

Report of the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars of the Chinese Soviet Republic to the Second National Soviet Congress

(January 24–25, 1934)

I. The Current Situation and the Victory of the Soviet Movement¹

Two whole years have passed since the convening of the First National Soviet Congress. Developments in the situation over the past two years have thoroughly demonstrated the further wavering and collapse of the rule of the imperialist Guomindang and the vigorous development and victory of the soviet movement.

The period we are in today is actually the period of the further intensification of the Chinese revolutionary situation as well as the transitional period for the whole world to enter into a new, second era of war and revolution.

The confrontation between the socialist world and the capitalist world has now become extremely acute. On the one hand, the socialist economy of the Soviet Union has achieved final consolidation. Its first five-year plan was completed within only four years, and last year the second five-year plan made great achievements in its first year. The phenomenon of unemployment has long since been eliminated in the Soviet Union, and the standard of living and cultural level of all the toiling masses have been dramatically raised. The Soviet Union's

Our source for this report is *Mao Zedong ji*, Vol. 4, pp. 219–82, where it is reproduced from the official record of the Congress put out in March 1934 by the Council of People's Commissars of the Chinese Soviet Republic in Ruijin, Jiangxi. This version includes a prefatory summary of the report, which we have omitted as it adds nothing to our understanding of the document. The report also appears in a volume entitled *Zhiyou suweiai nenggou jiu Zhongguo* (Only the Soviets Can Save China), published in Moscow in 1934 by the Publishing House for Foreign Workers in the Soviet Union, which contains a preface by Kang Sheng, this report, and Mao's "Conclusions" on this report (see following text). The Moscow version appears to have been more carefully edited, but it also contains some changes and additions reflecting the point of view of the International. For this reason, we have taken the Jiangxi version, which is probably closer to Mao's own text, as the basis for our translation, but significant differences between the two versions are pointed out in the notes.

1. The Moscow version of the report begins with the salutation, "Comrades!" after this heading.

national defense has been greatly consolidated. With the support of the revolutionary masses of the whole world, the Soviet Union's policy of peace has met with success everywhere, and even the most obstinate American imperialists had no choice but to establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

The capitalist world, on the other hand, is something else entirely, where the economic panic has reached an extreme. Throughout the capitalist world production is at an unprecedented low and unemployed workers number in the tens of millions.² Capitalism's temporary stability has come to an end and its overall crisis has entered a new phase. The various imperialist countries are in a mad frenzy preparing for war. As a result of the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese imperialists, the contradictions among various imperialists and between the Japanese and U.S. imperialists in particular have developed further on a new basis. The imperialist bandit wars for redividing the world are an extremely grave menace to the people of the world. The imperialists, however, are trying to alleviate their internal contradictions for the time being and to find a way out by sacrificing the Soviet Union and China. Preparations for war against the Soviet Union have not stopped for a moment, and the war to carve up China and attack the Chinese revolution is already clearly and flagrantly under way.

Nevertheless, the revolutionary movement of the proletariat and the oppressed nations of the world is also growing and expanding under the impact of the successes of the socialist construction of the Soviet Union and the threat of imperialist economic panic and war. Fierce class struggle and national revolutions are under way in all capitalist countries, colonies, and semicolonies. The flames of war and revolution in the whole world are pressing toward us.

The Chinese revolution is part of the world revolution. The deepening of the national crisis, the overall collapse of the national economy,³ and the victory of the soviet movement have further promoted the development of the Chinese revolutionary situation, pushing it to an especially prominent position in the world revolution.

The focus of the current political situation in China is the widespread civil war, the life-and-death struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, and the sharp confrontation between the soviet régime of the workers and peasants and the Guomindang régime of the landlords and bourgeoisie.

On the one hand, the Guomindang landlords and bourgeoisie have completely surrendered to the imperialists, guiding the imperialists in their occupation of China's vast territory, monopolizing all significant political and economic rights in China, leading the national economy to a complete collapse, and bringing unprecedented misery to the lives of the laboring masses of workers and peasants. They are taking away all freedoms from the revolutionary masses,

2. The Moscow version of the report omits the passage here that begins "where the economic panic..." and ends with "... number in the tens of millions."

3. Here the Moscow text has "Guomindang economy" instead of "national economy."

suppressing all revolutionary activities, and carrying out a mad fascist terror. Under the direction of the imperialists, they are organizing all reactionary forces in launching desperate attacks on the soviet areas and the Red Army. All of this has a single objective: to fuse the interests of the Chinese landlords and bourgeoisie with those of the imperialists and to lead China onto the road of total colonization.

On the other hand, the soviet régime calls together, organizes, and leads the revolutionary masses of the entire country in waging a resolute national-revolutionary war. It organizes and leads the Red Army and the masses in the struggle for the defense and expansion of the soviet areas. Resolute offensives are launched to destroy the imperialist Guomindang's repeated "Encirclement and Suppression." The counterrevolutionary attempts of all exploiters within the soviet areas are severely suppressed. All land is given to peasants and Red Army soldiers. The workers work an eight-hour day and earn higher wages. There is relief for unemployment and a social security system is in effect. Complete freedom of assembly, association, speech, publication, and strike are granted to all the revolutionary masses. The broad worker and peasant masses are drawn into the administration of their own state organs; only exploiters are excluded from participation. The economic life of the popular masses is organized to enable the masses to move from a position of suffering their fill of hunger and cold under the rule of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the past to a position that is not only completely free from hunger and cold, but improves day by day. With regard to organizing the cultural life of the masses, the broad masses that did not have any educational opportunities under the rule of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the past are advancing to a position of being able to raise their cultural standards day by day. All of this also has a single objective: to overthrow the rule of the landlords and bourgeoisie in the whole country, expel the imperialists from China, liberate hundreds of millions of popular masses from the oppression and exploitation of the rule of the imperialists and the Guomindang, block the road to colonialism that would be the destruction of China, and establish a free and independent Soviet China with territorial integrity.

The increasingly sharp polarization between the two régimes cannot but intensify the increasingly fierce life-and-death struggle between them. The present time is actually the historical period in which victory and defeat are about to be determined by the struggle between the two sides. The counterrevolutionary Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" is advancing against us on a large scale, following on after the defeat of the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression."⁴ The historical task of the soviet régime is to call together, organize, and lead all the revolutionary popular masses of all soviet areas and the whole of China to participate in this great final struggle, to mobilize the broad masses of

4. The Moscow version has here "sixth" in place of "fifth" and "fifth" in place of "fourth."

workers and peasants to join the Red Army, to strengthen the political education and military skills of the Red Army, to expand local armed forces and guerrilla troops, to promote guerrilla warfare widely, to enhance the soviet régime's concentrated and unified leadership of the Red Army in various soviet areas, to improve the speed and quality of the work of the soviet régimes in all fields, to strengthen the work of the financial and economic organs of the soviet régime so as to ensure that the material needs of the revolutionary war are met, to unfold the class struggle of the workers by channeling the revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers to the struggle of defeating the enemy, to promote the agrarian struggle of the peasants by mobilizing the broad masses of peasants in fighting for the seizure and defense of the land, and to call upon all the toiling masses of workers and peasants in all soviet areas and throughout China to make all sacrifices and efforts for the war. This is the way to smash thoroughly the Fifth⁵ "Encirclement and Suppression" of the imperialists and the Guomindang, to block the road toward the colonization of China, and to win initial soviet victories in one or several provinces, leading toward victory throughout the whole of China.⁶

II. The Imperialist Offensives and the Soviet Government's Leadership of the Anti-Imperialist Movement

Over the past two years, since the founding of the Provisional Central Government, the biggest developments inside the country have been the imperialist offensives and the counterrevolutionaries' Fourth and Fifth⁷ "Encirclement and Suppression" [campaigns] against the revolution.

The Japanese imperialist bandit war that began on September 18, 1931, resulted in the occupation of the Three Northeastern Provinces and Rehe and the control of Beiping and Tianjin through barbarous massacres with planes and cannons. Preparations are further being made to launch murderous warfare on an even larger scale toward Inner Mongolia and all of North China. The British imperialists are attacking Sichuan from Tibet, and the French imperialists are preparing to invade Yunnan and Guizhou. Meanwhile, the American imperialists are attempting to put the Yangzi River basin and Fujian under their direct rule. All these imperialists are spreading their pernicious grasp and conspiracies over the vast territory of China for the purposes of enslaving the Chinese people, destroying the Chinese soviet régime, preparing to attack the Soviet Union, and at the same time preparing for a second world war among the imperialist gang-

5. The Moscow version reads "sixth" here.

6. In the Moscow version, this last part reads, simply, "to achieve victory of the soviet revolution throughout the whole of China."

7. The text in the Moscow version refers here to "the fourth, fifth, and sixth" campaigns.

sters themselves. But the Chinese landlord and bourgeois Guomindang, abiding by the principle of surrendering everything to the imperialists, has handed over several million square *li* of land, practiced shameful nonresistance against Japanese and all other imperialist attacks, and traded all the interests of the toiling popular masses for the political, economic, and military assistance of the imperialists in order to facilitate the concentration of their forces for attacks against the soviets and the Red Army.⁸

In this national crisis of unprecedented gravity, the anti-imperialist movement of the revolutionary masses of the whole country is developing most vigorously. The heroic fighting of hundreds of thousands of volunteer army soldiers in the Three Northeastern Provinces, the bloody battles of the soldiers of the Nineteenth Army in Shanghai,⁹ and the anti-imperialist movement that has spread throughout the country have reached a high tide never seen before.

At present, before the revolutionary masses of all of China stand opposing actions of the two political régimes: the Guomindang has totally surrendered to the imperialists and makes every effort to oppress the anti-imperialist masses, whereas the soviets resolutely oppose the imperialists and make every effort to aid and lead the anti-imperialist movement.

Over the past two years the Soviet Provisional Central Government has repeatedly issued telegrams opposing the gangster war of the Japanese imperialists and the surrender and betrayal of the Guomindang. On April 14, 1932, the Provisional Central Government officially declared war against Japan and simultaneously issued an order of mobilization for war against Japan, calling upon the popular masses of the whole country to wage a national-revolutionary war against the imperialists who enslave China and the Guomindang that betrays China. The Provisional Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Commission have already issued a declaration calling upon all Guomindang troops attacking the soviet régime and the Red Army to (1) immediately cease attacking the soviet areas, (2) guarantee democratic rights for the popular masses (freedom of speech, publication, assembly, association, strike, and so on), and (3) arm the popular masses and establish an anti-Japanese volunteer army. Under these three conditions, the Soviet Government is willing to conclude an agreement regarding military operations with any armed force to fight against the Japanese and all other imperialists. When the Guomindang signed the Tangu Agreement with Japan and recently made direct representations to Japan, the Provisional Central Government repeatedly declared to the whole country and the whole world that it represented the people of the whole country in the sternest condemnation of such policies and actions, which sell out the national interests. The Soviet Government aids the anti-Japanese struggle of the masses

8. The Moscow version of this text adds here a characterization of the soviets and the Red Army as "the only reliable force for the survival of the Chinese nation."

9. The Moscow text adds "and the masses of workers" here after "Nineteenth Army."

everywhere and contributed 16,000 *yuan* in support of the anti-Japanese strike movement by the workers of Huxi Textile Mill in Shanghai alone. In addition, the masses of the soviet areas have given donations and assistance to the Anti-Japanese Volunteer Army of Northeast China and provided much moral and material support to other struggles against the imperialists.

Within soviet territory, imperialist privileges have long since been eliminated and imperialist influences eradicated. Pastors and priests have been driven out by the masses, the people's property seized by the churches has been taken back, and missionary schools have been abolished. Within China's borders, the only places free of imperialist rule are the soviet areas.

All these facts clearly show: the Soviet Government is the sole government opposing imperialism. The Soviet Government should point out to the masses of the whole country: it is the greatest responsibility of the soviets and of the whole people to defeat imperialism through direct wars of national defense. The fulfillment of this responsibility, moreover, depends entirely on the broad masses of people developing the anti-imperialist struggle. The first priority is to unite all forces in defeating the Guomindang, running dogs of the imperialists, for they are the largest obstacles to the struggle of the soviets and the masses against imperialism. The masses should be made to understand: it is only because of obstruction by the Guomindang—they lie across the area between the regions of imperialist offensives and the soviet territories and concentrate all their forces to attack the soviet territories, so that the Red Army has no way to engage in battle directly with the imperialists and the soviets and the Red Army are forced to clear the road with resolute attacks—that smashing the Guomindang "Encirclement and Suppression" is the first step.

But a direct and large-scale clash between the soviets and the imperialists grows closer every day. This demands that the soviets energetically strengthen their leadership of all anti-imperialist struggles—the soviets should become the organizer and leader of the anti-imperialist struggle of the popular masses of the whole country. Only by using all its might to make the masses understand the current crisis and the crimes of the Guomindang, and relying on the strengthened anti-imperialist and anti-Guomindang awareness and organizational power of the broad masses can the Soviet Government smoothly carry out its own sacred task—overthrowing the rule of the imperialist Guomindang in China through a national-revolutionary war and a revolutionary civil war.

III. The "Encirclement and Suppression" of the Imperialist Guomindang and the Soviet Government's Struggle Against "Encirclement and Suppression"

Because the Chinese soviet areas are revolutionary bases of opposition to imperialism in the whole country and the Chinese Workers' and Peasants' Red Army is the main force opposing imperialism in all of China, and because of the

vigorous forward development of the soviet movement and the revolutionary war, the Guomindang, with direct assistance from the imperialists, has gathered all its forces and launched one, two, three, four, and even five desperate attacks against the soviets and the Red Army in an effort to destroy the Chinese revolutionary forces and carry out the task of clearing the way for the imperialists to carve up China.

Each attack by the imperialist Guomindang has, however, met with severe defeat. The Chinese soviets and the Workers' and Peasants' Red Army, with the support of the people of the whole country and thanks to the correct leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, have become an invincible force. At the same time, the victories of the soviets and the Red Army have further inspired the toiling masses of the whole country and made them realize that only the soviets and the Red Army are truly fighting for the nation's independence and freedom, and that only the soviets and the Red Army can save China.

The enemy began the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression" right after the Guomindang had sold out the Three Northeastern Provinces and signed the Shanghai ceasefire agreement. Not only does the traitorous Guomindang fail to resist the Japanese imperialist invasion with a single soldier, and not only do they ignore the repeated declarations by the Soviet Central Government and the Red Army regarding their willingness to reach an agreement on military operations against the Japanese with any armed force genuinely resisting Japan, but on the contrary, the arch-traitor Chiang Kaishek of the Guomindang concentrated hundreds of thousands of troops to attack the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area, as well as that of West Hunan-Hubei, and to force the Red Army to leave the area surrounding Wuhan. For our part, although because of having to avoid doing battle with an overwhelmingly strong enemy force and because of certain of our own subjective tactical errors, the Red Fourth Front Army was forced to withdraw from the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area, and embark on a famous expedition, the Red Fourth Army has created broad new soviet bases around Nanjiang, Xuanhan, and Suiding in Sichuan. The Red Fourth Front Army's expedition has led to the development of broad revolutionary mass struggle in the vast remote areas of northwest China, spreading the seeds of the soviets to places where the revolutionary situation is relatively backward. Within less than a year, the Red Fourth Front Army, through valiant and skillful fighting, has already established soviet régimes in more than ten *xian*.¹⁰ All this has made Chiang Kaishek and the warlords of Sichuan begin to tremble before the great

10. Here the Moscow version continues as follows: ". . . increased more than tenfold the ranks of the Red Army, called upon the laboring masses of workers and peasants as well as the White army soldiers of the whole of Sichuan Province to lean toward the soviet revolution, and established new, powerful bases of soviet revolution in China's northeastern region. The Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet Area is the second largest soviet area in the Chinese Soviet Republic, and has many advantages with regard to geography, natural resources, strategy, and social conditions. The Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet Area forms a

triumphs of the Red Fourth Front Army. At the same time, not only has the Second Army Group of the Red Army that retreated from the Honghu base¹¹ not suffered heavy losses, but it has been taking vigorous action in coordination with the Red Fourth Front Army through the areas of Sichuan, Hubei, and Hunan, and has won new victories. Even in the area around Honghu, there are still guerrilla forces. In the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area, not only have our bases not suffered very great losses, but they have rather achieved a stable position and spread guerrilla warfare toward the surrounding areas.¹²

The Central Soviet Area is the site of the Central Soviet Government, the headquarters of the soviet movement in the whole country, and also the main target of enemy attack.¹³ The enemy has gathered most of his military forces and waged a tenacious battle against us, dispatching the so-called "Central Army," the warlord armies of Jiang [Guangnai] and Cai [Tingkai], the warlord armies of Guangdong and Guangxi, and the warlord armies of Hunan to encircle the Central Soviet Area and its various neighboring soviet areas from all four sides. After a year of arduous struggle, however, we have won unprecedented victories. The biggest victory was achieved in the first half of 1933. Within that half year alone, the Red Army of the Central Soviet Area destroyed twenty-four divisions, six battalions, and two companies of the White army; routed three divisions, twelve regiments, five battalions, and two companies of the White army; and captured approximately twenty thousand rifles and around a thousand machine guns and handguns. Especially in the battles of Dongpi and Huangpi, the enemy's toughest basic column was destroyed, thus bringing about the final defeat of the enemy's Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression."¹⁴

In the midst of the great victory of smashing the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression," the Red Army not only expanded in numbers, but its quality was also strengthened. The combat skills and political resolve of the Red Army commanders and soldiers have improved greatly as compared with the case before the Fourth Campaign. The territory of the soviets has expanded. Apart from the large soviet area in Sichuan, large soviet areas have been expanded in

bridge for the development of the soviet revolution between the northern and southern banks of the Yangzi River and the northern and southern parts of China. The Sichuan-Shaanxi Soviet Area has a tremendous role and significance in the great battle to win a new soviet China."

