

People's China

人民中国

July 16, 1950

On the Agrarian Reform Law

— Liu Shao-chi

China's Land Revolution

— Chang Yen

Nieh Erh—People's Composer

— Hsu Chih

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SUPPLEMENT

The Agrarian Law and Trade Union Law

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ALL ASIA SUPPORTS KOREA'S FIGHT!

The U.S. imperialists have flung their mask aside. They have openly instigated the Syngman Rhee puppet regime in South Korea to attack the Korean People's Democratic Republic north of the 38th parallel. Since the blow on June 25 fell upon the Korean people, the world has witnessed the rapid unfolding of acts of naked, savage and utterly unprovoked armed aggression in Asia by the American imperialists.

That this was a premeditated plan is clearly shown by the swiftness with which Washington concocted a pretext out of a situation created entirely by itself, not only to commit aggression upon the territory of Korea, to strike against the independence of the Viet-Nameese and further intervene in the Philippines' internal affairs, but also to initiate an armed aggression against the People's Republic of China by despatching the American 7th Fleet to Taiwan.

All of this goes to show that the U.S. imperialists deliberately provoked the present crisis. This is the logical outcome of the long chain of half-veiled aggressive acts by which the United States has tried, but failed, to stem the rising tide of the national liberation movements in Asia, to turn Asia's lands and peoples into a reserve of imperialism in its plots against progressive mankind headed by the U.S.S.R.

The tide of history in Asia is flowing irresistibly against the imperialists. The situation in this vast region has been revolutionized by the glorious successes of the Chinese people in freeing their country from the American-supported Chiang Kai-shek rule. Supplies of U.S. money, munitions, and advisers to

their puppets—Syngman Rhee, Bao Dai, Quirino and Chiang Kai-shek, can no longer prop up these rotten regimes which are most immediately threatened by the upsurge of the liberation movements in Asia. U.S. imperialism is now compelled to use open force to preserve them and the Wall Street interests which they serve.

It is against this background that the Korean events must be viewed. This policy of direct armed intervention in the affairs of Asian countries, as enunciated by the American President in his Statement of June 27, marks a new, significant phase in U.S. relations with Asia. U.S. imperialism has been forced to expose its evil face. The Asian peoples can have no more illusions about the United States. They now know who is the enemy of their struggle for freedom. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung succinctly puts it, "this open exposure by the United States of its true imperialist face is of service to the people of China and the peoples of Asia."

Through their Foreign Minister Chou En-lai, the Chinese people have warned the imperialist U.S. government that, as confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations, Taiwan is an integral part of the People's Republic of China, and that whatever action the imperialists may take, it will not prevent them from liberating Taiwan. Therefore, the United States government must bear full responsibility for the consequences of sending its 7th Fleet to Taiwan, an act of open, armed aggression against China.

In his Note of July 6, the Chinese Foreign Minister exposes the illegality of the resolution adopted on the Korean situation by those Security Council members who met on June 27 in the absence of the two permanent members of the Council—the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R. The United Nations was meant to be the custodian of world peace, but the United States has used it corruptly to cloak aggression. It must bear full responsibility for thus undermining the structure of the U.N.

The truth of the situation today is that the American imperialists and their satellites, under the transparent guise of United Nations' 'police action', are carrying on a war against the Korean people who are determined to form a free, united democratic state. But the interventionists have seriously underestimated the task they set themselves of colonizing Korea. When the invasion of North Korea came, the Korean people rose as one man, took the offensive, and rolled the invaders back. In opposing their aggressors, the Korean people have shown the strength of their cause. A large part of southern Korea has already been liberated; the American-trained and equipped divisions of the puppet Syngman Rhee regime, like the American-equipped armies of the Chinese war criminal Chiang Kai-shek before them, have been routed by the people. American troops in the field have fled ignominiously before



One Target

By Jack Chen

the Korean People's Army. Once again it is shown that for all its bellicose posturings, "imperialism is outwardly strong, but feeble within, because it has no support among the people." (Mao Tse-tung)

These events in Asia emphasize the timeliness and urgency of the world-wide campaign to mobilize the peace-loving peoples against the warmongers. In the face of the mighty peace camp, including the progressive elements who defy police terror in the imperialist countries, the desperation of the U.S. imperialists in embarking upon foredoomed adventures demonstrates their essential weakness. The heroic Korean people, like the people of China, in

their resolute fight against U.S. imperialism, will inspire the other oppressed Asian peoples to rise and join the struggle against this common enemy. In Korea, as in China, the 'paper tiger' of U.S. imperialism will be torn to pieces by the united force of the people.

In this hour of their great trial, the Korean people will have the support of all the freedom-loving nations and peoples of the world—the 800 million strong peace camp headed by the Soviet Union. Support to the Korean people is support for peace. Victory for the Korean people against the aggressors will be a resounding victory for peace.

Chou En-lai on Truman's Statement

ON JUNE 28, CHOU EN-LAI, FOREIGN MINISTER OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA, ISSUED THE FOLLOWING STATEMENT:

After instigating the puppet government of Syngman Rhee in South Korea to provoke civil war in Korea, the United States President, Truman, made a statement on June 27, declaring that the United States government had decided to prevent by armed force our liberation of Taiwan.

On Truman's order, the American 7th Fleet has moved to the coast of Taiwan.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that Truman's statement of the 27th and the action of the American navy constitute armed aggression against the territory of China and total violation of the United Nations Charter. This violent, predatory action by the U.S. government comes as no surprise to the Chinese people but only increases their wrath; because the Chinese people have, over a long period, constantly exposed all the conspiratorial schemes of American imperialism for aggression against China and grabbing Asia by force. All that Truman's statement does is merely to expose his premeditated plan and put it into practice. In fact, the attack by the puppet Korean government of Syngman Rhee on the Korean People's Democratic Republic at the instigation of the U.S. government was a premeditated move by the United States, designed to create a pretext for the United States to invade Taiwan, Korea, Viet-Nam and the Philippines. It is precisely a further act of intervention by American imperialism in the affairs of Asia.

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare that, no matter what obstructive action the U.S. imperialists may take, the fact that Taiwan is part of China will remain unchanged forever. This is not only a historical fact; it has also been confirmed by the Cairo and Potsdam Declarations and by the situation since the surrender of Japan. All the people of our country will certainly fight to the end single-mindedly to liberate Taiwan from the grasp of the American aggressors. The Chinese people, who defeated Japanese imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek, the hireling of American imperialism, will surely be victorious in driving off the American aggressors and in recovering Taiwan and all other territories belonging to China.

The Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China calls on all peoples throughout the world, who love peace, justice and freedom and especially on all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East, to rise as one and halt the new aggression of American imperialism in the East. Such aggression can be completely defeated if we do not yield to threats but resolutely mobilize the broad masses of the people to take part in the struggle against the war-makers. The Chinese people express their sympathy and respect to the people of Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines and Japan who are similarly victims of U.S. aggression and are similarly fighting against it. The Chinese people firmly believe that all the oppressed nations and peoples of the East are undoubtedly capable of burying the vicious and hated American imperialist war-makers once and for all in the great flames of struggle for national independence.

ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

—Liu Shao-chi

Fellow members, comrades!

The Common Programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference stipulates that the People's Republic of China "must systematically transform the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system into a system of peasant land ownership." Last winter, the people's government carried out and completed, or in the main completed, agrarian reform in the suburbs of the cities and a number of other areas of North China and in half the area of Honan Province. The rural population affected was 26 million.

Generally speaking, no serious deviations occurred in carrying out the agrarian reform during last winter. It was carried out quite smoothly and very few destructive incidents took place. The people, especially the peasants who obtained land and other means of production, are satisfied with this agrarian reform.

