, in general, have their class status determined, but their family status should be determined. Exception is made of the head of a family at the time of the agrarian reform. In such case their class status should be determined.

11. Local despots: Local despots refer to those who have been proved on the basis of substantial evidence to have committed such crimes as relying on or organising a reactionary force to play the tyrant in a locality or using force or their influence to oppress and rob the people resulting in a heavy loss of lives and properties to the latter. The local despots against whom the people have brought charges should be tried by the people's tribunal.

12. Changes in the class status of landlords: Landlords, who, since the completion of agrarian reform, have always obeyed the government's laws and decrees, devoted themselves strenuously to labour and production or other occupation, and have not been found guilty of any reactionary conduct whatever for over five consecutive years, may have their landlord class status changed to that of labourers or others according to the nature of the labour or occupation they have engaged in, by decision of the hsiang people's representative conference and with the approval of the county people's government. This provision does not apply to those who do not devote themselves strenuously to labour and production or other occupation, or have been found guilty of any reactionary activity, or have been guilty of defying the laws or decrees of the People's Government. The rich peasants in the old liberated areas, who have conformed to the foregoing conditions for three years

since the completion of agrarian reform, may have their class status changed in the same way. Those who have failed to conform to the foregoing conditions should not have their class status changed.

After the completion of agrarian reform, persons having other class status as well as that of a landlord shall be treated according to their other class status