11. Honghu is a lake on the extreme southern edge of Hubei, on the border with Hunan. The reference is to a base area which spanned the two provinces at the time of the Second "Encirclement and Suppression."

12. The Moscow version has this last sentence as follows: "In the Hubei-Henan-Anhui Soviet Area, although our bases have suffered partial losses, the Red Army troops and guerrilla forces remaining have valiantly spread guerrilla warfare toward the surrounding areas."

13. Here the Moscow version has "... and consequently, it is the main target of attack by imperialism and Chiang Kaishek."

14. Fifth in the Moscow version.

northwestern Fujian and eastern Jiangxi, increasing the population by close to a million, and a new Fujian-Jiangxi Province has been set up. The old soviet areas have been further consolidated; this is manifested in improved work by the soviets. The revolutionary enthusiasm of the masses of workers and peasants has been heightened, the class struggle has developed in rural and urban areas, and the remnant reactionary forces in the soviet areas have been strictly suppressed. At the same time, this victory has had a tremendous impact on the Guomindang regions. Under the influence of this victory, the masses of workers and peasants in the broad White regions have heightened their determination to struggle. Among all the Guomindang forces taking part in "Encirclement and Suppression," not only is vacillation prevalent among the soldiers, but feelings of panic have even arisen within the ranks of the leadership. Things have reached the point where Chiang Kaishek was forced to make public the desperate order that "All those without exception who refuse to suppress the bandits and ask to fight the Japanese shall be summarily executed."

The achievement of these victories is, however, certainly no accident. It depended on the correctness of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party, the consolidation of the Soviet Government's leadership, and the proper carrying out of its policies. It also depended on the valiant and skillful fighting of the Red Army, the enthusiastic support of the broad masses of workers and peasants in the soviet areas, and the growing daily struggle and unfolding of the anti-imperialist and anti-Guomindang movement of the masses of workers and peasants in the White areas. It further depended on the sympathy and aid of the proletariat and oppressed masses in colonies all over the world. All these are fundamental conditions for defeating the enemy, and victory could certainly not have been won without these conditions.

After their thorough defeat in the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression," the Guomindang warlords' only way out is to surrender even more shamelessly to the imperialists, obtain quantities of loans and military equipment from the imperialists, hire large numbers of foreign advisors, gather together all old forces in existence, and organize new forces (train new soldiers, new pilots, Blue Shirts, officer corps, and so on). In sum, by concentrating all counterrevolutionary forces to carry out, under the command of the imperialists, a Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" against the soviets and the Red Army.

The struggle of the soviets against the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" is, exactly as pointed out by the Party Central Committee, "at once a struggle to block the way out for crisis-ridden imperialism and a struggle to win a free and independent Soviet China." The process of smashing the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" will determine whether China is "carved up and jointly ruled by the imperialists and becomes completely a colony, or is a free and independent Soviet China possessing territorial integrity."

The soviets should call upon all the masses participating in the struggle in the soviet areas and the White areas to understand clearly the importance of this

struggle. Complete victory in this struggle can be won only by uniting all revolutionary forces under the direction of the soviets with a spirit that is a hundred times more active and a hundred times more resolute.

The soviets should instruct all the masses participating in the struggle as follows: especially after smashing the Fourth "Encirclement and Suppression," we possess all the basic conditions for defeating the current "Encirclement and Suppression." The correct leadership of the Party and the soviets, the strength and expansion of the Red Army, and the enthusiasm for struggle of the broad masses of workers and peasants in the soviet areas and White areas all constitute the basis for us to defeat the enemy.

Because of our efforts and the increasing internal contradictions within the ruling classes, the new, massive attacks of the imperialists and the Guomintang have met with severe blows from us. The enemy's original plan has failed, forcing him to launch desperate attacks against us from new positions and with new plans. We are faced with the final and decisive battle of the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression." Although the blockhouse policy and the economic blockade policy of the Guomintang warlords are extremely brutal, they are not, after all, insurmountable obstacles to our victory. Quite the contrary, these policies of the enemy indicate their own weakness.¹⁵ Let us raise our military skills, strengthen our work among the masses and the soldiers, improve our military tactics, concentrate all our forces to overcome these difficulties, and victory will be ours.

We must point out: the enemy's difficulties are far greater than ours. Vacillation among the White soldiers; hatred and resentment on the part of the workers, peasants, and the broad masses of the petty bourgeoisie under enemy rule; infighting and disintegration among the various factions of warlords in the ruling class; contradictions and conflicts among the various imperialists assisting the Guomintang; and the financial and economic bankruptcy of the Guomintang—all of these constitute the objective conditions for the revolution to triumph.

It should be pointed out here: at a time when the imperialist Guomintang is carrying out the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression," a People's Revolutionary Government¹⁶ has appeared in Fujian. The appearance of this People's Revolutionary Government manifests further splits in the Guomintang system. The great victory of the soviet movement and the bankruptcy of the Guomintang before the people of the whole country have forced a part of the Chinese reactionary ruling classes to adopt new methods in their attempt to find a third road other than the Guomintang road and the soviet road, in order to preserve the reactionary ruling classes from their doom. This attempt, however, is in vain. Because if such organizations as the People's Revolutionary Government do not

15. In the Moscow text, this sentence is omitted.

16. Quotation marks appear around the term "People's Revolutionary Government" in the Moscow edition.

proceed from the genuine interests of the toiling masses of workers and peasants, do not carry out many basic policies such as those that have already been carried out by the soviets,¹⁷ do not firmly recognize the Soviet Government's three conditions that were announced as early as April of last year, and sign and carry out anti-imperialist and anti-Guomindang agreements with the Soviet Government, but rather confine themselves to deception and empty talk, then the broad revolutionary masses will not take a different attitude toward the People's Revolutionary Government from the one they hold toward the Guomindang government, and the inevitable tragic defeat of the People's Revolutionary Government is altogether predictable. The soviets, on the other hand, amidst the daily increasing faith in them among the nation's popular masses and the daily increasing bankruptcy of the deceptions perpetrated by the Guomindang and all other reactionary factions, will resolutely crush the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression," thereby blocking the road to the colonization of China by the imperialists and, from an initial victory in one or several provinces, attain victory in the whole country, thus verifying the saying: "Only the soviets can save China!"

IV. Methods for Carrying Out the Various Basic Soviet Policies During the Past Two Years

When it comes to talking about the various basic policies of the soviets, we must first ask what are the points of departure of these policies. To answer this question, we must understand the environment in which the soviets found themselves in the past and find themselves at present, and the tasks produced by such environments.

In the past, the soviets were born and developed amidst guerrilla warfare. They sprang up in many very small places. These places were each independent and not allied with one another. Surrounding each soviet area was the enemy's world, and the enemy at every moment wreaked destruction and oppression on the soviet areas. Yet they were able to triumph over these enemies, and it was through defeating the enemy's countless oppressions that they grew and developed. This was the environment of the soviets.

The present environment of the soviets is different from that of the past in many respects. They have vast territories, broad masses, and a strong Red Army. They have brought together many scattered forces (although they have not yet been completely consolidated). They have already become organized as a state, which is our Chinese Soviet Republic. This state has already formed its local and central organs and set up a Provisional Central Government. This government is a centralized organ of power that relies upon the broad masses and upon the

17. In the Moscow version, "Chinese people" is substituted for "toiling masses of workers and peasants," and the words from "do not carry out" to "carried out by the soviets" are omitted.

armed forces of the masses—the Red Army. This government is a government of the workers and peasants, which exercises the revolutionary-democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. It offers broad democracy to the workers and peasants, and permits absolutely no participation by elements of the landlord and capitalist classes. It is a dictatorship, a dictatorship that already wields tremendous power.¹⁸ This dictatorship has expanded its influence throughout the whole country and enjoys great prestige among the broad popular masses. Its situation is very different from that during the previous era of guerrilla warfare. Warfare, however, is still a fact of daily life and has become more widespread and violent. This is because the confrontation between this dictatorship and the dictatorship of the Guomindang landlord and bourgeois classes sharpens day by day. Now is the time when victory hangs in the balance between the two sides, and we are faced by a large-scale “Encirclement and Suppression” on the part of the imperialist Guomindang. Such is the present environment of the soviets.

This environment has determined their tasks, which is to say that they must use all their might to mobilize the masses, organize the masses, and arm the masses, and must incessantly attack their enemies so as to smash the enemy’s “Encirclement and Suppression” directed against them. Their task is to wage a revolutionary war, bringing together all forces in carrying out the revolutionary war and using the revolutionary war to defeat the enemy. They must also defeat the powerful imperialist rule, because the imperialists are the supporters and commanders of the enemy’s dictatorship. Their purpose in overthrowing the imperialists and the Guomindang is¹⁹ to unify China, carry out a bourgeois-democratic revolution, and make it possible for this revolution to be transformed into a socialist revolution in the future. This is the basic task of the soviets.

From this we can understand why, given this kind of environment and these tasks, the soviets are carrying out the various basic policies. The soviets must carry out these policies to consolidate the already triumphant democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants; to expand this dictatorship throughout the whole country; and to mobilize, organize, and arm the workers, peasants, and toiling masses in all the soviet areas and throughout all of China, in order to overthrow the rule of the imperialists and the Guomindang by means of a resolute revolutionary war, consolidate and develop this dictatorship, and make prep-

18. Here the Moscow version adds after “tremendous power,” “over the warlords, bureaucrats, landlords, despotic gentry, and bourgeoisie, who constitute an extremely small proportion of the people.”

19. From this point to the end of the paragraph, the Moscow version reads as follows: “. . . to liberate the Chinese people; to liberate China’s four hundred million people from enslavement and trampling by the Japanese and other imperialists; to enable hundreds of millions of toiling Chinese to escape the oppression of the warlords, bureaucrats, evil gentry, landlords, and bourgeoisie; and to make it possible in the future for the Chinese masses to emulate the Soviet Union’s workers and peasants in successfully establishing, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, a bright, happy new way of life for humanity in a socialist society. This is the basic task of the soviets.”

arations for the transformation of the current bourgeois-democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants into a future socialist dictatorship of the proletariat. This is the point of departure for all soviet policies.

Acting on the instructions of the First National Soviet Congress, the Central Executive Committee and the Council of People's Commissars have, over the past two years, adhered to the general orientation of these policies and achieved extremely great results. Experience has already proved to the whole of China's revolutionary popular masses: only the policies of the Soviet Government are policies that serve the political power and interests of the popular masses, that resolutely oppose the counterrevolutionary policies of the imperialist Guomindang, and that [can] overthrow the rule of the imperialist Guomindang in the whole country, save the whole nation from destruction, and liberate the whole of the toiling popular masses from untold misery.

Needless to say, in a China where there is a sharp confrontation between two régimes, every concrete administrative action of the soviets must immediately gain the support of the broad popular masses. The popular masses who have suffered their fill of oppression and exploitation under the reactionary policies of the imperialist Guomindang are attracted to each concrete administrative action of the soviets like metal filings to a magnet. This situation has caused extreme panic among the reactionary ruling classes, who have therefore not hesitated to fabricate all sorts of shameless rumors to slander the soviet administration. Iron-clad facts have, however, provided a forceful reply to such shameless rumormongering. Every Chinese who has eyes in his head, except for the mad, unscrupulous Guomindang landlords and capitalists, cannot but recognize the immeasurably wide gap between the Soviet Government's policies and those of the Guomindang government!

A. Let Us First Discuss the Arming of the Masses and the Building Up of the Red Army by the Soviets.

In order to oppose the enemy's "Encirclement and Suppression" and to wage revolutionary war,²⁰ the first tasks of the soviets are to arm the masses, organize a strong and solid iron Red Army, organize local armed forces and guerrilla troops, and organize supplies and transportation for conducting the war. Over the past two years, in the firm struggle against the enemy's Fourth and Fifth²¹ "Encirclement and Suppression" [campaigns], the soviets have achieved great success through efforts on these fronts.

First of all, the establishment of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission unified the leadership of the Red Army throughout the country, enabling Red Army units of the various soviet areas and various fronts to begin to coordi-

20. The Moscow version adds here "and to safeguard the Chinese people and state. . ."

21. As usual, the Moscow version adds "Sixth" here.

nate their actions and cooperate with each other under the guidance of unified strategic thinking. This is an important turning point from scattered guerrilla action to regular, large-scale movements of Red Army forces. Over the last two years the Revolutionary Military Commission has led the Red Army throughout the country, and mainly in the Central Soviet Area, in carrying out a glorious, victorious war, having smashed the enemy's four²² "Encirclement and Suppression" [campaigns] and won a first-stage victory in the struggle against the Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression."²³

The Red Army has expanded rapidly over the last two years. It is several times larger than it was two years ago. Success in this regard is due to the enthusiastic participation by the broad masses of workers and peasants in the revolutionary war, improvement in the methods of mobilization, and the application of the laws and orders of the soviets granting preferential treatment to Red Army soldiers. During the Red May of 1933 alone, nearly twenty thousand new soldiers were added in a few *xian* of the Central Soviet Area. In many places the masses of workers and peasants poured into the Red Army like tidewater. Facts have proven erroneous all the opportunist statements, such as the notion that the masses are not willing to join the Red Army or the idea that it is impossible to expand the Red Army in new soviet areas or remote areas. The correctness of the mobilization methods and the thorough implementation of soviet laws and orders giving preferential treatment to Red Army soldiers have, however, been crucial to the speedy completion of the mobilization plans. Important components of the mobilization methods are dispensing with all coercive orders, carrying out thoroughgoing propaganda and persuasion, and punishing class-alien elements who undermine the expansion of the Red Army and lead desertions. Necessary and important steps in guaranteeing that Red Army soldiers will enthusiastically rush to the front lines and in consolidating their determination for battle at the front are to raise the social position of Red Army soldiers to the most prestigious status, to provide for all possible and necessary psychological and material needs of Red Army soldiers, to distribute land to Red Army soldiers from other regions and mobilize the masses to cultivate the land on their behalf, to tend the land well for the dependents of every Red Army soldier, to give Red Army soldiers' dependents a 5 percent discount in the consumers' cooperatives, to operate special shops with daily necessities for dependents of Red Army soldiers, to offer 10 percent of the profits of state-run enterprises and cooperatives to dependents of Red Army soldiers, to call upon the masses to make donations for relief of dependents of Red Army soldiers who are sick and have difficulties, to call upon the masses to provide psychological and material comfort to Red Army soldiers

22. The Moscow version has "five" here.

23. The following sentence, referring to the victory of the Sichuan forces (under Zhang Guotao), appears at the end of this paragraph in the Moscow edition: "Moreover, under the leadership of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission, the Sichuan Red Army has already achieved a great and glorious new victory."

and their dependents, and to carry out actually and thoroughly all laws, decrees, and methods for granting preferential treatment to Red Army soldiers and their dependents. There are many models for these tasks all over the soviet areas. The broad masses of workers and peasants in these places regard as their own sacred duty taking up arms to defend the soviet areas and developing the soviet areas, and large numbers of them constantly rush to the front. For example, in Changgang Township in Jiangxi, among the total of 407 young and adult males between the ages of 16 and 45, 320 left to join the Red Army and to work, and 87 stayed in the township. The ratio of those leaving to those remaining behind is thus 80 to 20. In Fujian's Upper Caixi Township, among the total of 554 young and adult males, 485 left to join the Red Army or to work, and only 67 stayed in the township, making the ratio of those leaving to those staying 88 to 12.²⁴ With such large numbers of able-bodied males in these townships having heroically gone to the front, what about village production and family life? Not only have they not been adversely affected, but they have instead undergone expansion and improvement. What is the reason for this? It is because labor mutual aid teams, field cultivation teams, and various other measures have regulated labor power in the countryside in an organized and planned way, thereby solving all difficulties and problems of Red Army dependents. I think such glorious lessons are worth learning throughout the soviet areas.