In addition, in the extensive newly-liberated areas, the people's government and the PLA carried out campaigns to wipe out bandits, oppose local despots and reduce rents, and set up peasants' associations in many areas. According to reports from East China and Central-South China areas, the peasants' associations in these two areas have already reached a membership of about 24 million. There are also about one million people's militia there. In areas where these campaigns developed, people's representative conferences at county, district and *hsiang* (an administrative unit comprising several villages — Editor's note) levels and peasants' representative conferences have generally been convened. Active elements among the peasants have emerged in large numbers, the administration in more than 38,000 *hsiang* governments has been reformed and the level of awareness of the masses of the peasants has been swiftly raised. About 180,000 cadres will be trained in the East China and Central-South China areas by the winter of this year to carry out agrarian reform. Therefore, we consider that in these areas, where the peasant movement has developed and where preparations have been made, a start can be made to put the agrarian reform into operation this winter.

At present, agrarian reform in China has been completed, or in the main completed, in an area with a rural population of about 145 million (total population of the area is about 160 million). There is still an area with a rural population of about 264

million (total population of the area about 310 million) where agrarian reform has not been carried out. Requests to be allowed to proceed with agrarian reform in the winter of this year have been made by various areas with a rural population of about 100 million — 3,500,000 in North China, 8,000,000 in Northwest China, 35,000,000 to 40,000,000 in East China and 47,000,000 to 56,000,000 in Central-South China — covering more than 300 counties in all. This requires discussion by the National Committee and a decision to carry it out by the Central People's Government.

Apart from these, there is still an area with a rural population of about 164 million where it is not planned to carry out agrarian reform this winter. In the greater part of this area, agrarian reform may be carried out after the autumn of 1951. In a smaller part of the area, it may be carried out after the autumn of 1952. As for the remaining small part of the area — mainly where national minorities are concentrated — agrarian reform will be put off to some future date. Agrarian reform has been carried out in areas inhabited by Koreans and Mongolians in Northeast China and it may be carried out in other areas where the majority of the masses among the national minorities demand it.

But it is still impossible to decide today when agrarian reform will be carried out in the areas inhabited by a population of about 20 million of the national minorities. That will have to be decided on the basis of work within the national minorities and the level of political consciousness of the masses of the people. We should give the national minorities more time to consider and prepare for reform among themselves and we must not be impetuous. The Draft Agrarian Reform Law we propose also stipulates that it shall not apply to national minority areas. This means that we plan to complete agrarian reform throughout China in the main, but not entirely, in two and a half to three years, beginning from this winter. This is only an approximate plan. If this plan is realized, it will be an extremely great historic victory of the Chinese people. And it cannot be considered a very slow, but a very rapid, accomplishment of this most basic historic task of the Chinese revolution.

It is necessary to make such an approximate plan. This will enable the people's governments and people's organizations in the various newly-liberated areas to prepare for and carry out their work accordingly. We request that, in those areas where it is decided not to carry out agrarian reform this year, agrarian reform shall not be carried out this

LIU SHAO-CHI, Vice-Chairman of the People's Republic of China, made this report *On Problems Concerning Agrarian Reform* at the Second Session of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference held in Peking, June, 1950.

year. If the peasants spontaneously go ahead to carry out agrarian reform, they should be persuaded to stop. In those areas where it is decided to carry out agrarian reform this winter, efforts should be concentrated on making preparations in the summer and autumn in order that agrarian reform can start immediately after the autumn harvest and the speedy completion of public grain collection. And all possible effort should be made to complete agrarian reform in the main in a correct way in an area with a rural population of 100 million within the winter of this year. If deviations occur in some areas after agrarian reform starts and give rise to certain chaotic conditions which cannot be corrected quickly, agrarian reform should be held up in these areas in order that the deviations may be corrected and further preparations made to carry out agrarian reform next year.

To sum up, chaotic conditions cannot be allowed to occur and no deviation or confusion may be allowed to remain for long uncorrected in our future agrarian reform work. Agrarian reform must be carried out under guidance, in a planned and orderly way, in complete accordance with the laws and decrees promulgated by the Central People's Government and the people's governments at various levels, and the principles, policies and steps decided by them. Because our future agrarian reform is on the biggest scale in history, only in this way can it conform with the interests of the great majority of the people.

In order to carry out the coming agrarian reform with leadership and order, the Central People's Government must issue an agrarian reform law and a number of other directives. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has drawn up a Draft Agrarian Reform Law to be submitted to the National Committee for examination and discussion. After general agreement has been reached, the Draft Law will be put before the Central People's Government Council for it to enact and put into force. In order to elucidate the Draft Law and a number of questions which have to be considered in the future agrarian reform, I would like to take up and explain the following questions.

Why Agrarian Reform Should Be Carried Out

The essential content of agrarian reform is the confiscation of the land of the landlord class for dis-

tribution to the landless peasants and land-poor peasants. Thus landlords as a class are abolished from society and the land ownership system of feudal exploitation is transformed into a system of peasant land ownership. Such a reform is indeed the greatest and most thorough reform in thousands of years of Chinese history.

Why should such a reform be made? In a few words, because the original land system of China is extremely irrational. In general the old land situation in China is roughly as follows:

Landlords and rich peasants, who constitute less than 10 per cent of the rural population, possess approximately from 70 to 80 per cent of the land and brutally exploit the peasants by means of this land.

Poor peasants, farm labourers, middle peasants and others, however, who constitute 90 per cent of the rural population, possess in all only 20 to 30 per cent of the land. Labouring the whole year round, they hardly earn a bare subsistence. This situation has undergone some changes in the past ten years and more since the Anti-Japanese War and the People's War of Liberation. Apart from the areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, land has been even further concentrated into the hands of the landlords in some areas, such as in Szechuan and other places, where landlords possess about 70 to 80 per cent of the land.

In other areas such as those in the middle and lower reaches of the Yangtze River, land ownership is somewhat dispersed. According to the data obtained in our recent investigations of a number of villages in East China and Central-South China, the situation is roughly as follows:

Land possessed by landlords and public land constitute 30 to 50 per cent; rich peasants possess 10 to 15 per cent of the land; middle peasants, poor peasants and farm labourers possess 30 to 40 per cent of the land and persons renting out small parcels of land possess 3 to 5 per cent of the land.

The total area of land rented out in the rural areas constitutes about 60 to 70 per cent of the land. Land rented out by rich peasants constitutes about 3 to 5 per cent, while land cultivated by rich peasants themselves constitutes about 10 per cent.

This shows that 90 per cent of the land is cultivated by middle peasants and a section of the farm labourers; they own merely a part of the land, and the greater part does not belong to them. Such a situation is still very serious.

This lies at the root of our nation having become the object of aggression and oppression and having become poor and backward. This is also the basic obstacle to the achievement of democracy, industrialization, independence, unification and prosperity in our country. Unless we change this situation, the victory of the Chinese people's revolution cannot be consolidated, the productive forces in the rural areas cannot be set free, the industrialization of



Woodcut by Ku Yuan

New China cannot be realized and the people cannot enjoy the fundamental gains of the victory of the revolution.