The iron-hard consolidation of the Red Army should be closely linked to the expansion of the Red Army, and during the last two years considerable success has likewise been achieved in this aspect of our work. The present Red Army has already embarked on the road to becoming an iron regular revolutionary armed force. This is manifested in the following ways: (1) The composition has been improved, ensuring that only the workers, peasants, and toiling masses have the glorious right to bear arms and that class-alien elements who have wormed their way into the Red Army are resolutely expelled. (2) Worker cadres have increased in number and the political commissar system has been universally instituted, so that control of the Red Army is in the hands of reliable commanders. (3) Political education has made progress, thus strengthening the determination of Red soldiers to fight to the end for the soviets, raising discipline as related to class consciousness, and furthering close ties between the Red Army and the broad popular masses. (4) Military skills have been raised. Even though at present the Red Army still lacks the use of the latest-model weapons and practice in handling them, general military skills have made great strides in comparison with the past. (5) The authorized strength of the units has been changed, thereby enhancing the organizational strength of the Red Army. All this has very greatly increased the fighting power of the Red Army, making it an invincible soviet armed force.

24. See above, the translations of Mao's investigations of these two townships, dated November 18 and November 26, 1933, respectively.

Extensive expansion of the Red Guards, Young Pioneers, and guerrilla forces is an extremely important task in the soviets' arming of the masses to carry out the revolutionary war. The Red Guards and Young Pioneers are ready-made reserve armies for the Red Army at the front lines, and are local armed forces for the defense of the soviet areas. They also constitute a bridge in the process of transforming the present voluntary recruitment system to a future compulsory conscription system. The guerrilla troops, for their part, are the creators of the new soviet areas and constitute an indispensable detachment of the Red Army's main forces. Over the last two years, such forces have been developed in all soviet areas. Their military and political training have also been considerably strengthened. Their joining the Red Army, defense of the local areas, attacks on and harassment of the enemy, and the great achievements they have demonstrated in the successive battles to smash "Encirclement and Suppression" have all caused a tremendous shock to the enemy and become huge obstacles to the enemy's invasion of the soviet areas. Their effect has been particularly manifest in the Central Soviet Area and the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Soviet Area. An important task of the soviets is to spread this system to all newly opened soviet areas, to expand their organizations in a big way, and to strengthen their training, so as to turn these troops into the Red Army's most reliable brothers in the revolutionary war.

Replenishing provisions and supplies for the Red Army, organizing military transportation linking the front lines with the rear, and organizing a military medical system are, likewise, tasks of decisive significance for the revolutionary war. Given a situation in which we still have not taken several central cities, and the enemy maintains his economic blockade, carrying out this task is extremely difficult. Over the past two years, however, by relying on the enthusiasm of the broad masses of workers and peasants in the soviet areas and White regions, we have laid a considerable foundation for these tasks as well. In this regard we have already secured supplies and provisions and their transportation to the Red Army over a long period of time in the past, and this must be considered a tremendous achievement. But the present decisive battle to smash the enemy's Fifth "Encirclement and Suppression" and the even wider war in the future demand that we make greater efforts to increase our strength in this respect and guarantee more ample provisions.

Revolutionary war on an even larger scale lies ahead of us. The soviet policy of arming the masses has further demonstrated its paramount importance. The basic fighting task of the soviets is to arm the masses without a moment's slackening and to realize as quickly as possible through effective work the creation of a million-man-strong iron Red Army.

The basic task of the soviets is to wage revolutionary war and to mobilize all forces of the popular masses to carry out the war. Around this basic task, the soviets have numerous urgent tasks. They should pursue a policy of extensive democracy for the broad popular masses. They should resolutely suppress counterrevolutionaries within the ranks. They should arouse class struggle among the workers, develop the agrarian revolution of the peasants, and heighten the activism of the worker and

peasant masses under the principle of a workers' and peasants' alliance led by the working class. They should pursue correct financial and economic policies to ensure that the material needs of the revolutionary war are met. They should carry out a cultural revolution to arm the minds of the masses of workers and peasants. These and many other basic policies are all aimed at one goal: overthrowing the rule of the imperialist Guomindang by means of revolutionary war, consolidating and developing the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, and preparing for the transition to the stage of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

B. Let Us Now Discuss the Soviet Democratic System.

The soviet, a democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, is the political power of the popular masses themselves and relies directly on the popular masses. It can play its role only when it maintains the highest degree of closeness in its ties with the masses. The soviet is endowed with tremendous power. It has already become the organizer and leader of the revolutionary war, and it is also the organizer and leader of the lives of the masses. The greatness of its power cannot be matched by any form of state²⁵ in history. Its power, however, rests entirely on the popular masses, and it cannot be separated from the popular masses even for a moment. The soviet political power must use force to deal with all class enemies, but toward its own class—the workers, peasants, and toiling masses²⁶—it may not use any force whatsoever. What it manifests is nothing but the broadest democratic ideology.

The broadest democracy of the soviets is manifested first and foremost in its own election. The soviets grant to all the exploited and oppressed masses full rights to vote and to be elected; moreover, women's rights are exactly the same as those of men. This is the first time in history²⁷ that the workers, peasants, and toiling masses have attained such rights. To summarize the experience of soviet elections in various places over the past two years, generally speaking the achievements have been great. First, concerning voter registration: A strict distinction was made between residents with the right to vote and those without the right to vote by use of the red and white wall poster method. The policy of carrying out the elections at meetings of the electorate, which all exploiting elements are forbidden to attend, replaced the previous method of holding the elections at mass meetings. Second, concerning the balance of class composition: To guarantee that the proletariat will be the mainstay of leadership²⁸ within the

25. In the Moscow text, the word "capitalist" appears before the word "state."

26. Here the Moscow edition refers not simply to "workers, peasants, and toiling masses," but to "the majority of the popular masses, made up of the workers, the peasants, the poor, office workers and staff members, and revolutionary intellectuals."

27. The Moscow text reads "Chinese history" here in place of "history."

28. For "mainstay of leadership" (*lingdao gugan*), the Moscow text has "leading cadres" (*lingdao ganbu*).

soviet régime, we applied the method under which thirteen workers and their dependents elected one representative, and fifty peasants or poor people elected one representative, and the same composition is used to organize conferences of deputies at the city and township level. At all levels of deputies' congresses and executive committees from the district to the central level, an appropriate ratio of workers' and peasants' deputies was established. This has guaranteed the alliance between workers and peasants in the organization of the soviet régime, and ensured that the workers occupy the leading position. Third, concerning electoral units: To ensure that the majority of voters participate in the elections, and to enable workers to elect the appropriate deputies to the soviets, the new election law proclaimed by the Central Executive Committee in September 1933 stipulates that each township soviet or city soviet be divided into several electoral units for the purpose of carrying out elections. That is, elections are held with the village as a unit among the peasantry, and workers carry out elections as a separate unit. This makes it very convenient for the masses to participate in elections. Fourth, concerning the number of people participating in elections: The development of the soviet election movement has to a great extent made clear to the masses of voters the relevance of elections to their own lives. Many of the masses who did not actively participate in elections in the past have now become active. In the two elections held in 1932 and the election held in the latter half of 1933, many places had over 80 percent voter participation, and in some places the only people who did not participate in election meetings were the sick, those in labor, and those on guard duty. Fifth, concerning name-lists of candidates: In the elections held in the latter half of 1933, a system of candidates' name-lists was adopted, which allowed voters to be prepared prior to the elections as to whether or not to vote for certain candidates. Sixth, concerning the election of women: In most of the city and township soviets at present, over 25 percent of the representatives elected are women. In some places, such as Upper Caixi Township in Shanghai, forty-three of the seventy-five representatives are women, which makes 60 percent. Among the ninety-one representatives in Lower Caixi Township, fifty-nine are women, making up 66 percent. The broad masses of working women are taking part in managing the nation. Seventh, concerning work reports, that is, township and city soviets convening voters' meetings prior to elections to report on the work of the soviets and guide the voters in criticizing such reports: This method was more widely applied in the elections held in the latter half of 1933 than in the previous year. All of these constitute basic steps enabling the masses to exercise their right to manage the state organs. Thus there are satisfactory methods for soviet elections, which guarantee a foundation for consolidating soviet political power.

Next, soviet democracy manifests itself in city and township conferences of deputies. The system of city and township deputies' conferences constitutes the organizational basis of the soviets and the organ through which the soviets maintain close relations with the broad masses. Progress over the past two years

has further perfected this system of ours. Its most outstanding characteristics are the following: (1) For the purposes of forging close relations between township and city soviet deputies and local residents, facilitating the solicitation of residents' opinions, and facilitating leadership work, all residents are to be appropriately assigned to be under the leadership of the various deputies, according to the proximity of living quarters between deputies and residents (generally, thirty to seventy residents are placed under the leadership of one deputy), thereby causing the various deputies to develop permanent relationships with the residents under their leadership. In this way, the popular masses and the soviets are organizationally joined together. (2) Among township and city soviet deputies, a deputy in charge is to be elected out of every three to seven deputies, based on the proximity of their living quarters. This person's tasks are, under the guidance of the township or city soviet presidium, to assign and direct the work of the various deputies under his leadership, to transmit notices from the presidium to each deputy, to hold meetings of residents under his leadership, and to resolve minor problems among the residents under his leadership. In each village, there must also be a deputy in overall charge to take responsibility for leading the work of the whole village. This fosters close links between the city and township presidiums and the deputies, and provides strong leadership for the work in villages. (3) Under the township soviets and city soviets, various sorts of standing committees and provisional committees are to be organized—for example, committees on preferential treatment for the Red Army, water conservancy committees, education committees, grain and food committees, public health committees, and so on. There may be as many as dozens of them, and large numbers of activists among the masses may be drawn in to participate in the work of these committees. Not only do townships have committees, but there should also be certain necessary committees in the villages. In this way, the work of the soviets forms a network and the broad masses become directly involved in the work of the soviets. (4) It is now stipulated that township soviet and city soviet elections be held once every six months (district soviets also have one every six months, but *xian* and provincial soviets have one every year). In this way, the fresh opinions of the popular masses easily emerge and are transmitted to the soviets. (5) Representatives who have committed serious errors in the interim between two elections may be removed by a proposal from ten or more voters and the approval of more than half the total number of voters, or expelled by the resolution of a deputies' conference. This makes it impossible for bad elements to linger for long periods in soviet organs. All of these things are characteristics of the current practice of city and township soviets in many places throughout the soviet areas. Everyone can see that the democracy of the soviet régime has developed to a level that is truly unprecedented in any political system in history. And the soviet relies upon this system to unite with the broad popular masses, thereby becoming the organ most able to develop the creativity of the masses and the organ most able to mobilize the popular masses to cope with civil war

and revolutionary construction. This is also something that no government throughout history has been able to accomplish.²⁹ All organs of soviet political power above the district level are constructed entirely upon the foundation of city and township soviets, and are formed by assemblies and executive committees of workers', peasants', and soldiers' deputies at all levels. Government personnel are elected to their positions and those who prove unqualified are dismissed in accordance with the public will. Discussion and resolution of all problems are based on the people's will, and therefore the soviet régime is a genuine régime of the broad popular masses.

Next, soviet democracy is also manifested in the granting to all the revolutionary popular masses of full freedoms of assembly, association, speech, publication, and going on strike. At a time when in the areas under Guomindang rule the revolutionary popular masses are being stripped of all freedoms and rights and a mad fascist reign of terror is under way, every revolutionary person under the Soviet Government has the right to express his own opinions; moreover, the soviets provide all possible material facilities (meeting places, paper, printing houses, and so on). The soviets unflinchingly make every effort to lead all assemblies, associations, and publications of opinion that are undertaken to oppose the imperialist Guomindang. The only thing the soviets prohibit is the freedom of all those exploiting elements to oppose the revolution.

In addition, to consolidate the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants, the soviets must encourage the broad popular masses to supervise and criticize their own work. Every revolutionary member of the popular masses has the right to expose the mistakes and shortcomings of soviet staff members. At a time when corrupt Guomindang officials are spread out over the whole country and the people are angry but dare not speak out, such phenomena are absolutely forbidden under the soviet system. If elements among soviet staff workers are discovered who practice corruption and embezzlement, are passive and go slow in their work, or who act in a bureaucratic manner, the popular masses may at once expose such people's mistakes, and the soviets will immediately punish them and certainly not show any indulgence. This kind of full democratic spirit is also possible only under the soviet system.

Finally, the soviet democratic spirit can also be observed in the demarcation of administrative districts. The soviets have abolished the old bureaucratic administrative districts, which were large and inappropriate, and have made the soviet areas of jurisdiction smaller at all levels, from the province down to the township. What is the significance of this? It is to keep the soviets in close contact with the popular masses, to enable the soviets to be fully informed of the demands of the popular masses because the areas of jurisdiction are not too large, to allow the opinions of the popular masses to be reflected rapidly to the

29. In the version published in Moscow, the words "except for the Soviet Union" appear between "no government throughout history" and "has been able to accomplish."

soviets and quickly discussed and resolved, and to make extremely convenient the mobilization of the popular masses for war and for soviet construction. The Guomindang warlords use the system of large provinces, large *xian*, and large districts and townships from the feudal era. This only serves to cut oneself off from the popular masses, and the Soviet Government has no use for it. It should be pointed out here that the demarcation of villages is an important matter because the most convenient method of carrying out the work of the soviets below the township soviet level is to mobilize the masses using the village as a unit. Only by relying upon appropriate demarcation of villages, the establishment in the villages of organizations of the popular masses, and strong leadership of the whole village by village deputies and deputies in charge will the work of township soviets be able to attain the best results.

C. Next, Let Us Discuss the Attitude of the Soviets Toward the Landlords and the Bourgeoisie.

The soviets have realized the world's most successful democratic system, which enables the broad popular masses to participate directly, grants the broad popular masses all democratic rights, and absolutely does not use or need to use any kind of force against the popular masses.

Toward the landlords and the bourgeoisie, that is to say toward all those exploiting elements who have been overthrown by the revolutionary popular masses, the soviets have, on the other hand, a different kind of attitude.

Because they are exploiters and because they were the rulers in the past, the landlords and the bourgeoisie harbor extremely deep hatred toward the soviets. Because, although they have been overthrown, they have not yet been eliminated, and they still have solid and deep-rooted social foundations and superior knowledge and skills. Thus, even though they have been overthrown, they constantly attempt to stage a comeback, and to overthrow the soviet régime and restore the former system of exploitation. Especially during a period of civil war, when the enemy repeatedly launches military offensives against the soviet areas, these overthrown exploiters constantly strive to carry out counterrevolutionary actions in concert with the attacking enemy. For this reason, the soviet régime cannot refrain from carrying out harsh punishment and repression against these elements in every possible respect.

The first item in the soviet policy of punishing exploiting elements is to exclude them from political power. Landlords, the bourgeoisie, and all other enemies of the revolution are completely stripped of the right to vote and of the right to serve in the Red Army and local armed forces.³⁰ But these elements

30. In the Moscow version, this sentence begins: "It is stipulated in the Soviet Constitution that . . ." The balance is as in this version.

always try by hook and by crook to sneak into the soviet organs, into the Red Army, and into local armed forces. Especially in newly established soviet areas, where mass struggle has not developed fully, it has been easier for these elements to seize opportunities to worm their way in. Past experience has fully demonstrated that to wage a brutal and merciless struggle against the activities of these class-alien elements to worm their way into the revolutionary régime is a very important task of the soviets.