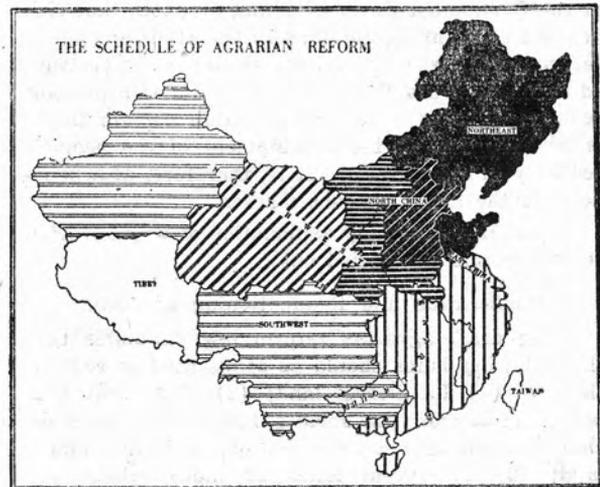
But to alter the situation, we must do what is stipulated in Article One of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law: "Abolish the land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and institute the system of peasant land ownership in order to set free the productive forces in the rural areas, develop agricultural production and open the way for China's industrialization." It is for this basic reason and with this basic aim that we must carry out agrarian reform.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen long ago put forward the slogan of "Equalization of land ownership" and, later, the slogan of "Land to the tillers." The industrialization of China must rely on the vast market in China's rural areas and, without a thorough agrarian reform, it would be impossible to realize the industrialization of the new China. This is very obvious and does not need a great deal of explanation.

It is still necessary at the present time to explain clearly the basic reason for and aim of agrarian reform, because they show the fallacy of the various reasons given for opposing agrarian reform, for expressing doubts about it and for justifying the landlord class. At present, in fact, opposition to and doubt about agrarian reform still remain.

We can see from the basic reason and aim of agrarian reform that the historical crimes committed by the landlord class in the past are rooted in the former social system. Landlords in general will only be deprived of their feudal land holdings and abolished as a social class, but they will not be physically eliminated. The smallest minority, those on whom the people's courts should pass sentences of death or imprisonment, are certain landlords guilty of heinous crimes—rural despots whose crimes are gross and whose iniquities are extreme and those criminal elements who persistently resist agrarian reform. Therefore, it is stipulated in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law that after the landlords' land and other means of production have been confiscated, the landlords will still be allocated one share of the land and the other means of production so that they can also make a living by their own labour, and reform themselves through labour. After undergoing long-term reform through labour, it is possible for landlords to become new men.

This view of the basic reason for and aim of agrarian reform is different from the view that agrarian reform is only designed to relieve the poor people. The Communist Party has always been fighting for the interests of the labouring poor, but the ideas of Communists have always been different from those of philanthropists. The results of agrarian reform are beneficial to the impoverished labouring peasants. They can help peasants partly solve the question of their poverty. But the basic aim of agrarian reform is not purely one of relieving poor



KEY TO THE MAP SHOWING THE SCHEDULE OF AGRARIAN REFORM

Areas where agrarian reform has been completed:

-  -- completed by March, 1949.
-  -- basically completed by April, 1950.

Areas where agrarian reform has been completed in some parts, while the rent reduction programme is in operation in other parts.

-  Areas where rent reduction programme is in operation:
-  -- land distribution may be carried out after the autumn harvest of 1950.
-  -- land distribution will not be carried out before the autumn harvest of 1951.
-  -- land distribution may be carried out in areas inhabited by the Han people after the autumn harvest of 1950, but in areas inhabited predominantly by national minorities, it may be carried out a year later.

peasants. It is designed to set free the rural productive forces, that is, to free rural labourers, land and other means of production from the shackles of the feudal ownership system of the landlord class, in order to develop agricultural production and to clear the path for the industrialization of China. The question of poverty among the peasantry can be finally solved only if agricultural production can be greatly developed, if the industrialization of New China can be realized, if the living standards of the people throughout the country can be raised and if China finally proceeds upon the road of Socialist development. By merely carrying out agrarian reform, part, but not all, of the problem of the peasants' poverty can be solved.

The basic reason and aim of agrarian reform stems from the demands of production. Hence, every step in agrarian reform should truly take into consideration and be closely co-ordinated with the development of rural production. Precisely because of this basic reason and aim, the Central Committee

of the Communist Party of China proposes that rich peasant economy be retained in the future agrarian reform. Rich peasant economy should not be destroyed. This is because the existence of a rich peasant economy and its development within certain limits is advantageous to the development of the people's economy in our country. It is, therefore, also beneficial to the broad peasant masses.

This, in brief, is my explanation of why agrarian reform should be carried out.

Confiscation and Requisitioning of Land

The draft agrarian reform law stipulates that the following lands should be confiscated or requisitioned: (1) Landlords' land; (2) The rural land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools and organizations and other public land; (3) The rural lands of industrialists and merchants; (4) The land of those people who, because they have other occupations or lack labour power, rent out land amounting to more than twice the average land holding in that locality and the land rented out by rich peasants of a semi-landlord type. Except in such instances, the land and other properties of rich peasants should not in general be touched. Land and other properties owned by middle peasants, poor peasants, farm labourers and other rural people should not be touched.

Here we tolerate the renting out of small plots of land without requisitioning them. This has some disadvantageous effects upon rural production but they are not great, because in our estimation, the total amount of land rented out in small plots will not exceed 3 to 5 per cent of the total acreage

of arable land. And it is necessary to show consideration for revolutionary soldiers, for the dependents of martyrs, and for workers, employees, professional and other people who rent out small plots of land because they have other occupations or lack labour power.

This is because China does not yet have social insurance for unemployed persons and those who have lost their labour power. Moreover, much of such land has been bought by the individuals' own labour. Hence there are some advantages in allowing such persons to retain this part of their land and continue to rent it or to cultivate it themselves.

Regarding the land and other properties of the rich peasants, Article Six of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law has clearly stipulated:

Firstly, all land cultivated by rich peasants themselves or by their hired labourers as well as their other property shall be protected from infringement because a rich peasant economy can only be retained in this way.

Secondly, all small plots of land rented out by rich peasants should be retained by them and not be touched. In certain special areas, however, part or all of these lands may be requisitioned with the approval of the people's government of provincial level or above. Because, in general, the quantity of land rented out in small plots by rich peasants is not great; in order to neutralize the rich peasants effectively and to protect the middle peasants and persons who rent out small parcels of land, it is also necessary for the rich peasants to retain this portion of the rented-out land.

A PEASANT INVENTOR

The New Democracy's land reform has released a flow of creative energy among China's peasants that assures the fulfilment of state plans and is the basis of the peasants' own counter-plans of increased production. Without waiting till they, too, receive the advanced mechanical equipment that is gradually being introduced into the nation's agriculture, the farmers are making ingenious new devices of their own, to assist or supersede the primitive tools left them by centuries of feudal exploitation.

Peasant inventor Liu Chao-tsun of Kaiping County, Manchuria, is but one of many. He has constructed the 'Four-Purpose Kaiping Harrow'. With a wheel base, it can be drawn by a small draught animal; its seed box spreads the seed over which the soil is pressed by the wooden roller at its rear. One man

and an animal can now do work that with the old type of heavy harrow required four pairs of hands. Waste of seed has also been cut by two-thirds.

Liu has also invented a 'windmill scarecrow'. This, too, is a product of bitter experience. Liu's fields were ravaged by wild hogs. While making paper windmills for his grandson, he hit on the idea of constructing a larger one with bells on its vanes . . . an effective scarecrow not only for animals but birds.

Now 69 years old, Liu has been elected delegate to the recent conference of rural labour heroes and model workers and to the People's Representative Conference of his province. He bears the title of Model Worker and received a prize for his work from the provincial authorities.

But in certain special areas, the situation is different, the land rented out by rich peasants is of considerable size and, if it were not requisitioned, the poor peasants would be unable to get an appropriate amount of land. Therefore, in these areas, a part or all of the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned to solve the problem, if this is ratified by the people's government of provincial level or above.

Thirdly, the land rented out by the few rich peasants who rent out large tracts should be requisitioned. For instance, if a rich peasant rents out more land than he cultivates by himself and by hired labourers, then this is no mere rich peasant; he is a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type. Therefore, the agrarian law stipulates that where large tracts of land are rented out by rich peasants of a semi-landlord type, exceeding in area the land cultivated by themselves or with hired labour, the rented-out portion should be requisitioned.

Then there are also persons in the family of the landlord who throughout the year engage in the main agricultural work, cultivating a section of their land but renting the major part of it. Such persons among the landlord class should be given consideration. Land which they cultivate themselves should be retained for the most part after making adequate readjustment, and the rest should be confiscated.

Landlords' draught animals, farm implements, and their surplus grain and surplus rural houses should be confiscated at the same time as their land. House furnishings should be confiscated and distributed with the houses, but for convenience they may be rearranged. By surplus grain is meant the grain retained by landlords in excess of their own food requirements after rent reduction and payment of public grain. By surplus houses are meant houses in excess of those needed by the landlords and their families. It is necessary to confiscate this surplus grain as well as the surplus houses, furniture, draught animals and farm implements together with the lands and to distribute them, but at the same time a share must be retained for or distributed to the landlord. The reason is that these are the essential means of agricultural production. After the peasants have been allotted land, they must have these means of production before they can produce.

Of course, it is far from enough for the peasants merely to divide up the landlords' means of production. In order to solve the problem of production, the peasants themselves must work hard and collaborate with each other, while in addition there must be government help.

Except for the above cases, other properties of the landlords including their industrial and commercial enterprises must not be confiscated. Of course, due to their years of exploitation, most landlords have a great deal of other properties. According to our past experience, if these properties of the landlords are confiscated and distributed, it will lead the landlords to hide and disperse them.

Then the peasants will search for these properties. Thus chaotic conditions can easily arise, and wastage and destruction of great quantities of social wealth will also occur. It is therefore better to allow the landlords to keep these properties. Thus they can gain a living from these properties, or they can invest them in production. This is also beneficial to society. This way of dealing with landlords in the future agrarian reform is far more lenient than in the past.

However, many landlords may still stubbornly oppose and sabotage agrarian reform, and may still stubbornly oppose and sabotage the people's government. We must resolutely punish such obstinately reactionary landlord elements and should not be lenient or give them a free rein.

Certain persons among the landlord class will conduct sabotage during and after agrarian reform, such as the mass slaughtering and killing of draught animals, the destruction of trees, farm implements, water conservancy projects, buildings, crop and furniture. People's governments throughout the country should work out detailed measures to strictly prohibit such activities. Landlords should be held responsible for taking good care of the properties which are still in their hands, and not to destroy, hide, disperse or sell them. They should pay for or be punished for any violations, and other persons than landlords, who destroy such property, should also be punished.

Preserve the Rich Peasant Economy

The various stipulations in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law regarding land and other property of the rich peasants aim to preserve the rich peasant economy and, in the course of land reform, to neutralize the rich peasants politically and to render better protection to middle peasants and persons renting out small parcels of land in order to isolate the landlord class and unite all the people to carry out agrarian reform and eliminate the feudal system in an orderly manner.

Why, in the past, did we allow the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of rich peasants during the agrarian reform and why now do we advocate the preservation of the rich peasant economy during the coming land distribution? It is mainly because the present political and military situation has essentially changed.

Formerly, only two years ago, the people's revolutionary and counter-revolutionary forces were still in the midst of grim war. The people's forces were still in a relatively inferior position, and it was not yet decided who would win the war.

On the one hand, the rich peasants still did not believe that the people could win and they still leaned on the side of the landlords and Chiang Kai-shek to oppose the agrarian reform and the people's revolutionary war. On the other hand, the people's revolutionary war also required that the peasants

(Continued on page 28)

CHINA'S LAND REVOLUTION

— A BRIEF REVIEW —

Chang Yen

By this coming winter, a well-planned and well-prepared land revolution will be in full course in China. In terms of numbers of people involved, it will rank among the greatest social upheavals in history. This revolution will proceed to carry out agrarian reform, stage by stage, in an area embracing a rural population of 264 millions. Thus a bright future will open out before these newly-liberated peasants just as it has for their 145 million fellow-countrymen who live in areas where the land revolution has already been completed.

The Chinese people's War of Liberation is now almost concluded and the reactionary Kuomintang (KMT) forces have been driven from the mainland. These victories, however, do not signify the completion of the New Democratic revolution, which is both anti-imperialist and anti-feudal in nature. The economic feudal foundation upon which the reactionaries built up their regime has yet to be fully eradicated. The old and irrational relations of production still remain unchanged throughout the greatest part of the nation's countryside. That is why the revolution's military victory must be followed by a gigantic land reform movement which, as stipulated in the new Agrarian Reform Law, will "abolish the land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and institute the system of peasant land ownership in order to set free the productive forces in the rural areas, develop agricultural production and open the way for China's industrialization."

Three Essential Conditions

Inferior neither in scope nor complexity to the military campaign, this great land reform requires certain objective circumstances to guarantee its success — a militarily stable region, a demand for such reform by the bulk of the peasantry, and sufficient numbers of trained personnel to ensure correct leadership during its course. The schedule for carrying out land reform throughout China has been drawn up with these conditions in mind.

The first condition — a militarily stable region, — has been provided by the great victories of the heroic People's Liberation Army (PLA) which were immediately followed by the creation of democratic and revolutionary administrations in the liberated regions. The other conditions are being rapidly achieved through the great efforts of the newly-founded Central People's Government, which has 25 years of rich experience in Communist-led agrarian reform on which to base its policies.

Ever since its foundation 29 years ago, the Chinese Communist Party has listed land reform as

one of the major tasks of the New Democratic stage in China's development toward Socialism. In fact, for the last quarter-century the Chinese people's struggle for liberation has been basically a peasant war led by the proletariat.

Early in the period of the Great Revolution of 1925-27, during the campaign against the Northern Warlords (the agents in those days of the foreign imperialists and the domestic feudal forces), the Communist Party launched a rent and interest reduction movement in certain areas of South China. Though serving as merely a preliminary step to land distribution, this movement did substantially strengthen the revolutionary forces of that period.

Land to the Tillers

Following Chiang Kai-shek's betrayal of the revolution in 1927, China entered an era of protracted civil war. During this period, a more revolutionary land programme was carried out in all areas under the direct control of the Communist Party. The land owned by landlords was confiscated and distributed to the tillers. History has recorded what a vital role this land reform movement played in repelling the numerous offensives which the counter-revolutionaries launched against the Soviet Areas in Kiangsi and Fukien Provinces. However, after the Chinese Red Army marched northward to take up positions against the Japanese invaders, the landlords resumed their feudal rule over the Red Areas with the help of the KMT's blood-stained bayonets.

During the War of Resistance (1937-45), in order to build up the broadest possible anti-Japanese united front with the KMT and unite with all elements capable of opposing the Japanese, the Communist Party took the initiative in offering to suspend its land distribution programme and substituted a more moderate policy of rent and interest reduction. The Party made this tremendous concession at that time because the Chinese people's interests demanded a strong anti-Japanese front, an essential condition for ultimately driving out the imperialist invaders. As history has shown, this policy not only contributed tremendously to the victory over Japan but also seriously undermined feudalism's hold over China's countryside, thus paving the way for the next stage in China's revolution.

Japan's surrender in 1945 found large sections of the peasantry awakened and steeled by their eight years of bitter war and their organized struggles for the reduction of rent and interest. Such peasants were not slow to demand a more thorough solution of their land problems, and in certain areas, they

spontaneously started movements to distribute the land. As the peasants' rightful demand for land grew, the Communist Party gave leadership to this development by resuming its earlier policy of land distribution.