The second item is to strip away freedom of speech, publication, assembly, and association from all landlords and members of the bourgeoisie. The soviets grant such freedoms only to the revolutionary popular masses and not to any elements of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Because landlord and bourgeois elements will inevitably use such freedoms as their counterrevolutionary instruments, it is absolutely necessary to deprive these elements of such freedoms. One of the important reasons that the soviets have been moving toward consolidation day after day also lies in having deprived these class enemies of their freedoms and reduced their opportunities for action.

The third item is to use revolutionary force and revolutionary courts to suppress all counterrevolutionary activities. Based on the task of arming the masses, the soviets have established a mighty Red Army and widespread local armed forces. These constitute iron strength upon which the soviets directly depend. Only by relying upon them can the soviets defeat the military power of the imperialist Guomindang and suppress counterrevolutionary activities within the soviet areas. The soviets have, however, another important weapon for suppressing counterrevolutionaries in conjunction with this one, which is the soviet courts. Relying directly upon armed force and relying upon the activities of the State Political Security Bureau and the class struggles of the broad popular masses, the soviet courts see to it that all counterrevolutionary attempts within the soviet areas are firmly suppressed. Over the past several years, serious counterrevolutionary activities have occurred in all the various soviet areas. For example, the AB Corps in the Central Soviet Area, the Hunan-Jiangxi Soviet Area, and elsewhere; the Social Democratic Party in Fujian; the Reorganizationists in places such as West Hunan-Hubei, Henan-Hubei-Anhui, Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, and Fujian-Jiangxi; the Liquidationists of Trotsky and Chen Duxiu in Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi; and others have all attempted to carry out, or even succeeded in carrying out, their counterrevolutionary uprisings. In the end, however, they all met with stern repression by the soviet courts, their rebellious plots were overcome, and the soviet régime was consolidated. In this respect, the Political Security Bureau and the soviet courts have already accumulated rich experience and corrected the mistake of failure to carry out a clear-cut class line, which occurred in the past in many places. There has also been progress lately in the massification [*qunzhonghua*] of the soviet courts, which means that their suppression of counterrevolutionaries should be linked with the struggles of the

broad masses to eliminate counterrevolution. The widespread use of the circuit courts³¹ is proof of this.

In sum, the soviets exercise an extremely extensive revolutionary democracy toward the broad popular masses. At the same time, however, it is in the midst of such democracy that their tremendous power is constituted—power built upon the firm faith and conscious needs of the hundreds of millions of worker and peasant masses. Putting such power to use, the soviets have formed their own dictatorship, organized the revolutionary war, organized the soviet courts, and carried out fierce attacks against class enemies on all fronts. The soviet courts, for their part, have played a great role in suppressing counterrevolutionary activities within the soviet territories.

If one compares the soviet courts under the workers' and peasants' dictatorship with the Guomindang courts under the dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie, on the other hand, an extraordinary picture emerges.

The purpose of the soviet courts is to suppress the landlords and the bourgeoisie, and so they generally go lightly in dealing with crimes of worker and peasant elements. The purpose of the Guomindang courts is to suppress the worker and peasant classes, and so they generally go lightly in dealing with crimes of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. The role of the courts is entirely determined by the class nature of the political régime.

On the one hand, the soviet courts sternly suppress the activities of counterrevolutionary elements, and the soviets should certainly not show any leniency whatsoever toward such elements. But on the other hand, all inhumane treatment of criminals already under arrest is forbidden. The Central Soviet Government has already issued a clear order to abolish corporal punishment. This, too, represents a tremendous, historic reform. The Guomindang courts, on the other hand, remain to this day permeated by cruel and inhumane medieval tortures.

Toward criminals other than those given the death penalty, soviet prisons practice persuasionism,³² which means using the communist spirit and labor discipline to educate criminals and transform their intrinsic criminal nature. Guomindang prisons, on the other hand, go in for out-and-out barbarous feudal killing by maltreatment and cruel fascist punishment, and constitute a hell on earth for the toiling masses and revolutionaries.

Destroying counterrevolutionary conspiracies of hostile classes, establishing revolutionary order within the soviet territories, and eliminating all remnants of barbarity and feudalism in the administration of justice are the goals of the

31. The *xunhui fating*, here translated "circuit courts," were presumably the equivalent of the institution of the same name which existed in the Chinese People's Republic from 1949 to 1954. These courts, which were placed under the authority of the local *xian* government, visited the various towns and townships in the *xian* to try cases.

32. *Ganhuazhuyi*, literally "transform-the-feelings-ism," means to help a misguided or erring person to change by persuasion or example.

soviet courts. Each of the reforms of the soviets in this arena similarly has its own historical significance.

D. Next, Let Us Discuss Soviet Labor Policies.

On the basis of the class nature of their régime, and the great task of arming the toiling masses to overthrow the imperialist Guomintang by means of revolutionary warfare, the soviets must resolutely arouse the workers' class struggle, guarantee the workers' daily interests, develop the workers' revolutionary activism, organize such activism on the part of the workers for use in the great revolutionary war, and turn the workers into active leaders of the revolutionary war and cornerstones of the consolidation and development of the soviet régime. This is the point of departure of soviet labor policies.

Under the soviet labor policies, the interests of workers are thoroughly protected. Comparing this with the Guomintang's rule in the past and with the Guomintang areas at the present, there is truly a difference like that between heaven and hell.

In the period when the soviet areas were still under Guomintang rule, workers functioned as slaves of their employers. No worker could ever forget the long hours, the low pay, the brutal treatment, and the fact that there was no legal protection whatsoever for the worker's position. All of this not only continues to exist in the Guomintang areas at present, but has been exacerbated many times over. Lately the situation in the White areas is that the workers' actual wages have gone down by more than 50 percent, and cutting back work hours, reducing the workforce, and closing plants have become the capitalists' commonplace methods for attacking the workers. As a consequence, unemployment has become widespread. Among industrial workers alone the number of unemployed has reached over 60 percent. In all areas under Guomintang rule, to go on strike is a criminal act. In March 1933, the Guomintang made a public declaration in Hankou that strikers would be punished by death. In all disputes between workers and capitalists, the Guomintang invariably stands by the capitalists to oppress the workers.³³

Under the soviet régime, workers are the masters. Leading the broad masses of peasants, the workers have shouldered the great responsibility of consolidating and developing the soviet régime. Therefore, the principle of the soviet labor policies is to protect the interests of the working class and to consolidate and develop the soviet régime. In line with this principle, a Labor Law was promulgated in December of 1931. In 1933, it was revised and promulgated once again. The Labor Law as revised on this occasion is applicable to both the cities and the countryside and both large and small enterprises.

33. Here the Moscow version adds a one-line paragraph reading as follows: "These crimes, however, have been completely eliminated in the soviet areas."

In the soviet areas at present the eight-hour workday has been generally instituted, and labor contracts and collective contracts have been concluded. Labor inspection units and inspectors have been introduced widely in cities and in many villages, with the aim of checking whether or not employers have taken any actions that violate the soviet Labor Law. Punishment of employers who violate the law is the province of the specially established labor court. To prevent the capitalists from controlling labor and to protect unemployed workers,³⁴ the soviets have monopolized the right to job referral and all capitalists wishing to hire workers must go to employment agencies set up by the soviets. The establishment of relief agencies for the unemployed is also becoming daily more widespread, and concrete relief is generally available to unemployed workers. Workers in rural areas have also been given redistributed land. A social insurance system has been set up and a social insurance bureau has been established in each city in the soviet areas. None of this is available in any way to workers under the Guomindang régime. On the other hand, the soviet régime considers the application of these policies to be its own greatest responsibility.

Because the soviets have firmly carried out their own policies, the lives of workers in the soviet areas have seen tremendous improvement.

This is true, first of all, with regard to wages. Actual wages in various places in the soviet areas have generally risen in comparison with the period before the revolution. The example of Tingzhou is shown below [on page 681].

According to this table, compared to the period before the revolution,³⁵ the wages of workers in the city of Tingzhou went up by a minimum of 32 percent (carpenters) and a maximum of what amounts to 1,450 percent, or an increase of 14.5 times (textile workers). This sort of startling increase fully reflects how startlingly low wages were in the Guomindang era. Of course, the wages of workers in Tingzhou in particular are somewhat higher than wages in other cities in the soviet areas (and the workers' meals are included), but wages in other cities have also risen. For example, in the most recent period, the pay for construction workers in the city of Ruijin has risen from 25 *fen* per day before the revolution to 45 *fen* per day, an 80 percent increase.

Not only in the cities, but in rural areas, wages have risen as well. A comparison, for various periods, of pay for odd-job work in Tiancun District, Ganxian is given below [on page 682].

This table contains data for a single rural area, but in other rural areas as well, wages have generally risen. As for wages in state-run enterprises, over the past two years in various enterprises under the direct jurisdiction of the center wages have generally risen by 20 percent, the highest increase being 40 percent.

Generally speaking, wages have been paid on time. Because of supervision by

34. Here the Moscow version reads "a sector of unemployed workers produced by protracted 'Encirclement and Suppression' on the part of the imperialist Guomindang."

35. The Moscow version says "before the war."

Trade	Period	Highest Wages*			Lowest Wages			Median Wages	
		before revolution	present	comparison	before revolution	present	comparison	before revolution	after revolution
Confectionery	monthly	10	32	+22	2	22	+20	No data	30
Paper-making	monthly	10	35	+25	3	31	+28		33
Oil	monthly	6	18	+12	3	12	+ 9		15
Pharmaceutical	monthly	6	30	+24	2	26	+24		28
Tobacco	monthly	7	36	+29	3.5	30	+26.5		28
Printing	monthly	15	36	+21	5	28	+23		34
Metal	monthly	6	18	+12		14			16
Carpenters	daily	.60	.80	+ .20					
Boatmen	from Ting-zhou to Shanghai	14	46	+32					
Dyers	monthly	5.5	20	+14.5	2	18	+16		19
Oil-paper	monthly	5	21	+16	2	17	+15		19
Liquor	monthly	6	20	+14	3	18	+15		
Textile	monthly	10	35	+25	2	31	+29	32	

*All values are in *yuan*.

	Highest Daily Wages*				Median Daily Wages				Lowest Daily Wages			
	before revolu- tion	before May 1, 1931	present	increase from before revolu- tion	before revolu- tion	before May 1, 1931	present	increase from before revolu- tion	before revolu- tion	before May 1, 1931	present	increase from before revolu- tion
Handicrafts	30	30	35	+ 5	22	25	30	+ 8	10	15	20	+10
Paper-making	40	40	45	+ 5	22	24	30	+ 8	14	11	25	+11
Agriculture	28	30	32	+ 4	10	15	20	+10	3	6	10	+ 7
Coolies	45	67.5	96	+51	26	39	50	+24	10		20	+10

*All figures are in *fen* (cents).

the soviets, cases of employers delaying the payment of wages are rare. Even the small number of obstinate capitalists, having been sanctioned by the labor courts, no longer dare to make trouble for the workers.

As for the legally stipulated working period, over the last two years the eight-hour day has been widely instituted in all cities in the soviet areas. Working hours for farm laborers in the countryside are generally shorter than for adults.³⁶

Protective measures for women and minors such as equal pay for equal work, maternity leave before and after childbirth, and prohibition against the use of child labor under the age of fourteen have also been generally applied.

As for protection of apprentices, generally the number of years for apprenticeship has been reduced, treatment of apprentices has been improved, and feudal oppression of apprentices has been eliminated. The lives of apprentices have been considerably improved and their pay has risen. (For example, in Jiangxi apprentices get an allowance of at least 15 *yuan* a year and some get as much as 3 *yuan* a month.)

As for general conditions, in cities and in state-run enterprises in particular, workers' health and hygiene and their meals have been greatly improved. Generally speaking, workers' meals in various cities cost over 6 *yuan* a month. Meals for workers in the countryside are at least on a par with those of the employers.

Workers in the soviet areas have organized strong class labor unions. Such unions are pillars of the soviet régime and strongholds for the defense of the workers' interests. At the same time, they become schools in which the broad masses of workers may study communism. The soviets have provided legal guarantees for the rights of the unions, and as a result union membership has greatly developed. According to statistics of the All-China Federation of Trade Unions, the number of trade union members currently in the soviet areas, calculated on the basis of those in the Central Soviet Area and its several neighboring soviet areas alone, is 229,000 persons, whose distribution is as follows: 110,000 in the Central Soviet Area, 23,000 in the Hunan-Jiangxi area, 40,000 in Hunan-Hubei-Jiangxi, 25,000 in Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi, 6,000 in Fujian-Jiangxi, and 5,000 in Northern Fujian.³⁷ According to materials of the Central Soviet Area, there are only 3,676 workers who have not joined labor unions, which is less than 5 percent of the total of all workers. In other words, 95 percent of all workers have joined labor unions. In some places, such as Xingguo, as many as 98 percent have joined unions. One might ask whether such a thing can be dreamed of in the Guomindang areas. Not only in China, but throughout the world, except for the Soviet Union, where is there such a situation in any imperialist country?

36. As it stands in the Ruijin edition, this sentence makes little sense. The Moscow version reads here instead: "In the countryside, too, the time actually worked by hired laborers rarely exceeds eight hours a day, and working hours for hired laborers between sixteen and eighteen years of age are generally shorter than for adults."

37. These figures, which are the same in both versions of the Chinese text, add up to 209,000 rather than 229,000. We have no basis for explaining this discrepancy.

In sum, for the last two years the soviet Labor Law has already been in effect in all cities of the soviet areas, and its main provisions have also been carried out in the countryside. During these two years, although many capitalists and rich peasants have resisted the Labor Law, active struggle by the masses of workers and strict supervision by the soviets have rendered such resistance ineffectual. At the same time, those independent producers, middle peasants, poor peasants, and farm laborers who occasionally violate the Labor Law should be sincerely warned and advised so that they may understand and of their own accord support the Labor Law. Because of all this, the workers' lives have greatly improved, the revolutionary activism of the workers has been greatly encouraged, and the workers have played their tremendous role in the revolutionary war and in soviet construction.

According to statistics from the twelve *xian* in the Central Soviet Area of Gonglue, Wantai, Longgang, Xingguo, Shengli, Xijiang, Yudu, Xunwu, Shanghang, Ninghua, Changting, and Xinquan, among the 70,580 labor union members, 19,960 persons now serve in the Red Army and the guerrilla forces, a figure equivalent to 28 percent of the total membership. Those who work in the soviets and other revolutionary organizations number 6,752, or 10 percent of the total membership. Most of them hold responsible positions in the soviet organs. These two groups make a total of 26,712 people, which amounts to 38 percent of the total membership. There are at present 43,868 labor union members who still live at home. The labor union members living at home from these twelve *xian* have been paid back the second batch of public bonds worth 43,855 *yuan*, and they have recently purchased economic construction bonds worth 197,803 *yuan*, with each member living at home having purchased on average 4.5 *yuan* [worth]. Among members living at home there are currently 12,435 Party or League members, making up 28 percent of the total number of union members living at home. These statistics prove the enthusiasm of the masses of workers in joining the Red Army, in participating in and supporting the revolutionary war, and in cherishing the Chinese Communist Party. All of this, on the other hand, stems from the fact that the soviets have protected the interests of the workers and developed their enthusiasm. Those who say that the workers have gained nothing since the revolution and that the activism of the workers has not been aroused can only be said to be talking nonsense.

E. Now, Let Us Discuss the Agrarian Revolution in the Soviet Areas.

The soviets and the Red Army of China were born and developed out of the agrarian revolution. The broad masses of peasants under brutal oppression and exploitation by the landlord class and the Guomindang warlords can be liberated only through the agrarian revolution. The principle of the soviet land policies is to overthrow completely all feudal and semifeudal exploitation and oppression by the landlord class and the Guomindang warlords.

In all Guomindang areas, past and present, the land rents are frightful (60 to 80 percent), interest rates are frightful (30 to 100 percent), and taxes and levies are frightful (as many as over 1,700 kinds in the whole country). As a result, the land is concentrated in the hands of the landlord class and the rich peasants, and the vast majority of peasants have lost their land and been thrown into the tragic state of being hard-pressed either to live or die. Because of the ruthless plunder of the land, peasants have lost their ability to fend off disasters. Consequently, the calamities of flood and drought occur throughout the country. In 1931, as many as 809 *xian* and 44 million people were hit by natural disasters. Because of layer upon layer of plunder, the peasants lack the ability to produce more, and much arable land has gone barren, a lot of it becoming virtually wasteland. At the same time, what little the peasants do manage to produce is overwhelmed by the imperialists' dumping of agricultural products. Because of this, the Chinese rural economy has fallen into a state of total bankruptcy. It is on such a basis that the flames of the agrarian revolution have exploded with force in the countryside.