When sufficient experience in carrying out the new land programme had been accumulated and thoroughly analysed, the Central Committee of the Party was in a position to issue an Agrarian Reform Directive on May 4, 1946. On September 13, 1947, it convened a nation-wide agrarian conference which adopted the Basic Programme for Chinese Agrarian Law.

The new regulations called for the complete abolition of the landlords' right to land ownership. All of their lands and other means of production were to be confiscated. Surplus land and other means of production belonging to old-type rich peasants (i.e., as contrasted to new-type rich peasants who grew prosperous from their own labours following agrarian reform) could be requisitioned. Wealthy middle peasants were encouraged to offer their surplus lands voluntarily for distribution. The lands and other property acquired in this manner were then distributed among the landless and land-poor peasants. The landlords were also given an equal share. In the words of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the general policy of this land programme was "to rely upon the poor peasants, to unite staunchly with the middle peasants, and to abolish the feudal and semi-feudal exploitation of the old-type rich peasant and landlord classes." (*The Present Situation and Our Tasks*, December, 1947).

As information regarding the great agrarian reform movement spread beyond the borders of the liberated areas to all parts of China, the peasants everywhere were stirred with longings for land. Even inside the reactionary KMT armies, composed very largely of peasant boys who had been press-ganged into the army, the average soldier felt growing sympathy for the Communist Party because it helped the peasants gain land. Thus the agrarian reform programme gave a tremendous stimulus to the people's liberation movement in all sections of the country.

By mid-1948, when the powerful PLA counter-offensive had been in progress for a year and the centre of battle had been removed from the liberated areas to regions under KMT control, further improvements could be made in the land reform programme. Henceforth, land distribution was only carried out in those liberated areas that had become relatively consolidated, both politically and militarily—in other words, where the three earlier-mentioned conditions prevailed. In newly liberated regions, agrarian reform began with the transitional programme of reducing rent and interest.

By June, 1949, land had been distributed to some 100 million peasants (within an area having a population of 151 millions), who divided up roughly 25 million hectares of land that formerly belonged to landlords and old-type rich peasants.

It was these emancipated peasant landowners, ready to offer all their energy and even their lives to the task of winning the War of Liberation, who became a decisive factor in assuring the present great victory of China's revolution.

Some Deviations

Naturally, such a huge-scale mass movement as this did not proceed entirely without mistakes and deviations. Most of these errors occurred, however, during the 1946-47 period, when the struggle between the Chinese people and the KMT reactionaries was in its most heated and bitter stage.

The initial stages of the post-war land distribution programme were marked by tendencies toward right opportunism among the rural cadres, many of whom lagged behind the masses in abandoning the rent and interest reduction movement and adopting the more thorough land distribution programme which the peasants demanded. However, the Party was alert to this danger and promptly corrected this trend.

Then followed a period when several 'leftist' deviations became prevalent in certain areas to varying degrees, particularly in those regions where the war was raging most fiercely such as Shantung Province. Chairman Mao Tse-tung drew the Party's attention to the three main erroneous tendencies on April 1, 1948.

In regard to errors in determining class standing, Chairman Mao said: "In many places, many labouring people who did not engage in feudal exploitation, or who engaged in it only slightly, were wrongly placed in the landlord or rich peasant category. Thus the front of attack was erroneously extended, and such an extremely important strategic principle was forgotten as the fact that it is both possible and necessary for us in our land reform work to unite with 92 per cent of the rural households, or 90 per cent of the rural population—the entire body of rural labouring people—in order to establish a united front against feudalism." (*Address To Cadres of the Shansi-Suiyuan Border Region*).

Chairman Mao was referring here to the fact that some of the middle peasants' interests had been encroached upon by incorrectly confusing the wealthier middle peasants with rich peasants or landlords who gained a large part or all of their income from feudal exploitation. Since middle peasants constitute about 20 per cent of the total rural population in the unreformed areas of China, misclassifying them in this way meant taking a great number of persons from our own ranks and sending them to the enemies' side. Such an adventurist mistake, which violated all the principles of Marxism-Leninism, could have led to the failure of the revolution had it not been corrected in good time.

The second deviation to guard against, as Chairman Mao pointed out, was encroachment on the interests of industry and commerce in the course of

(Continued on page 32)

NIEH ERH — PEOPLE'S COMPOSER

Hsu Chih

Almost overnight, the innermost thoughts and feelings of a nation found expression in song. "China has been voiceless for centuries," wrote Lu Hsun. Now at last a song was heard. It welled into a chorus and grew in volume, with many voices joined, until a whole people was marching to its beat. At the height of the battle and in the depths of the people's sufferings, this song gave out its stirring call to arms. It reverberated through the long years of war. It sustained the spirit of the Chinese people in the hard struggle, first against the Japanese invaders, and then against the domestic reactionaries backed by the American imperialists, until the final triumphant proclamation of the People's Republic.

The message of the song lies in the words of its opening: "Chi-lai!" — Arise! Often has the meaning of such words of simple truth been obscured, but once they regain the force of their primal simplicity and their significance is fully grasped by the great masses of the people, then what cataclysmic results they produce!

Tien Han, poet and playwright, wrote the poem *March of the Volunteers* in 1932. Later that year shortly after the Battle of Shanghai, the young composer Nieh Erh set the poem to music. In Nieh Erh's setting, its inspiring opening words blazed forth in their full significance, a call to the people to rise in armed resistance against the foreign invaders, to throw off the imperialist yoke forever.

The *March* was first heard by the public as the theme song of the film *Children of the Storm*. Though it proved a success at the time and was soon showing in all parts of China, the film itself has now been forgotten, but its theme song has become an intrinsic part of the people's revolutionary movement.

When the armed resistance to the Japanese invasion began, this rousing *March* was sung in the trenches, in the rear and in the Japanese occupied areas. The Kuomintang (KMT) reactionaries hastened to ban it, so stirring did it prove to be, but the people ignored the suppression order. It was sung challengingly on every patriotic occasion, at mass meetings and demonstrations. As they faced the Japanese executioners or the KMT secret police firing squads, patriots and revolutionaries sang it together with the *International*.

In September 1949, seventeen years after it was written, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference resolved to immortalize this *March* as the new National Anthem of the People's China. But by then, Nieh Erh had been dead for 15 years, a victim of an accident at the age of 24.

Nieh Erh was too shortlived to have acquired much of standard musical technique. Yet, so great has been his contribution to the victory of the Chinese people's revolution that his place is assured in the history of Chinese music.

He was born in 1912 on the shores of beautiful lake Kunming, in Yunnan Province. From early childhood he showed signs of musical talent. He had a good ear and voice. He conducted musical performances in his elementary school days and cherished hopes of studying music seriously. His father, however, had died when he was only four and the family became steadily more impoverished. At the age of 16, he became a private tutor for children in order to pay for his own tuition at the Kunming Provincial Normal School. It was here that he learned to play the violin.

At 17, Nieh Erh left for Canton and entered the Kwangtung Dramatic School. Later he joined the Kwangtung Academy of Music and subsequently resumed studies at the Kunming Normal School.

What a typical reception this ardent young artist got from KMT China on his graduation in 1930! He went to Shanghai, but the only job he could find there was in a shop run by a merchant friend. However, he settled down to long hours of work and study. A few months later, his friend went bankrupt. During months of unemployment, Nieh Erh was forced to pawn even his winter clothing. Day after day he wandered along the crowded streets looking for a job. He became bitterly conscious of the chilly emptiness of bourgeois society. He needed all the inner reserves of his genius to sustain him. Returning home in the evenings, tired and hungry, he would take up his violin, practise and play.

In May 1931, the Bright Moon Society of Singers and Dancers advertised for musicians. Nieh Erh was one of 130 applicants for the three openings. After an intensive test, he got the job and took a place in the orchestra.

Need For New Music

These were times when there was an urgent need for music to express and mobilize the Chinese spirit, but it had yet to be composed. European music was not yet accessible to the masses. Apart from the traditional music and folklore airs, there was only the school of music founded by the songwriter Li Chin-hui, the composer of innumerable sentimental and decadent ballads. It was a type of music representative of the semi-feudal and semi-colonial ideology of the ruling class. Li's songs

drugged the minds and limbs of those who listened. Nieh Erh wrote several critical articles which were published in the progressive journals, sharply attacking Li's songs. Although Nieh Erh used several pseudonyms, Li, who incidentally was the founder of the Bright Moon Society, soon discovered that the attack came from one of his own employees. Nieh Erh nearly lost his job.

It was only at this time that Nieh Erh was able to find himself a teacher for advanced musical theory. But before he could settle down to his studies, the Japanese had crossed the frontier, gripped Manchuria and, in the Battle of Shanghai, bombed and razed Chapei before his eyes. It was at this dramatic moment that he was seized with the desire to compose. Opportunely, Li had just signed a contract for the Bright Moon Society to work for a film company and the young composer's creative impulse was greatly encouraged by the progressive scenarists and directors whom he now met. In the two succeeding years, 1932 and 1933, he composed many songs. Thirty-four of them have survived the test of time and are today warmly treasured by the people.

Nieh Erh was not an erudite composer. His is the greatness of a people's bard. None of his musical contemporaries had lived as intensely as he. He learned his politics in the hard school of experience. The times he lived in taught him to hate imperialism and oppression with all his soul. These were among the most bitter years of Chinese history. The national crisis was acute. Hunger daily menaced the masses. Chiang Kai-shek had launched his fifth 'campaign of annihilation' against the Soviet Areas led by the Chinese Communist Party in South China. A ruthless White Terror was directed against the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeois democrats. A 'cultural encirclement' was thrown by the reactionaries around the progressive writers, artists and musicians. Many of those caught were shot down in cold blood. Music in Shanghai was dominated by the degrading sentimentalism of Li and his followers. The scholastic school was coldly indifferent to contemporary events. In addition, the city was swamped by American jazz, sultry and feverish.

In 1933, Nieh Erh became a Communist. Imbued with the spirit of the time, he wrote his songs

THE MARCH OF THE VOLUNTEERS

(The Chinese National Anthem)

Words by Tien Han

Music by Nieh Erh

起 來！ 不 願 做 奴 隸 的 人 們， 把 我 們 的 血 肉
Ch'i lai Pu yian tso'u nu li ti jen men Pa O men ti hsiieh jou

築 成 我 們 新 的 長 城。 中 華 民 族， 到 了 最 危 險 的 時
chu ch'eng O men hsin 'ti ch'ang ch'eng Chung Hua min tsu, tao liao tsui weh hsien ti shih

候， 每 個 人 披 鎧 着 發 出 最 大 的 吼 聲。 起 來！ 起 來！ 起
hou Mei ko jen pei p'o chao la ch'u tsui ta ti hou sheng Ch'i lai Ch'i lai Ch'i

來！ 我 們 萬 衆 一 心 冒 着 敵 人 的 砲 火 前 進
lai O men wan chung yi hsin Mao chao 'ti jen ti p'ao huo Ch'ien chin

冒 着 敵 人 的 砲 火 前 進！ 前 進！ 前 進！ 進！
Mao chao 'ti jen ti p'ao huo Ch'ien chin Ch'ien chin Ch'ien chin Chin!

ENGLISH VERSION

(Unofficial Translation)

Arise, all ye who refuse to be slaves! With our blood and flesh a Great Wall will be built. The Chinese nation now faces its greatest danger. From each comes forth his loudest call: "Arise! Arise! Arise!" Millions with but one heart, braving the enemy's fire, march on. Braving the enemy's fire, march on, march on, march on, on. . . .

The Ministry of Cultural Affairs is preparing official scores for accompaniment, with a brass band or orchestra. These will be ready in September. Editor.

not for the amusement of the few, but as an expression of the masses. He travelled to Peking, to Shanghai, working without stint to unite the progressive youth and workers. He taught them to sing, and singing, to cry the wrath of the nation against the foreign aggressors, the wrath of the proletariat against capitalist exploitation.

With a progressive outlook and his practical activities in the political struggle, Nieh Erh could not but become a realist composer. To him belongs the distinction of being the first realist in China's new creative music. New elements entered his work. His clear melodic line combines more smoothly with the text. His musical language is based on and evolves out of the language of the masses. In his compositions, Nieh Erh expresses the pain in the life of the workers. But more than that, he pictures their road to emancipation.

*Shall our life be forever like this?
No, Brothers! We shall unite
And shall strive, not towards death, but towards life!*
(Docker's song)

*Bear our heavy burden and forward!
Soon the open road of liberty will be built.*
(The Open road)

*Do not sigh at the road impassable,
What is the use of sighing?
Light the dynamite we laid underground,
Cleave the mountain ridge,
So that road construction can begin.
Let us stand firm and be closely united!*
(The Road Builders)

In the themes he chose, Nieh Erh showed himself not only a patriot but a fighter for the cause of the proletariat.

In the course of his development, he, too, had his inner struggles. There was a time when he was drawn to classical music, yet it was then that he felt the more strongly the social and political mission of music and its inseparable connections with the cause of human justice. He related how he felt the temptation to write in the sonata form, seeking beauty in architectonic perfection or to play with tonal techniques to achieve a shallow brilliance of orchestral effects. It was here that the guidance of the Communist Party came to his aid. By throwing himself wholeheartedly into the struggles of the workers and uniting his own fate with theirs, he achieved a Marxist approach and practice in music. By teaching the workers to sing the songs he composed, he was led to revise his compositions

again and again and to incorporate their suggestions. And herein lies his greatness. Once he learned how he should compose for the masses of the workers and peasants, his music belonged to them. He had to learn from them, to learn their thoughts and feelings and give them musical expression. In so doing he attained a higher level of social and artistic development. From this are derived the two outstanding characteristics of his art: the close link between his artistic creative activity and the actual revolutionary struggle, and the quality of mass expression. It is because of these two characteristics that Nieh Erh has been aptly called the standard-bearer of modern Chinese music.

It was to be expected that he should be hated by the imperialists. The American, British and French authorities in the foreign settlements of Shanghai were not insensitive to the appeal of his music! They ordered the Pathé Company to destroy his recordings. Chiang Kai-shek's police, too, began to trail him. In the spring of 1935, Nieh Erh was forced to flee. He went to Japan whence he hoped to travel to the USSR, via Europe, for further musical study. He was taking an active part in the progressive dramatic activities of Japan when suddenly his youthful life was cut short. He was drowned while swimming in the Kokunuma Sea on July 17, 1935.

This day has now been ordained a Festival Day of Music in China to commemorate his great contribution to the Chinese arts.

ON THE PEACE FRONT



The American imperialists' direct armed aggression in the Far East caused tremendous numbers of angered Chinese citizens to queue up at peace signature stations during China's official Peace Campaign Week from July 1 to 7. First reports on the results of this drive, still far from complete as we go to press, reveal that the total number of signatures collected throughout the nation has been raised to well above 30 million.

* * *

At the call of the China Committee of the World Peace Congress, July 7, the 13th anniversary of the outbreak of the Anti-Japanese War, was observed throughout China with giant demonstrations against the U.S. imperialists' new acts of aggression in Asia.