The power of the agrarian revolution in the soviet areas has made a clean sweep of all feudal remnants. Hundreds of millions of peasant masses have suddenly awakened from a prolonged period of darkness, seized all the land and property of the landlord class, confiscated the good land of the rich peasants, abolished usurious interest rates, done away with exorbitant taxes and levies, defeated all enemies of the revolution, and set up their own political power. The peasant masses have for the first time come out of hell and attained the status of masters. This is the fundamental difference between the situation in the countryside under the soviet régime and the Guomindang régime.

The First All-Soviet Congress promulgated a Land Law, which provided a correct basis for the solution of the land problem throughout the country. Because class struggle in the countryside has become ever sharper, many disputes have arisen over the question of class analysis. Based on past experience in the land struggle, the Council of People's Commissars issued a "Decision Regarding Certain Questions in the Agrarian Struggle," which provided correct solutions to many problems, such as those of the landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants, and vagrants, so the struggle in the countryside will develop more effectively.³⁸ Many issues concerning land distribution methods, such as distances, poor and rich land, green crops, mountains and forests, ponds, and so on, urgently await the gathering of experiences from various places so as to make the necessary decisions. This is crucial to the leadership of land redistribution in new areas.

To destroy thoroughly the remnant feudal forces and to see to it that the fruits of the agrarian revolution fall entirely into the hands of farm laborers, poor peasants, and middle peasants, the Central Government initiated a broad and

38. See above, the document of October 10, 1933, bearing this title.

thoroughgoing Land Investigation Movement. On the basis of statistics for the three months of July, August, and September 1933, in the three Central Soviet Area provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong, a total of 6,988 landlord families and 6,638 rich peasant families were discovered. From the landlords and rich peasants thus discovered, 307,539³⁹ *Dan* of land was taken, and cash confiscated from landlords and donations from rich peasants amounted to a total of 606,916 *yuan*. The revolutionary activism of the peasant masses has been heightened, and farm laborers' unions and poor peasant leagues have become pillars of the soviets in the countryside. The fact that such great results were achieved in the space of three months proves that rural class struggle still requires full attention from the soviets and also demonstrates completely that the Land Investigation Movement is a powerful method of continuing to develop the rural struggle and completely eliminating feudal remnants.

The class line in the agrarian struggle is to rely on farm laborers and poor peasants, unite with middle peasants, exploit⁴⁰ rich peasants, and eliminate landlords. Correct application of this line is the key to securing the victorious development of the land struggle and the basis for every one of the concrete policies of the soviets toward the countryside. Therefore, the Soviet Government should severely punish the erroneous tendencies of encroaching on the interests of middle peasants (mainly those of the prosperous middle peasants) and eliminating rich peasants. At the same time, the attitude toward the mistakes of attempting to compromise with landlords and rich peasants should not be relaxed, for only by opposing all of these mistakes can the land struggle get onto the correct path.

Mass work in the agrarian struggle has gained a great deal of experience over the last two years. Its main points may be summarized as follows: (1) In both the movement for land redistribution and the Land Investigation Movement, all efforts must be made to mobilize the broad masses of poor peasants, middle peasants, and the masses of rural workers to struggle on their own initiative against the landlords and rich peasants. Both land redistribution and land investigation work must have the consent of the masses. All decisions on how to handle a certain class must be made through a mass meeting. Where a few soviet staff members on their own carry out land redistribution and investigation of class status, there is the danger of lowering the enthusiasm for struggle on the part of the masses. (2) Aside from land, most of the property confiscated from the landlord class and the surplus draft animals, farm implements, and houses of the rich peasants must be distributed to the poor masses. If this is not done and they are assigned instead for use by a few individuals, it will likewise lower the morale of the masses and facilitate resistance on the part of exploiting elements. (3) It is not good to let the matter of land redistribution remain unsettled for a long period of time; it should be properly redistributed within a rather short

39. The Moscow version has the figure 317,539 here.

40. Here the Moscow version has "restrict" instead of "exploit."

space of time and remain firmly in the hands of the peasants. In the future, unless by request of the majority of the local masses, the land should not be redistributed again rashly. Not doing things in this manner goes against the views of the peasants and will not only have an effect on the peasants' enthusiasm for the land and production, but will also be used by exploiting elements to obstruct the development of the agrarian struggle. (4) The objective of the Land Investigation Movement is to clarify and determine exploiting-class status, not to clarify and determine exploited-class status. Therefore, investigation should not be done household-by-household and *mu-by-mu*. Rather, the broadest masses should be mobilized to ferret out hidden landlords and rich peasants. (5) Strong measures should be taken against counterrevolutionary elements who disrupt land redistribution and land investigation. With the consent of the masses, they are to be treated by the harshest measures such as arrest, imprisonment, trial by the masses, and even execution. This is entirely necessary. If this is not done, the land struggle will be greatly hindered. (6) Great efforts should be made to develop class struggle but to avoid conflicts among localities and clans. The landlord class and rich peasants, for their part, make fervent attempts to substitute struggle between localities and clans for class struggle so as to obstruct the advance of the agrarian revolution. Soviet staff members should not be duped by the landlords and rich peasants. (7) The development of the land revolution depends upon raising the class consciousness and the degree of the organization of the basic masses in the countryside. For this reason, soviet staff workers must carry out extensive propaganda in depth in the countryside and must perfect the organization of the Poor Peasant League and unions of farm laborers.

The agrarian revolution has not only given land to the peasants, but should also enable them to develop the productive capacity of the land. Because of soviet leadership and the heightened enthusiasm for labor on the part of the peasants, agricultural production has recovered in vast portions of the soviet areas and in some places has been even further developed.

On this basis, the peasants' lives have greatly improved. Because the peasants have done away with exploitation by the landlords and the Guomindang, the fruits of their production remain in their own hands. For this reason the peasants' lives are at least twice as good as during the Guomindang period. In the past, the vast majority of peasants did not have enough to eat during much of a given year, and in hard times some even had to eat tree bark and grain bran. Now, on the other hand, not only is starvation generally nonexistent, but there is greater abundance each year. In the past, the vast majority of peasants could eat meat only a few times each year, but now there are more chances to eat meat. In the past, the vast majority of peasants were clothed in rags, but now there has been general improvement, in some cases by 100 percent, in other cases even 200 percent.

What kind of life and what kind of régime do the peasant masses desire? Let the peasant masses of all Guomindang areas answer this question for themselves.

F. Let Us Now Discuss the Financial Policies of the Soviets.

The financial objectives of the soviets are to guarantee supplies and provisions for the revolutionary war and to ensure payment of all revolutionary expenses for the soviets. Given, however, that the Soviet Republic must meet enormous expenses for the revolutionary war and for revolutionary work, while it still occupies a relatively small area within the whole country, consisting moreover of economically rather backward places, and considering also the fact that it applies taxation policies beneficial to the broad masses, many outsiders cannot understand how the soviets get by financially. The Guomindang, on the other hand, occupies vast regions and voraciously feeds on the flesh and blood of the people, so why should it have fallen into bankruptcy?

There is nothing strange in this. Soviet financial policies and use of financial resources are fundamentally different from those of the Guomindang.

The soviets' financial policies are built upon the principle of the interests of the class and the revolution. Therefore, the financial resources of the soviets come from: (1) carrying out confiscation or imposing levies on all feudal exploiters, (2) taxation, and (3) developing the enterprises of the national economy.

What is meant by confiscation and levies from feudal exploiters is raising money from landlords and rich peasants in the soviet areas and the White areas. According to past experience, this source of income often occupies a prominent position. This is the opposite of the Guomindang's financial policies: the soviets impose the main financial burden on the exploiters, whereas the Guomindang places the main financial burden on the workers, peasants, and toiling masses.

Soviet taxation is unified and progressive. At present it is carried out through two simple components, a commercial tax and an agricultural tax. The basic principle of taxation is likewise to place the heavy burden on exploiters.

Commercial tax levies are divided into tariffs and business taxes. Tariffs are aimed at uniformly regulating the import and export of goods in light of the needs of the soviet areas. Therefore, the tariff rate runs from total exemption to as high as 100 percent. Within the borders of China, only the soviets have carried out an entirely independent tariff system without interference from any foreign government. All goods go throughout the entire Soviet Area after paying the tariff at border customs points, and there is no second levy of tariffs, thus doing away at one stroke with the Guomindang's abusive policy of *lijin*,⁴¹ which involves layer upon layer of extortion.

The business tax is a commercial income tax (no industrial tax is levied at present). A unified progressive tax is levied according to the size of a merchant's capital and the amount of his profit. A small amount of capital and less profit is lightly taxed, and larger amounts of capital with more profit are heavily taxed.

41. The transportation tax on goods moved within the country, commonly transcribed *lijin* in English-language sources of the period.

Capital of under 100 *yuan*, cooperatives of the masses, and surplus goods sold directly by peasants themselves are all exempt from taxation.

Agricultural taxation relies upon the revolutionary enthusiasm of the peasants, which causes them to pay their taxes voluntarily, and it is likewise in principle a progressive method of taxation. Families with fewer members and less land are taxed lightly, and families with more members and more land are more heavily taxed. Poor and middle peasants are lightly taxed and rich peasants are taxed more heavily. Farm laborers and families of Red Army soldiers are exempt from paying taxes. Areas struck by natural disasters pay reduced taxes or are exempt from taxation, depending on the extent of damage suffered.

The unified, progressive taxation system adopted by the soviets is the most excellent tax system in the world, one that all capitalist countries dare not use or dare not use to its full extent. As for taxation under the Guomindang, it is one huge, muddled account. Its principle of taxation is to take it mainly from peasants and other members of the petty bourgeoisie. In addition to regular taxes, there are countless supplemental taxes. According to figures in the *Tianjin Dagong bao* of March 22, 1933, there is a total of as many as 1,756 categories of taxes in the Guomindang areas, land taxes in Sichuan have been collected in advance all the way up to 1987, and land tax in Shaanxi is twenty-five times more than it was before the Guomindang arrived. This is the Guomindang's "benevolence" toward the toiling masses!

To increase the revenue of the soviets by developing the national economy is an important part of soviet financial policies. Tangible results are already manifest in the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Soviet Area and are starting to appear in the Central Soviet Area as well. It is the responsibility of soviet financial and economic organs to stress the pursuit of this aspect. It should be pointed out here that the principle of the state bank in issuing paper money should be to do so in accordance with the needs of economic development; purely fiscal needs must take second place. It is absolutely necessary to take full account of this aspect.

Thrift should be the guiding principle in government expenditures. All soviet personnel should be made to understand that corruption and waste are very great crimes. In the resolute struggle against corruption and waste, although there have been some achievements in the past, greater efforts should be made in the future. Saving every copper for the war and the revolutionary cause is the principle of the soviet accounting system. The soviets' use of financial resources must be strictly different from that of the Guomindang.

It is not that soviet finances are free of hardships. Expansion of the Red Army and development of the war have given rise to financial difficulties for the soviets. But solutions to these difficulties are contained within the difficulties themselves. The unfolding of our revolutionary war, improvement in our soviet work, expansion of our source of revenue into all Guomindang areas, placing the soviets' financial burdens on the shoulders of all exploiting elements, and in-

creasing the soviets' income through developing the national economy—all these are solutions to the difficulties.

G. Next, Let Us Discuss Soviet Economic Policies⁴²

Only the Guomintang warlords who have *already* brought the areas under their own rule to the point of complete bankruptcy⁴³ have the utter shamelessness to spread the rumor, day in and day out, that the soviet areas⁴⁴ are in a state of total collapse. *It is true enough that* the imperialist Guomintang is⁴⁵ *utterly* bent on wrecking the soviet areas,⁴⁶ the soviet construction⁴⁷ now in progress there, and the welfare of the millions of workers and peasants who have achieved liberation. For this purpose the counterrevolutionaries⁴⁸ have pursued a ruthless policy of economic blockade in addition to organizing *all sorts of* armed forces for their military campaigns of "Encirclement and Suppression." But, leading the broad masses and the Red Army, the Soviet Government has⁴⁹ not only smashed one enemy "Encirclement and Suppression" after another, but has *also* been doing all the essential work of economic construction within its power in order to defeat the enemy's vicious economic blockade. In this respect, too, the soviets⁵⁰ have scored one success after another.

Because the soviets' central task is to win victory in the war against the imperialist Guomintang, and because the soviet areas are at present economically rather backward areas that are, on top of that, under the enemy's economic blockade, the principle governing the soviets'⁵¹ economic policy is to proceed with all the essential work of economic construction within our power and concentrate economic resources on the war effort, and at the same time to improve the life of the people as much as possible, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance in the economic field, and ensure proletarian leadership of the peasantry,⁵² thus creating the prerequisites *and a favorable climate* for the future advance to socialist construction.

The focus of soviet⁵³ economic construction is to increase agricultural and

42. This section is included in the *Selected Works*, where it is titled "Our Economic Policy," and dated January 23, 1934. Variants between the original text and the version approved by Mao in 1951 are indicated below in the usual way.

43. To the point of complete bankruptcy → To the brink of bankruptcy

44. Soviet areas → Red areas

45. Imperialist Guomintang is → Imperialists and the Guomintang are

46. Soviet areas → Red areas

47. Soviet construction → Work of economic construction

48. The counterrevolutionaries → They

49. The Soviet Government has → We have

50. The soviets → We

51. The soviets' → Our

52. Here the revised text inserts: "and strive to secure leadership by the state sector of the economy over the private sector, . . ."

53. Soviet → Our

industrial production, expand trade with the outside, and develop the cooperative movement.

Agriculture in the soviet areas⁵⁴ is clearly making progress. As compared with 1932, the 1933 agricultural output was 15 percent higher in the Central Soviet Area⁵⁵ and 20 percent higher in the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi Soviet⁵⁶ Area.⁵⁷ For the first year or two after the uprising in a soviet area, agricultural production often shows signs of decline.⁵⁸ But it tends to pick up again as land redistribution is settled and with encouragement by the soviets and the greater enthusiasm for work on the part of the peasant masses.⁵⁹ Now in some places production has reached and even exceeded the pre-uprising⁶⁰ level. In other places, not only has land that lay waste during the course of the uprisings been eliminated,⁶¹ but new land has been brought under cultivation. In many places mutual-aid groups and plowing teams have been organized to adjust the use of labor power in the countryside, and cooperatives have been organized to overcome the shortage of draught oxen. In addition, the broad masses of women are taking part in crash work on the production front.⁶² None of this could have happened in the days of the Guomindang. With the land as the *private* property of the landlords in the Guomindang period, the peasants were neither willing to improve it nor did they possess the means to do so. Only since the soviets⁶³ have distributed the land to the peasants and encouraged and rewarded production has their labor enthusiasm blossomed forth and great success in production been achieved. It should be pointed out here that under the present conditions agricultural production occupies first place in soviet⁶⁴ economic construction; it is needed to solve both the most important problem of food, and the problem of providing raw materials (such as cotton, hemp, sugar cane, bamboo, and so on) to make clothes, sugar, paper, and other necessities. The care of forests and the increase of livestock are also an important part of agriculture. Within the framework of a small-scale peasant economy, it is permissible and indeed necessary to draw up suitable

54. Soviet areas → Red areas

55. The Central Soviet Area → Southern Jiangxi and western Fujian

56. Soviet → Border

57. Here the revised version inserts: "The Sichuan-Shaanxi Border Area has had a good harvest." (The Moscow edition, by the way, reads, "The Sichuan Soviet Area has had an excellent harvest.")

58. The uprising in a soviet area. . . → A Red area is established, agricultural production often declines.

59. But it tends to pick up. . . → But it picks up again as the land is redistributed and ownership is settled and with our encouragement to production and the greater enthusiasm for work on the part of the peasant masses.