Peking marked this anniversary with a big peace rally at Chungshan Park at which Kuo Mo-jo, Chairman of the China Peace Committee which sponsored the meeting, declared that the fate of the Japanese demons would surely overtake their American successors.

The four-man Peace Publicity Group headed by poet Emi Siao has returned to Peking after a six-week tour to eight of China's leading cities. The group made more than 100 speeches at rallies and discussion meetings which drew a total attendance of over 160,000 persons. The mobile cinema team which accompanied the group gave some 50 film showings to an additional 150,000 people.

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The general secretaries of YMCA's in all parts of China took the occasion of a recent conference in Shanghai to endorse the Stockholm peace appeal unanimously in a statement issued jointly with the National Committee of the China YMCA.

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During Peace Campaign Week, Shanghai Public Transport Company workers decorated their vehicles and terminal stops with peace slogans, posters and cartoons. On July 6 alone, 2,000 bus passengers signed the appeal. Shanghai has already collected 2,000,000 signatures.



PEASANTS AFTER LAND REFORM



A mutual-aid group of peasant landowners going to work



A former hired gardener tends the orchard which is now his



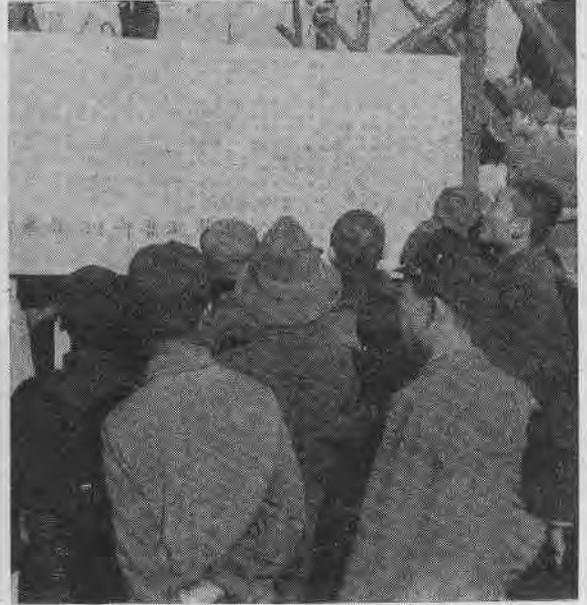
New cottages replace old shacks



Peasant women combine study with handicraft production



An Accusation Meeting against local despots



A list giving each family's class status

Uprooting



A Peasant Association leader explains guiding policies



Tyrannical landlords face the people



The landlords' old title-deeds are bur

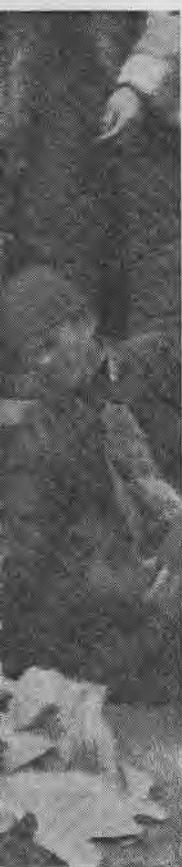


Land is surveyed before distribution



Peasants divide up landlords' farm tools

the Feudal System of Land Ownership



A once landless peasant receives his new title-deed



A LANDLORD AND HIS TENANTS

Before liberation: In the suburbs of Peking, a landlord's house contrasts with the dingy shack of one of his tenants. The haughty landlord (inset) and the worked-out peasant turned beggar, are typical of the old feudal society.



A Village Uproots Feudalism

Lao Duane

It did not take the work-team long to decide that something was wrong with the agrarian reform programme in Shuanghuaishu administrative village, which embraced 12 ordinary villages. In the other villages around Peking, the peasants were eagerly going ahead with the preliminary groundwork, turning out to meetings enthusiastically and discussing little besides the land reform measures. But in Shuanghuaishu, the villagers were remarkably passive in their attitude to land distribution—not hostile at all, just agreeable in a lethargic sort of way.

Some of the inexperienced student members of the land reform work-team were discouraged at their inability to arouse more active interest among the peasantry. But Ko Lin, who headed the work-team, was an old peasant himself as well as an experienced revolutionary. He knew where to look for the trouble, and he began by having a few long conversations with the chairman of Shuanghuaishu Peasant Association. Then he visited the homes of some of the poor peasants and landless farm hands. Before long, he had confirmed his suspicion that the local Peasant Association was a fake one, both unable and unwilling to lead the peasants' land reform movement.

To begin with, the chairman of the Peasant Association, Wang Yu, was not even a peasant himself. He was a shoemaker who had spent most of his life working in Peking, only four miles away, spending the daylight hours in the city and returning home late at night. After liberation, Wang Yu quickly picked up a smattering of revolutionary phraseology and started posing as a progressive.

When the local Peasant Association was being formed, none of the poor peasants and farm hands had any confidence in their ability to carry out the responsibilities of chairman. But Wang Yu seemed

quite willing to shoulder the task, so, rather naturally, he was elected to the post. Other Peasant Association offices had also been filled with persons who, for one reason or another, were willing to assume the job. As a result, the Peasant Association leadership contained a large proportion of opportunists and unsavoury characters.

It was not at all strange for such a situation to develop in the early period of liberation. As Ko Lin explained to the young members of his work-team:

"In the old days, honest people rarely sought public office, and certainly poor peasants could never become officials. So when peasants are first called on to elect their leaders, they hardly think of voting for one of themselves."

Kuan Chang-sheng (Ever-victorious Kuan), the most notorious local landlord, had not been slow to take advantage of the situation in Shuanghuaishu. For instance, at Mid-Autumn Festival he sent Wang Yu some delicacies and a bottle of wine. Following this up with a few well-chosen gifts, Kuan managed to establish most cordial relations with the peasant leader.

The land reform work-team assigned to this area arrived in October and held its first mass meeting on the 20th. A few days later, Wang Yu was quietly telling various peasants in his village:

"I have had a talk with the work-team. They say that old Kuan is really just a middle peasant, so we mustn't distribute his land."

The peasants' suspicions were immediately aroused. Word went around to the effect that "if Kuan is a middle peasant, well, let's say no more about land reform."

It was clear that the work-team's first task was to reorganize the Peasant Association. But to do so, they had to mobilize the peasants behind the demand for new elections, at the same time persuading honest and reliable peasants to stand for office.

It was only after some days of talking to the peasants, patiently finding new ways to explain the land reform programme over and over again, that Yen Hung began to win the confidence of a few poor peasants. Once a nucleus had gained confidence in their ability to handle Peasant Association affairs, they quickly mobilized general support for the new elections.

Within two weeks, the Peasant Association leadership had been changed. Twelve men and three women were elected as a standing committee, of whom nine were poor peasants, four were hired peasants and two were middle peasants. Ko Lin was satisfied with the results.

"These officials are all honest people," he said. "They won't believe in new things very easily, but when they have been convinced, they'll stick to the end."

Now that Shuanghuaishu had a trustworthy Peasant Association to lead the peasantry, the next step was to wipe out the peasants' fear of their feudal oppressors. The peasants must learn through their own experiences that they now had the government behind them, that the landlords had lost all political power and could be wiped out economically as a class.

Accusation Meeting

An Accusation Meeting was scheduled for November 9. Two landlords with the worst records of crimes against the people were scheduled as the defendants, and anyone had the right to lodge complaints against them. More than 1,000 people turned up at the meeting square, which was decorated with red flags and colourful posters. At one corner of the platform sat a group of grim-faced landlords who had been 'invited' to attend the meeting because of its educational value to them.