60. Pre-uprising → Prerevolutionary

61. Eliminated → Reclaimed

62. Crash work on the production front. → Production.

63. The soviets → We

64. Soviet → Our

plans for the output of certain important products and to mobilize the peasants to strive for their fulfillment (for example, the quantity of cotton production for each province). The soviets⁶⁵ should pay closer attention and devote greater efforts to this. The soviets must actively lead the peasants in solving such basic⁶⁶ problems in production as labor power, draft oxen, raw materials,⁶⁷ seed, irrigation, and so on. In this connection the fundamental problem⁶⁸ of agricultural production in the soviet areas is adjusting the use of labor power in an organized way and encouraging women to participate in production. Effective measures⁶⁹ to solve this problem⁷⁰ are organizing mutual-aid groups and plowing teams and *the soviets'* mobilizing and encouraging the whole rural population during the important spring and summer plowing seasons. Another big problem is that quite a large proportion (about 25 percent) of the peasants are short of draft oxen. The soviets should attend to organizing draft oxen cooperatives, encouraging all households without *draft* oxen to buy them for their common use through voluntary subscription to shares. Irrigation is the lifeblood of agriculture, and it too merits close attention from the soviets. The question of soviet⁷¹ or collective agriculture, of course, cannot as yet be raised, but with the objective of promoting progress in agriculture,⁷² it is urgently necessary to set up small experimental farms, agricultural research schools, and exhibitions of farm produce in every township and district.⁷³

The enemy blockade has made it difficult for us to market goods outside our area. There has been a decline in production in many handicraft industries in the soviet areas,⁷⁴ notably tobacco-curing and paper-making. But the difficulties of sending goods out are not completely insurmountable. We have an extensive market of our own because of the mass demand in the soviet areas. For the purpose of trade with the outside, but mainly to supply our own needs, industry should be systematically developed.⁷⁵ In the past two years, and especially since the first half of 1933, many industries⁷⁶ have begun to recover because of the attention the soviets have started to pay them and the gradual development of

65. Here and in subsequent occurrences "the soviets" becomes "we" in the revised edition.

66. Basic → Difficult and essential

67. Raw materials → Fertilizer

68. Problem → Task

69. Effective measures → The necessary measures

70. This problem → The problem of labor power

71. Soviet → State

72. With the objective of promoting progress in agriculture → to stimulate the development of agriculture

73. In every township and district. → In various places.

74. Here and in all subsequent occurrences, Soviet areas → Red areas

75. Industry should be systematically developed. → Handicrafts and also certain industries should be systematically restored and developed.

76. Many industries → Many handicrafts and a few industries

producers' cooperatives by the masses. Here the important fields are tobacco, paper, tungsten ore, camphor, farm implements, and fertilizers (such as lime). Moreover, in our present circumstances, we should not neglect the manufacture of our own cotton cloth, medicines, and sugar. In the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi area, some industries have been set up that were previously nonexistent, such as paper-making, cloth-making, and sugar-refining, and they are doing well. To relieve the shortage of table salt, people are extracting it from nitre. It takes proper planning to keep industry going. On the basis of a scattered handicraft industry, of course, comprehensive and detailed planning is impossible. But fairly detailed production plans are absolutely essential for certain important industries,⁷⁷ first and foremost for state and cooperative enterprises. Each and every soviet⁷⁸ and cooperative industrial enterprise must pay attention to the very beginning to making accurate estimates of raw material output and marketing prospects in both the White areas and the soviet areas.

At present it is particularly necessary for the soviets to organize external trading⁷⁹ according to plan and to handle certain essential commodities directly, for example, the import of table salt and cotton cloth, the export of grain and tungsten ore, and the adjustment of grain supply within the soviet areas. Such work was first undertaken in the Fujian-Zhejiang-Jiangxi area and was started in the Central Area in the spring of 1933. With the establishment of the Bureau of External Trade and other agencies, initial successes have been achieved in this connection.

The development of the economy in the soviet areas is simultaneously being carried out in the three sectors of state enterprise, cooperative enterprise, and private enterprise. At present, state-run economic enterprise is limited to what is possible and what is essential. This aspect has now begun to develop in both industry and commerce, and they naturally have boundless prospects.

As regards the private sector of the economy, the soviets shall not hamper it but rather shall promote and encourage it, as long as it does not transgress the limits set by soviet law.⁸⁰ For the development of private enterprise is essential to the interests of the soviets⁸¹ at the present stage. Needless to say, private enterprise is now preponderant and will inevitably continue to occupy a dominant position for a considerable time. At present, *development of the private economy in the soviet areas generally takes the form of small capital.*⁸²

Cooperative enterprise is growing very rapidly. According to the September 1933 figures for 17 *xian* in the 2 provinces of Jiangxi and Fujian, there are altogether 1,423 cooperatives of various kinds, with a total capital of 305,551

77. Industries → Enterprises

78. Soviet → State

79. External trading → Private external trading

80. Soviet law. → The law of the government.

81. Of the soviets → Of the state and the people

82. Takes the form of small capital. → Is small in scale.

yuan.⁸³ Because of promotion at rallies for economic construction, in xian such as Ruijin and Xingguo, for example, within a month or more after the rallies the development figures caught up with those of the entire period before the rallies. Large-scale development of cooperatives is now mainly in consumers' cooperatives and grain cooperatives, with producers' cooperatives coming next. Credit cooperatives are still just at the beginning stage. The development of the cooperative movement will doubtless become pivotal in the economic development of the soviet areas. When the cooperative and the state economies become coordinated⁸⁴ they will become a tremendous force in the economy, and through a long process of struggle with the private economy gradually attain a leading and superior position, thereby creating the conditions for the economy in the soviet areas to evolve into a socialist economy. Therefore, the greatest possible development of state enterprises and the extensive development of cooperative enterprise must go hand in hand with encouraging the development of private enterprise.

With the support of the masses, the Council of People's Commissars has⁸⁵ issued construction bonds to the value of 3,000,000 yuan in order to develop state enterprise and assist the cooperative movement. Such reliance on the strength of the masses is the only possible way to solve the problems of funds for economic construction at this time.⁸⁶

At a time when the whole country is plunged in economic disaster, when hundreds of millions of people are suffering the terrible hardships of hunger and cold, the Soviet Government is staunchly pressing ahead with economic construction for the sake of the revolutionary war and in the interests of the popular masses,⁸⁷ regardless of all the difficulties. The situation is very clear: only by defeating the imperialist Guomindang⁸⁸ and by undertaking planned, organized economic construction can the soviets deliver the popular masses in their hundreds of millions throughout the country from unprecedented economic disaster.

H. Now Let Us Turn to Soviet Culture and Education.

With a view to victory in the revolutionary war, consolidation and development of soviet political power, mobilizing all the forces of the popular masses to participate in the great revolutionary struggle, and creating a new revolutionary

83. Of 305,551 yuan. → Of over 300,000 yuan.

84. The revised version inserts here: "and grow over a long period of time"

85. Council of People's Commissars has → We have

86. The *Selected Works* inserts two short paragraphs here, taken from the section on financial problems. Apart from the replacement of "soviet" by "our" or "the border region," the text is largely identical with that of the third from last and next to last paragraphs of section F as translated above. It is therefore not repeated here.

87. Popular masses → Nation

88. The imperialist Guomindang → Imperialism and the Guomindang

generation,⁸⁹ the soviets must carry out cultural and educational reform to remove the spiritual shackles imposed on the masses of workers and peasants by the reactionary ruling class and create a new soviet culture of the workers and peasants.

Everyone knows that under Guomintang rule all cultural and educational organs are in the hands of the landlords and the bourgeoisie. Their educational policy is on the one hand to engage in reactionary militaristic propaganda, so as to wipe out all revolutionary thinking by the oppressed classes, and on the other hand to carry out a policy of keeping the people in ignorance, excluding the masses of workers and peasants from education. The reactionary Guomintang uses financial resources intended for education to finance military action against the revolution. Most schools have been closed and most students are out of school. Under Guomintang rule, as a consequence, the people have become benighted and ignorant. Over 80 percent of the total population of the country as a whole is illiterate. An extremely brutal White terror has been launched against revolutionary culture and thought. All left-wing⁹⁰ writers and social scientists and any revolutionary elements within the cultural and educational organs are subject to persecution by the Guomintang fascists. Turning all educational organs into dark hells is actually the educational policy of the Guomintang.

Anyone who comes to visit our soviet areas will immediately find this to be a brand new world of freedom and light.

Here all cultural and educational organs are in the hands of the workers, peasants, and toiling masses. The workers, peasants, and their children have priority in obtaining an education. The Soviet Government uses every means to raise the cultural level of the workers and peasants. For this purpose, it has provided all possible political and material assistance to the masses. For this reason, even though at present the soviet areas face extremely brutal civil war conditions and are mostly in places that used to be culturally very backward, they are already carrying out revolutionary cultural construction at a rapid pace.

According to figures for the three provinces of Jiangxi, Fujian, and Guangdong-Jiangxi, in 2,932 townships there are 3,052 Lenin primary schools with 89,710 pupils; 6,462 evening schools for continuing education with 94,517 students; 32,388 literacy groups (these figures were gathered only for the two provinces of Jiangxi and Guangdong-Jiangxi, leaving out Fujian) with 155,371 members; 1,656 clubs; and 49,668 staff members. These are partial figures for the Central Soviet Area.

The majority of school-age children in many parts of the soviet areas have entered Lenin primary schools. For example, out of a total of 20,969 school-age children in Xingguo (12,076 boys and 8,893 girls), 12,806 are in Lenin primary schools (8,825 boys and 3,981 girls) and 8,163 are not in school (3,251 boys and

89. Here instead of "generation" the Moscow text has "era."

90. Here the Moscow text has "progressive" instead of "left-wing."

4,912 girls), making a ratio of 60 to 40 between those attending school and those not attending school.⁹¹ In many places in the soviet areas, the children spend most of their time receiving education and playing, and only a small amount of time doing jobs in the family. This is exactly the opposite of what happened during the Guomindang period. At the same time, children are organized into Red Children's Leagues, which also serve as schools where children can learn communism.

The demand of the masses of women for education has never been so intense. Of the 15,740 students at the evening school in Xingguo, 4,988, or 31 percent, are male, and 10,752, or 69 percent, are female. Of the 22,519 members of the literacy groups in Xingguo, 9,000, or 40 percent, are male, and 13,519, or 60 percent, are female. In places such as Xingguo, women have attained initial liberation from illiteracy, and as a result women's activities have become very vigorous. Not only are women receiving education themselves, they are also taking charge of education. Many women serve as heads of primary schools and night schools and have become members of education and literacy committees. Conferences of women worker and peasant representatives are common organizations in the soviet areas. They pay attention to the overall interests of the masses of working women, so that women's education is naturally part of their concern.

The number of literates among the masses is rapidly increasing. Ways to acquire literacy are through evening schools, the literacy movement, and literacy billboards. Evening schools have fixed locations, literacy groups meet in people's homes, and literacy billboards are along the sides of the roads. The leading organs of the literacy movement are the village literacy movement committees. In Xingguo, for example, the whole *xian* has general literacy movement committees in 130 townships, branches of literacy movement committees in 561 villages, and 3,387 literacy groups under these branches with 12,529⁹² members having joined these small groups. This is an enormous mass movement for wiping out illiteracy. Such a movement should be extended to all cities and rural areas throughout the soviet areas.

The rapid development of the cultural movement among the masses in the soviet areas can be noted as well by observing the circulation of newspapers. The Central Soviet Area currently has thirty-four different newspapers, large and small. Among them, for example, the circulation of *Hongse zhonghua* (Red China) has increased from 3,000 to 40,000; that of *Qingnian shihua* (Truth for Young People) is 28,000; that of *Douzheng* (Struggle) is 27,100; and that of *Hongxing* (Red Star) is 17,300. All of this shows that the cultural level of the masses is being rapidly raised.

91. Here the Moscow version inserts: "Whereas in the Guomindang period, less than 10 percent of the children attended school."

92. The Moscow text gives this figure as 22,529.

In the soviet areas, revolutionary arts of the masses are also beginning to be created. The movements of worker and peasant performing companies and of blue-clad troupes,⁹³ and the club movement in the countryside, are all developing widely.

The Red physical education movement of the masses is also developing quickly. Even remote villages now have track and field races, and sports grounds have been built in many places.

The soviet areas still lack adequate establishments for specialized education. But in order to train leading cadres for the revolutionary struggle, we have already set up the Red Army University, the Soviet University, the [Karl] Marx Communist University, and various cadre education schools under the leadership of the Commissariat for Education. A component of the plans for education should doubtless be that intermediate and specialized education develop in conjunction with basic education so as to foster its development.

In order to train worker and peasant intellectuals⁹⁴ and develop culture and education, another point that soviet cultural policies cannot neglect is the use of intellectuals of landlord and bourgeois class origins to serve the soviets.

Wherein lie the general guidelines of soviet culture and education? They are in using the communist spirit to educate the broad masses of toiling people, in making culture and education serve the revolutionary war and the class struggle, and in linking education with physical labor.⁹⁵

What are the central tasks of soviet cultural construction? They are the institution of universal and compulsory education, the development of broad social education, striving to eliminate illiteracy, and the creation of large numbers of high-level cadres to lead the struggle.

Everyone understands that all of these guidelines and tasks can be realized only under the leadership of the soviet régime, for they are manifestations of the extreme sharpness of the class struggle and represent the greatest victory in liberating the human spirit.

I. Let Us Now Discuss the Soviet Marriage System

To liberate the masses of women from the barbaric feudal marriage system and to put into effect a marriage system of genuine equality between men and women, the Central Executive Committee promulgated the soviet regulations on marriage as early as November 1931.⁹⁶ Therein complete freedom of marriage and divorce is established; the system of arranged, forced, and mercenary mar-

93. Instead of "blue-clad troupes," the Moscow version has "worker and peasant song and dance troupes." Regarding these troupes, see above, the note to the text of September 15, 1933, "On Educational Work."

94. The Moscow edition has "revolutionary intellectuals" instead of "worker and peasant intellectuals."

95. The Moscow edition inserts here: "and in enabling the entire Chinese people to enjoy the blessings of civilization."

96. The text of these regulations is translated below in the Appendix to this volume.

riages is abolished; and the practice of raising child brides is prohibited. This decree has been generally applied over the past two years in all areas under soviet jurisdiction. All those who are not related by blood within five generations, are not mentally ill, and do not have dangerous contagious diseases, males at least twenty years of age and females at least eighteen years of age, are permitted to marry by mutual consent and through registration at the township or city soviet. Divorce is effective if requested by either party, man or woman, and upon registration at the township or city soviet.

This democratic marriage system has burst the feudal shackles that have bound human beings, especially women, for thousands of years and established a new pattern consistent with human nature. This, too, is one of the great victories in the history of humanity.

This victory came, however, as a consequence of the victory of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants, for in order to achieve the liberation of the marriage system for the toiling masses of workers and peasants, it is first necessary to overthrow the dictatorship of the landlords and the bourgeoisie and to carry out the land revolution. Only when the laboring masses of men and women, and the women in particular, have political freedom in the first place and considerable economic freedom in the second place can freedom of marriage be finally guaranteed. Working women in the soviet areas have the right to vote just as men do, and they have been assigned land and work, so the new system can now be fully carried out.

Because for thousands of years marriage relations have been barbaric to an inhuman degree, women have suffered more oppression than have men. Therefore the current soviet marriage laws and regulations stress the protection of women and place more of the responsibilities arising from divorce on the shoulders of men.

Because children are the new revolutionary generation, and social custom in the past paid little attention to the protection of children, the marriage regulations have separate stipulations on the protection of children. In this regard special attention is given to recognition of the status of illegitimate children and to their protection.

The application of this marriage system has won support for the soviets from the broad masses of people, who have gained not only political and economic liberation, but also liberation with regard to relations between men and women.

With respect to the marriage system itself, the soviet areas and the Guomindang areas are also two completely opposite worlds.

J. Finally, On the Policy Toward Nationalities

Winning over all oppressed national minorities in the areas around the soviets and augmenting the anti-imperialist and anti-Guomindang revolutionary forces⁹⁷ are the starting points of the soviet policy on nationalities.

97. The Moscow edition inserts here: "and gaining freedom and liberation for all oppressed nationalities."

Many national minorities within the country, such as the Mongolian, Tibetan, Korean, Vietnamese, Miao, Li, and other peoples⁹⁸ have throughout history been exploited and ruled by Chinese feudal emperors and feudal warlords. The Guomindang has inherited this form of rule without any changes whatsoever. Its so-called "republic of five nationalities" is nothing but a sinister lie designed to deceive people, and Feng Yuxiang's massacre of the Gansu Muslims and Bai Chongxi's massacre of the Guangxi Miao people are indeed the most recent "rewards" granted by the Guomindang. In addition, the ruling class within the national minorities themselves, consisting of those such as princes, living buddhas, lamas, and headmen, have colluded with Chinese Guomindang warlords⁹⁹ and brought to the broad toiling masses of these nationalities even more severe oppression and exploitation. Or else they (in Tibet, Xinjiang, and Inner Mongolia, for example) have directly surrendered to the imperialists, leading the imperialists to colonize these areas rapidly and further to plunder the working masses.¹⁰⁰ Such is the reality of the lives of the national minorities in the past and at present.

The Soviet Government firmly opposes all domination and plunder of national minorities by imperialists and Guomindang warlords. Article 14 of the "Outline of the Constitution," promulgated by the First National Soviet Congress in November 1931, states:

The Soviet Government of China recognizes the right to self-determination of the national minorities within China's borders, to the point of each nationality seceding from China and establishing its own independent, free state. All peoples such as the Mongols, Muslims, Tibetans, Miao, Li, and Koreans who live within China's borders may, according to a decision based on each nationality's own will, join the Chinese Soviet Federation, secede from the Soviet Federation, or establish their own autonomous regions. At present, the Chinese soviet régime must do its utmost to assist these small and weak nationalities in freeing themselves from the oppressive rule of the imperialists, Guomindang warlords, princes, lamas, local headmen, and others, and enable them to achieve complete liberation. The soviet régime should develop among these nationalities their own national cultures and languages.¹⁰¹

This is a resounding reply to the barbarous colonial policies toward the nationalities carried out by the imperialists of the whole world (including the

98. The Moscow edition lists in addition here "turbaned Muslims of Xinjiang and Muslims of Gansu."

99. The Moscow text has here ". . . colluded with British and Japanese imperialism and Guomindang warlords."

100. In the Moscow edition, this sentence reads as follows: "Or else they (princes, living buddhas, lamas, and headmen) have directly surrendered to the imperialists, leading the imperialists to colonize these areas (such as Tibet and Inner Mongolia) rapidly and further plunder the masses."

101. For the full text of the "Outline of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic," adopted on November 7, 1931, including a slightly different translation of Article 14, see Saich, *Rise to Power*, pp. 552-56.

Chinese Guomindang). The broad masses of China's workers and peasants and their Soviet Government are not only themselves waging a resolute war of national revolution to throw off the imperialist yoke, but are also calling upon all small and weak nationalities in the country to free themselves at the same time from the yoke of the Chinese ruling class and imperialists, until these nationalities have attained complete separation and independence. Article 15 of the Outline of the Soviet Constitution states, once again:

The Chinese soviet régime offers the right of asylum within the soviet areas to all revolutionary fighters of the various Chinese nationalities, and of all the countries in the world, who suffer persecution by reactionary rulers because of revolutionary activity; it will, moreover, assist them in recovering their fighting strength all the way until total victory of the revolutionary movements of these nationalities and countries is achieved.

The truth of this soviet declaration has been proven by the residence in the soviet areas of many revolutionary Korean, Taiwanese, and Vietnamese comrades; the attendance of Korean delegates at the First National Soviet Congress; and the participation in this congress of several delegates from Korea, Taiwan, and Vietnam.¹⁰²

Common revolutionary interests have wholeheartedly united the Chinese working masses and the working masses of all national minorities.

National oppression is based on national exploitation. Overthrowing this system of national exploitation will replace national oppression with a free alliance among nationalities.

This is possible, however, only with total victory of the Chinese soviet régime. Helping the Chinese soviet régime to win victory throughout the country is likewise the responsibility of all national minorities.

V. The Concrete Fighting Tasks of the Soviets in Thoroughly Smashing the Fifth¹⁰³ "Encirclement and Suppression" and Striving for the Victory of the Revolution Throughout the Country

Having addressed the current situation, the soviet régime's struggles against imperialism and "Encirclement and Suppression" over the past two years, and the basic policies carried out by the soviets, it is time we drew a definite conclusion, which is that the soviet movement has taken great strides forward. The victories of the soviet movement over the past two years have clearly changed the balance of power between the enemy and ourselves. The enemy's vacillation and collapse have accelerated, whereas the soviet movement is developing vigor-

102. The Moscow edition adds "Java" here.

103. The Moscow edition has "Sixth."

ously. The revolutionary forces have grown in strength and the revolutionary positions have been further consolidated. The national war and the revolutionary civil war are going on in the vast areas of China, and the Red Army has become an invincible force. The foundation of the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants has been established. Soviet construction work has achieved great results in all fields. The unified leadership of the Soviet Central Government has not only built a solid foundation in the soviet areas, but has also become the revolutionary banner of the broad masses in the areas under Guomindang rule. All these things have become the facts of life today and the undeniable, objective reality.

The advance of the revolution, however, demands that we take into account other circumstances, and that we examine with a thoroughgoing spirit of self-criticism the weaknesses on the revolutionary front. This is our unshirkable duty.

In taking into account our weaknesses, it must first of all be clearly understood that although the areas in which the soviets have achieved victory are vast, in relation to the country as a whole they are still quite small and are located in economically rather backward places. The counterrevolutionaries still retain their huge areas and still occupy all the important cities. As a consequence, the task of winning victory for the soviets throughout the country by striving for victory first in one or several provinces falls most seriously upon our shoulders.¹⁰⁴ The increasingly intensified life-and-death struggle between the two political régimes requires that we exert all our efforts to solve this problem and permits not even a trace of complacency to remain in our revolutionary ranks, nor even the slightest feeling of fatigue to manifest itself.

Second, although the anti-imperialist movement of the people of the whole country has been unfolding widely over the past two years and the Soviet Central Government has also achieved considerable success in leading the anti-imperialist movement, in view of the gravity of the current national crisis and the serious task of halting imperialist invasion and Guomindang surrender and betrayal, it is clear that the presently developing anti-imperialist fighting forces remain extremely inadequate. The soviets have not yet made use of very many methods to inspire the nationalist awareness and class consciousness of the broad masses, or to organize a people's anti-imperialist struggle. And even in the anti-imperialist struggles arising spontaneously among the masses, the direct assistance and leadership of the Soviet Government is still extremely inadequate. In the vast White areas, the soviets have not yet fully assumed their responsibility for organizing and leading the struggle of the workers against the bourgeoisie and the struggle of the peasants against the landlords. Even in the Guomindang areas surrounding the soviet areas, the greatest possible efforts have not been made to organize mass struggle so that conditions are created for transforming these areas swiftly into soviet areas, so that the Red Army fighting in these areas gets the benefit of

104. The Moscow edition omits here "by striving. . . several provinces."

more concerted actions on the part of the local masses, and especially to create a situation in which White army soldiers stage uprisings in resonance with the actions of the Red Army.

Third, although the Red Army is rapidly growing in numbers and improving in quality, it has nonetheless fallen far short of fulfilling the great tasks of defeating the entire military power of the imperialist Guomindang and winning national victory for the revolution. The work of expanding the Red Army in the rear is still unable to meet the demands of the front. The organization and training of the Red Guards and Young Pioneers are still very poor in many places. The organization and actions of guerrilla troops are generally inadequate. Many places have done a very poor job of giving preferential treatment to the families of Red Army soldiers. All this has limited the development of the revolutionary war to its past achievements and prevented us from making direct advances upon the heels of victory in breaking through each of the enemy's "Encirclement and Suppression" campaigns and achieving even greater victory.

Fourth, faced with the task of giving all for the war, we have still been unable to adjust all soviet work completely to the demands of the revolutionary war. Weaknesses exist whether we are talking about the land struggle, the workers' struggle,¹⁰⁵ economic construction, finance, the campaign to eliminate counterrevolutionaries, or culture and education. To point out these general weaknesses is to say that the revolutionary war demands that such work should achieve great successes with the greatest possible rapidity, yet the actual accomplishments are quite uneven in different places. Many localities have actually attained the standard of what is called the highest speed and the greatest possible achievements, and the work in these places has provided tremendous assistance to the revolutionary war. In other places, however, not only has the work been carried out very slowly, but even after a very long time, they have not been able to achieve the results that should have been attained. In some new areas and border areas in particular, the work is even worse. The main reason for this sort of situation is the existence within the soviet organs in these areas of some elements who fail to understand or even refuse to carry out soviet laws, orders, and policies. Some among these elements are serious opportunists and bureaucrats, and some are simply spies sent by the landlords and bourgeoisie. They do not advance the work of the soviets, but rather obstruct it. Instead of making the work of the soviets serve the war, they divorce it from the war. They refuse to promote mass struggle and instead have called a halt to it. In carrying out the work of the soviets, they have never mobilized the broad masses nor engaged in persuasion or education of the masses, but have made use of empty talk and empty shouting or even the bureaucratism of coercive orders. Instead of going to find out the situation at the grassroots level or going to educate new cadres or

105. This item is omitted from the list in the Moscow edition. Perhaps it was thought that there were no workers in the soviet areas.

going to solicit opinions from the masses, all they do is opportunistically slander lower-level cadres as unfit and condemn the masses down there as lacking in revolutionary zeal. In these places, soviet democracy has not been fully developed, the broadest masses have not been drawn in to participate in soviet elections, and large numbers of activists from among the masses have not been drawn in to take part in soviet work. The system of city and township deputies' congresses has not yet been properly established in these places, and the soviets have yet to become the true political organs of the broad masses themselves. For these reasons, much of the work of the soviets in these places has failed to achieve the results it should have and cannot meet the urgent demands of the revolutionary war. It should be clearly pointed out that this is a most serious weakness in the work of the soviets.

The existence of all these weaknesses provides us with a profound warning: only by overcoming these weaknesses can the soviet movement adjust to all favorable objective conditions and develop on a larger scale and with a broader scope.

We already have great strength, which has become the foundation of our development. But the needs of the revolutionary situation go beyond our powers, which are inadequate and which must be augmented.

In order to smash thoroughly the "Encirclement and Suppression" of the imperialist Guomindang and win victory for the revolution throughout the country, the Second National Soviet Congress must call upon all revolutionary masses of the soviet areas and the whole of China to carry out resolutely the following concrete fighting tasks:

A. With Regard to Building Up the Red Army

Further strengthen the leadership of the Central Revolutionary Military Commission over the Red Army throughout the nation so that the actions of the Red Army all over the country may be better coordinated and synchronized with each other under unified strategic thinking, and so that military organs in various places may be more able to carry out their own tasks fully under central leadership.

Spread widely and deeply among the broad toiling masses of workers and peasants in all soviet areas and all over China the slogan of expanding to create a million-man iron Red Army. Call upon the masses to struggle for realization of this minimal slogan within the shortest period of time. The masses should be made to realize that the decisive struggle for victory or defeat between the soviet régime and the Guomindang régime, and the direct and extensive confrontations between the soviet régime and imperialism that are before us depend upon our creation of a great Red Army millions of men strong. Therefore, the initial creation of a million-man Red Army is the sacred duty of the soviets and of every worker and peasant member of the masses. The Central Revolutionary

Military Commission and local soviets at all levels should be responsible for gathering the rich experiences of expanding the Red Army in various areas over the past two years, and especially since the Red May of last year. It should be emphatically pointed out that having thoroughgoing political agitation replace coercive methods; having ruthless class struggle and soviet laws and orders in this respect used to deal with class-alien elements and bad elements who undermine the expansion of the Red Army and take the lead in desertion; and having all soviet laws, orders, and measures for granting Red Army soldiers and their families preferential treatment fully implemented so as to raise the social status of Red Army soldiers, to provide more psychological comfort for Red Army soldiers and their families, and to resolve all material difficulties in the lives of Red Army soldiers and their families, are all important methods of expanding the Red Army. It should be pointed out as well that cultivating the land for Red Army families and supplying them with daily necessities are important parts of the work of preferential treatment. All elements with a passive attitude toward the work of giving preferential treatment to Red Army soldiers and their families and who feign compliance should be punished under soviet law.

Consolidation of the Red Army should be given priority in building up the Red Army, so that the Red Army may not only expand rapidly but grow stronger very fast as well. Political education of Red Army soldiers should be stepped up further so that every Red Army soldier will conscientiously fight to the end for a soviet new China, so that the Red Army becomes the propagator and organizer for the soviets and carries out the creation of new soviet areas, and so that there may develop closer ties between Red Army soldiers and the toiling masses of workers and peasants in the broad soviet areas and White areas. The conscientious discipline of the Red Army should be enhanced through political education, so they understand that this is an important weapon with which to ensure victory in the war. The political commissar system should be set up in all Red Army units, local units, and guerrilla detachments. More people with worker backgrounds should be promoted to positions as military and political commanders at all levels. Red Army schools should be made more capable of training large numbers of high-level and lower-level military and political cadres than they were in the past. Attention should be paid to checking family backgrounds in the Red Army, and heavy blows should be dealt to attempts by landlord and bourgeois elements to sneak into the Red Army and undermine it from within. The work of consolidating the Red Army and making it an iron army is equally as important as political work, and what the Red Army urgently needs at present is the raising of military skills. Faced with daily expansion of the scale of the war and the imperialist Guomindang army's constantly increasing use of new military techniques, the accomplishment of this task becomes of the utmost importance for us. The slogan of "learn and improve new military skills" should be deeply ingrained in every Red Army soldier, and Red Army schools should make their greatest efforts toward this goal.

The new organizational methods used for Red Guards and Young Pioneers should be introduced in all parts of the soviet areas, and all laboring youth and adult men and women should be armed. Every member of the Red Guards and Young Pioneers should be made to understand clearly the role and responsibilities of the Red Army reserve forces and local defense troops. Propaganda on the need for and role of conscription in the even larger-scale civil war in the future should be appropriately disseminated, starting now, among all toiling masses and members of the Red Guards and Young Pioneers. Great efforts should be made in carrying out all possible and necessary military and political training. Camping and exercise techniques should be introduced as much as possible within the Red Guards and Young Pioneers in all localities. With enemy attacks and attempts to stir up trouble by exploiting elements in the soviet areas, the Red Guards and Young Pioneers should be given extra responsibility for defending the local areas, and the occurrence in many places of relaxing the Red martial law should be quickly redressed. One of the best ways to expand the Red Army is to get whole companies and teams of model Red Guards and Young Pioneers to join the Red Army, and to reorganize these contingents as soon as they have been so mobilized. Red guerrilla forces in the new areas, border areas, and White areas are indispensable to Red Army fighting and play the role of one of its great detachments. Strengthening and expanding the existing guerrilla forces; multiplying new guerrilla forces as widely as possible; gathering the rich experience of past guerrilla warfare; greatly strengthening education and guidance as regards guerrilla tactics; moving hundreds and thousands of guerrilla detachments into White areas and into the enemy's sides and rear; attacking the enemy and developing mass struggle in those places; creating guerrilla areas and even new soviet areas, especially doing this work in all the soviet areas that are not yet connected with each other; and coordinating actions with those of the Red Army's main force are all the very urgent tasks of the soviets.

All measures should be used to safeguard the supply and transport of Red Army provisions. Soviet financial and economic organs and supply, transportation, and medical units in the military system should make efforts toward this common objective. Past shortcomings in the mobilization of transportation teams should be overcome so that the Red Army's movements and combat are not hampered by a shortage of transport personnel. All sacrifices and all efforts devoted to the war are the duty of every soviet staff worker and every revolutionary element.

B. With Regard to Economic Construction

In order to break down the enemy's blockade, resist the manipulation of unscrupulous merchants, secure the needs of the revolutionary war, and improve the lives of the masses of workers and peasants, the soviets must carry out in a planned way all sorts of necessary and possible economic construction.

First and foremost is the development of massive agricultural production in the soviet areas. The soviets should use all measures to raise enthusiasm for production on the part of the peasant masses. During various important phases of the farming season such as spring plowing, summer plowing, and the autumn harvest, every opportunity should be used to carry out a widespread universal movement to raise production and to mobilize all the rural masses to enter the production front together. To organize labor mutual aid associations and cultivation teams on a wide scale, regulate the rural labor force in a planned way, and mobilize the broad masses of women to take part in production are all important ways to expand production. The peasants should be guided and helped in solving specific and significant problems in agriculture such as farm cattle, farm tools, fertilizer, seeds, water conservancy, and pest control. Farm cattle cooperatives should be formed everywhere. In view of the experiences of last year's movement for spring and summer plowing, "completely eliminating wasteland" and "increasing this year's harvest by 20 percent" should become the battle slogans. Cotton-growing experience should be gathered, and cotton production developed in the soviet areas. A movement to plant trees should be launched, calling upon each person in the countryside to plant ten trees. The soviets should pay attention to the growth of animal husbandry. Regarding certain important agricultural sectors such as grain, cotton, and so on, the Central People's Commissariat for the National Economy and the various provincial departments of the national economy should draw up specific implementation plans. The Soviet Food and Grain Commissariat, Food and Grain Adjustment Bureau, and mass food and grain cooperatives should establish close working relations and strive toward totally guaranteeing food and grain supplies for the Red Army and the masses.

The recovery of the broad handicraft industry in the soviet areas and the establishment of a military essentials industry are important tasks of soviet economic construction. Soviet plans for the recovery and development of industry should be based on the needs of the war, the needs of the masses in the soviet areas, and the possibility of export to White areas. Tungsten ore, coal, iron, lime, farm tools, tobacco, paper, cloth, sugar, medicine, salt, camphor, timber, and so on should be the main sectors. Great efforts should be made to develop production cooperatives of the masses in these industries, and as much as possible, unemployed workers, independent laborers, and peasants should be organized into the production cooperatives. At the same time, investment by private capitalists should be allowed and encouraged, to expand production of these things in the soviet areas. The soviets should not attempt to monopolize all production enterprises at present, but to set up and develop some specially needed and specially beneficial state-owned enterprises is something that might be done and, indeed, should be done. Raising enthusiasm for work, promoting production competitions, and rewarding those who have made remarkable achievements on the production front are all important methods of increasing production.

Breaking down the enemy's economic blockade, developing the soviet areas' trade with the outside, and exchanging surplus goods produced in the soviet areas (rice, tungsten ore, timber, tobacco, paper, etc.) for industrial goods from the White areas (table salt, cloth, kerosene, etc.) are pivotal to developing the national economy. The Soviet Bureau of External Trade and the various commercial organs must be further strengthened. At the same time, rewarding private commerce allows them to make efforts for the import and export of various necessary commodities. The extensive development of consumer cooperatives and organization of the broad masses of workers and peasants into these cooperatives make it possible for the masses to purchase necessities from the White areas at reasonable prices and sell goods produced in the soviet areas at high prices. Thus they occupy an especially important position in soviet trade and economic construction as a whole. Soviet leadership of the Central General Association and the various provincial and *xian*¹⁰⁶ general associations of consumer cooperatives should be greatly strengthened. In places where provincial and *xian* general associations have not yet been established, they should be set up quickly.

The solution to the problem of capital in economic construction lies primarily in absorbing capital from the masses and organizing the masses into production, consumer, and credit cooperatives. Attention should be paid to the development of credit cooperatives, so that after usurious capital is overthrown they may take its place. Absorbing the capital of the masses into the building of state enterprises; developing external trade; aiding cooperative enterprises and other projects by means of public economic construction bonds, bank shares and deposits, and so on, are also important measures. Within the scope of soviet laws, private capitalists should be encouraged as much as possible to make investments so that capital in the soviet areas may be more flexible. Soviet banks should be given the fullest play possible. Based on the principle of the needs of the market, issuing appropriate amounts of paper currency, gathering savings deposits from the masses, making loans to profitable production enterprises, readjusting in a planned manner the entire finances of the soviet areas, and leading the mass cooperatives in struggle against speculative merchants are all tasks of the banks.

C. With Regard to Construction of the Soviets

The establishment of the Soviet Central Government provided the nationwide soviet movement with an overall leading organization, which is of tremendous significance to the Chinese revolution. Over the past two years it has won great and glorious victories in leading the struggle against imperialism and the

106. In the Moscow edition, *xian* is omitted here.

Guomindang. We must point out that the Central Government still has many imperfections and deficiencies in its own organization and work. In order to strengthen the Central Government's overall leadership of the soviet areas and the nationwide revolution, the work of the Central Executive Committee must be separated from that of the Council of People's Commissars, the organization and work of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee must be improved, and the staffs of the various people's commissariats must be further strengthened and their methods of work reformed. Additional people's commissariats must be established as necessary, such as the Commissariat for Food and Grain, and so on, so that in the face of further development of the revolutionary situation, the Central Government can fully play its role as overall driving force.

Provincial soviets are the highest leading organs of local political power and are the connecting links between the Central Government on the one hand and the various *xian* and district soviets on the other. The Central Government's leadership over the provincial soviets must be greatly strengthened, communication made closer between the Central Government and the provincial soviets (various provinces within the Central Area and various provinces outside the Central Area), and inspection of the work of the provincial soviets done strictly. Great efforts must be made to improve the working methods of the provincial soviets and to institute a system of collective discussion, precise division of labor, and individual responsibility. Inspection of the work of *xian* soviet areas must be intensified, and great efforts made to correct past manifestations of laxity and lack of focus in the work of some soviets.

Township and city soviets are the basic soviet organizations, and therefore the greatest efforts must be made to improve the work of township and city soviets. In all places where the system of deputies' congresses has not yet been set up, this system should be instituted. The work of deputies' conferences in the various localities must be further strengthened and their presidiums should be established, as well as many committees under them. In fact, the committee system should be introduced in the villages, and large numbers of worker and peasant activists drawn in to participate in the work of the committees. A system should be established whereby each deputy has a relationship with a certain number of residents. A system of responsibility should be set up in which each village has a deputy responsible for the work of the whole village, and he should be allowed to call meetings of the villages's deputies and residents to discuss the work of the village. Township and city soviets are the organs directly responsible for mobilizing the masses to carry out the work of the soviets. The heart of their work is how to mobilize the masses of the whole city and whole township most effectively and fully to struggle for the successful realization of every task and all work of the soviets. Township, city, and district soviets must pay the greatest attention to the

actual work in the villages and neighborhoods. They must carry out a system of periodic inspection of village and neighborhood work. Competitions in revolutionary work between various villages and neighborhoods are effective methods of achieving greater speed in the work. Practical and rapid improvements in township, city, and district soviets depend upon correct and concrete leadership by district and city soviets. District and city soviets should focus all their attention on improvements in the work of the various township, city, and district soviets. Ample explanation, frequent tours and check-ups, effective inspection, and tests among the masses are key leadership methods for district and city soviets. These same standards should be used in the *xian* soviets' inspection of the work of district soviets as well.

The provincial soviets must devote a great part of their attention to the newly developed soviet areas, and regard as their own important duty the work of establishing and strengthening revolutionary committees in the new areas. The organizational form and the content of the work of these revolutionary committees are different in many aspects from those of city and township soviets. All White areas that are transformed into soviet areas should go through the process of establishing revolutionary committees. Therefore, all provincial soviets and *xian* soviets in the new areas and border areas should pay a great deal of attention to perfecting the organization and work of the revolutionary committees and enabling them to shoulder the tasks of arming the masses, launching a mass struggle, and eliminating reactionary forces, and to proceed rapidly to the establishment of soviet political power. Although soviet democracy has been developing, it should be pointed out that it is still extremely inadequate in many respects. A harsh struggle against bureaucratism must be waged so as to get rid of all the trash that stands between the soviets and the masses. This trash is bureaucratism and commandism. Soviet staff members should carry out the work of the soviets through mobilizing and persuading the masses, not by means of coercion and orders. Soviet staff workers should pay attention to every request and suggestion of the masses, and should not take lightly such requests and suggestions. Soviet staff workers, and worker-peasant inspection committees in particular, should involve the broad masses in carrying out extensive criticism and struggle against bad elements within soviet organizations, to the point of harshly punishing them according to soviet laws so as to ensure good relations between the soviets and the masses. For the purpose of improving the composition of the soviets, it is necessary to carry out massification of soviet elections. The significance of elections must be explained to the masses, and the greatest possible number of voters drawn in to participate in the elections. All class-alien elements and all corrupt, wasteful, and bureaucratic elements must absolutely be barred from elections. Large numbers of worker and peasant activists should be elected to manage the affairs of state. Here, according

to the stipulations of the Election Law, an important link in improving the work of the soviets is to involve large numbers of worker cadres and strengthen the leading position of workers in soviet political power. For the purpose of massification of soviet work, the soviets must establish close ties with trade unions, poor peasant associations, representative conferences of women workers and peasants, cooperatives, and all other sorts of mass organizations, and carry out the work of the soviets by mobilizing the broad masses through these organizations.

With a view to striving for speed and quality in soviet work and making all soviet work serve the demands of the revolutionary war, it is necessary to make great efforts to eliminate laxity and a lackadaisical attitude on the part of soviet staff members, to enhance greatly the work enthusiasm of soviet staff workers, and to make each staff member conscientiously exert himself in working for the state, the democratic dictatorship of workers and peasants. At the same time, work discipline must be tightened. Harsh struggle should be waged against all elements such as those who are unenthusiastic about work and those who take lightly, neglect, or shirk their duties and treat soviet work as unimportant, to the point of firing them from their jobs. Corruption and waste must be opposed, for these phenomena are not only financially and economically harmful to the soviets, but also constitute factors that are liable to corrupt soviet staff workers and undermine their enthusiasm for work and high morale. It is necessary to put forward to every soviet staff worker the slogans "All work must serve the war" and "Strive for speed and quality in work." In this regard, the main people in charge in the soviets at all levels, and the worker-peasant inspection committees in particular, should conduct thoroughgoing persuasion and education work among soviet personnel.

Responsibility for thoroughly and faithfully carrying out soviet laws, orders, and policies should be shifted onto the shoulders of the entire soviet staff. Violations of soviet laws, orders, and policies, first and foremost violations by soviet personnel themselves, should be subject to severe penalties.

The Labor Law must be fully applied, and each article of the Labor Law explained to the broad masses of workers. The institution of the eight-hour day and the stipulation of a minimum wage are its central and minimal provisions to safeguard the workers' interests. Labor inspection units and labor courts must be made to play their full roles. Firm struggle must be waged against staff members who neglect the interests of workers and attempt to compromise with capitalists. Concrete and timely relief must be provided to unemployed workers, and unemployment relief committees must be organized wherever there are unemployed. A system of social security must be adopted and effectively administered wherever it is possible to do so. Due attention must be paid to the work of the Social Security Bureau, and past mistakes in some places with regard to the disbursement of insurance money must be avoided. To carry out these tasks fully, the

Soviet Commissariat for Labor should be strengthened and it should develop close relations with trade unions.

One of the central tasks of the soviets is to carry out fully the Land Law and all regulations and orders concerning the land struggle, and to unfold the broad agrarian revolution on a nationwide scale. The struggle to confiscate the land of the landlord class and big private owners should be initiated emphatically and forcefully in all areas that are newly incorporated into the soviet domain. Much past experience in methods of land redistribution should be gathered and generally applied in all new areas. The Land Investigation Movement should be unfolded wherever the issue of land has yet to be completely settled so as to eliminate rapidly the remnants of feudal forces in those places. A correct class line and adequate mass work are prerequisites for ensuring thorough victory of the land revolution.

To carry out soviet cultural and educational policies, unfold a cultural revolution on soviet territories, arm with communism the minds of the masses of workers and peasants, raise the cultural level of the masses, institute a system of compulsory education, and further mobilize the forces of the masses in the revolutionary war are, likewise, important tasks for the soviets.

The soviet policy of punishing exploiters and suppressing counterrevolutionaries must be resolutely carried out. The State Political Security Bureau and the soviet courts must heighten their vigilance and impose harsh punishment and suppression on exploiting class elements who violate soviet laws and all elements who engage in counterrevolutionary activities. In this regard, massification of the work of the Political Security Bureau and the soviet courts and mobilization of the broad masses to engage in the struggle to eliminate counterrevolutionaries are crucial.

The general direction of soviet work is to strive for speed and quality and to have all soviet work completely conform to the demands of the revolutionary war.

D. With Regard to Leading the Struggle Against Imperialism and Work in the White Areas

In order to oppose resolutely imperialist aggression, promote vigorously the struggle of workers and peasants nationwide, and enlarge the soviet areas throughout the country, the Soviet Government must strengthen its leadership of the anti-imperialist struggle all over the country and the revolutionary struggle of workers and peasants in the Guomindang areas. Passivity in this regard amounts to indulging imperialism's gangster aggression, prolonging the life of Guomindang reactionary rule, and restricting the speed and scope of development of the soviet areas. The Soviet Central Government and the various provincial soviets must project their vision into the vast Guomindang areas. Not only

should they lead every spontaneous anti-imperialist movement of the masses, they should also make use of every concrete incidence of imperialist aggression and Guomintang surrender and betrayal of China to inspire the people's national awareness and class awareness among the broad masses of workers and peasants and the petty bourgeoisie, and call upon them to become organized and armed so as to fight for the expulsion of imperialism and the defense of China's territory. Particularly in areas under attack by the Japanese imperialists such as the Three Northeastern Provinces, Rehe, Chahar, North China, and so on, people's armies and volunteer armies should be organized and the old volunteer armies should be guided to shake off the reactionary influence of the Guomintang and resolutely fight against Japanese imperialism. The Soviet Government must provide all possible moral and material support to every anti-imperialist strike of the workers and every anti-imperialist struggle of the peasants and petty bourgeoisie.

The soviets must use all possible means to organize, aid, and lead the workers' struggle against the bourgeoisie and the peasants' struggle against landlords¹⁰⁷ in the Guomintang areas. All soviet staff workers should understand that it is necessary to pay tremendous attention to the White areas if we are to extend the soviet movement throughout the country; to create the conditions for transforming into soviet areas the Guomintang areas, which are several times larger than the soviet areas; to create new soviet areas; and to be able to gain the support of the masses in the White areas during the struggle against the massive "Encirclement and Suppression" of the imperialist Guomintang. People must be sent out from the soviet areas to prepare all necessary material support and to organize and lead the mass struggle in the White areas. Passivity in this respect amounts to passivity toward expansion of the soviet areas and development of the revolutionary war. Particularly in Guomintang areas near soviet areas, the masses are under the greatest influence of the soviets and suffer the greatest oppression of Guomintang military slavery, state monopoly on table salt, and so on. The soviets, especially the various governments in provinces, border *xian*, and border areas, must make use of every sort of opportunity to establish links with these masses, organize their daily struggles, and develop them into guerrilla warfare and mass uprisings until the newly established soviet areas are joined together with the old soviet areas. Here the work on the borders between the soviet areas and the White areas should be viewed as extremely important. In these areas, the soviets (or revolutionary committees) and guerrilla forces must strictly adhere to basic soviet policies, and all arbitrary beating of local despots without distinguishing between classes is forbidden. Property confiscated from the landlord class and reactionaries must be distributed to the local masses in large quantities. Furthermore, excellent solutions must be applied, according to

107. The Moscow edition inserts here: "and all mass revolutionary people's struggles against imperialism and the Guomintang."

the class line and the mass line, to the problem of the opposition between Red and White, the problem of flight by the masses, the problem of the blockade on table salt, the problem of masses struck by disaster, and so on. The causes of the opposition between Red and White and flight by the masses must be eliminated. Improvement of the work in border areas is an important link in turning White areas into soviet areas. (End of speech, followed by thunderous applause.)¹⁰⁸

108. The Moscow edition inserts two final paragraphs here, as follows:

Comrades! We of the soviets and the Red Army are shouldering the heavy responsibility of saving the Chinese nation from doom. If we are to fulfill this responsibility, we must accomplish the tasks raised and stipulated by the Second National Soviet Congress. At the same time, as the comrades all know, the victory of the Chinese soviet revolution represents not only the liberation of China's 400 million people, but also the precursor to all the oppressed nations of the East throwing off the shackles of imperialism, a fatal blow to the plan by Japanese imperialism and other imperialisms to wage an imperialist world war in the Pacific, destruction of the plan by Japanese imperialism and other imperialisms to attack the Soviet Union from the eastern front. It will bring the moment of victory for the world proletarian revolution very much closer. How great and glorious is our task!

Comrades! Forge ahead! Final victory belongs to us! (End of speech, followed by thunderous applause. All representatives rise to welcome Comrade Mao Zedong and for the joyful singing of the *Internationale*.)