When a squad of well-armed militiamen marched the two defendants to the platform, the

audience shouted with one great voice: "Down with all despotic oppressors!" "Down with feudalism!" The landlords paled visibly.

The new chairman of the Shuanghuaishu Peasant Association opened the meeting. Waving his fist sternly, he declared:

"The time has come to spit out all your bitterness, fellow-villagers! Speak out all your grievances, and hold nothing back. We have nothing to fear. The government, the army and the militia all belong to us labouring people now. We need never again be afraid of these rich scoundrels and loafers."

Ko Lin spoke briefly at the meeting, telling the audience that all their complaints would be transferred to the people's court where the defendants would later be placed formally on trial.

'Ever-victorious' Kuan was the principal target of the people's anger. Several decades ago, he had been one of the 25 men hired by a Manchu prince to guard his vast ancestral graveyard at Shuanghuaishu. Later the prince went bankrupt. His hirelings divided up the graveland among themselves, each appropriating about five *mow*. After the Sino-Japanese War broke out, Kuan promptly attached himself to the Japanese invaders and with their backing, he seized the lands of his 24 colleagues. The Japanese also made him the village head, a post he utilized to extract an endless series of taxes, levies and bribes from the villagers. He also padded his income by selling young men as recruits to the puppet army. Now, after all these years of suffering under his tyranny, the people at last found justice on their side.

As soon as Ko Lin stopped speaking, an old woman pushed through

the crowd and pointed her finger directly at Kuan's nose.

"You black-hearted dog," she shouted. "You grabbed our five *mow* of land, didn't you? And when my starving husband fell ill, you told the Japanese he had an infectious disease and they burned him alive. True or not? My husband's brother couldn't make a living because of your persecution and he finally hanged himself. True or not?"

Another woman shoved forward with tears streaming down her face.

"You took our land just before harvest and kept our crop as well. You threw my son in jail and then offered him up to the Jap devils for their army. Where is my son now? Give him back to me. . . ."

She broke down and had to be led away by several friends. As one cruel incident after another was revealed, many members in the audience began sobbing loudly. The defendants stood facing their former victims, their heads bent and their faces wooden. When asked if facts were true as stated, their voices were so feeble that only the first rows could hear. Sometimes the militia had to step in front of them to protect them from the people's rage. It was late in the evening before all the complaints had been lodged.

Later, on the basis of evidence compiled at this meeting, the people's court sentenced Kuan to four years' imprisonment. The other defendant was released on bail after guaranteeing to reform his behaviour and live by his own labour.

The villagers now began to realize how powerful they were as a collective force, powerful enough to prevent their feudal oppressors from ever regaining their former authority. Conditions were ready now for starting the actual work of land distribution.

As the first step, every family in the administrative village must have its class status determined. This involved complicated procedure requiring very careful explanation on the part of the work-team. The cadres showed the pea-

sants how to conduct painstaking investigations as a basis for classification. They warned the people not to be misled by signs of prosperity or poverty, but to base their conclusions upon the degree of exploitation involved in each case.

After thorough discussion of the methods of classification, the twelve villages went ahead with their respective classification programmes. Meetings were held at which the head of each family in the village announced his class status and the reasons why he fell into this category. If anyone disagreed with this self-appraisal, he was free to state his reasons for proposing a different class category. The final decision was reached by a democratic vote.

Classifying Landlords

The bigger landlords presented no problem, for no one had any doubt about their class status. There was Abbot Wen Hsiu, for instance, of the local Buddhist temple which owned 600 *mow*. The Abbot hired 12 full-time labourers to cultivate 100 *mow* of this land, and the rest was rented out. It was common knowledge that the Abbot lived anything but a simple Buddhist life. He smoked opium and feasted lavishly on meat and wines. He even had a large ice-box, a rare thing in China's countryside. Equally remarkable, he owned a pair of binoculars which he always took with him when he went to a near-by hilltop to pray. There he frequently interrupted his meditations to peer through the high-powered lenses at the labourers toiling on his fields. If one of the farm hands did not work hard enough to please him, the Abbot made deductions from the man's wages or sacked him. So when the time came for the monk to declare his class status, he did not dare to say anything but 'landlord'.

The same was true in the case of landlord Chu, who owned 350 *mow* of good land and ran a general goods store on the side. During the 1942 famine, scores of starving peasants congregated outside of Chu's gateway each morning before dawn. The lucky ones would



Telling of Grievances

by Yen Han

be given a day's work on his farm, in return for which they would be served a meal and allowed to eat all they could. But, strangely enough, no matter how much or how little one ate, the landlord always collected 20 cents, claiming that the day's wages had not covered the cost of the food. If the farmhand had no cash in his pocket, the landlord put the sum down as a loan and added a high interest rate. Landlord Chu was also very prompt to put himself down as of the 'landlord class'.

But sometimes the demarcation was not so clear, as for instance between a small landlord and a rich peasant. However, correct classification was most important. It meant the difference between whether a family's entire landholdings would be confiscated, or whether only excessive amounts of rented lands would be touched. Equally important, it meant the difference between whether the family would be considered a member of the enemy's camp or a potential neutral element and possible ally in the anti-feudal struggle. In the case of distinguishing between middle peasants, poor peasants and farm labourers, the demarcation involved eligibility for land in the distribution as well as priority in the choice of plots.

A village-wide controversy developed over the case of a well-to-do peasant named Chen. His family contained ten persons and owned 100 *mow*, a fairly large estate in this suburban region. But Chen and four other family members worked full-time on their fields, while Chen only hired two short-term labourers at harvest time. Chen himself claimed to be a middle peasant, but some villagers maintained that he was a landlord because of his large holdings. Careful investigation revealed that although he did not exploit hired labour to any appreciable extent, he derived a sizeable part of his income from usurious loans, which also constituted a form of feudal exploitation. In the end, he was found to be a rich peasant.

The final classifications were publicly posted and also submitted to the higher authorities for ap-



Burning old land deeds by Ku Yuan

proval. Anyone dissatisfied with his classification had the right to appeal to the district government or to the people's court. No one in Shuanghuaishu took such action, but one disgruntled landlord wrote an anonymous letter to the district government, falsely accusing the work-team of corruption. Investigation exposed his trick and he had to publicly confess his misdeed.

Victory Fruits

Then came the final stage—the collection and distribution of the 'victory fruits'. Shuanghuaishu administrative village figured out that its average per capita landholding was roughly 2 *mow* of dry land or 1.5 *mow* of irrigated land. It was then calculated how much each land-poor and landless family needed to bring its per capita average to this figure. In making allotments, other factors were also taken into consideration to balance the shares, such as quality of land and its location.

In determining these allotments, landless peasants and then land-poor peasants were the first to state their choice of plot. When rented lands were distributed, the current tiller had prior claim to these fields. The families of those who had joined the revolution were also given preferential treatment

if eligible for a share of land. Similar shares were distributed to the landlord families so that they could support themselves. The remaining land was distributed among the non-agricultural residents who were willing to become farmers and had the necessary manpower. This, very roughly, was the general procedure for determining the distribution of land, but many details had to be worked out to fit particular cases. It was easier to allocate the surplus grain, farm equipment and draught animals confiscated from landlords, although this also required considerable discussion. After a series of meetings, the peasants reached general agreement on how to allocate the property and this programme was voted through.

The work-team had earlier expected the peasants to display some opposition to the land nationalization policy that is put into effect in suburban areas. This policy has been adopted to permit the eventual expansion of municipalities and the development of industry in their outskirts. Accordingly, the state retains title to all confiscated and requisitioned lands in suburban areas and issues rent-free leases to the tillers. (In other areas, the peasants receive full title to their new lands.)

When Ko Lin explained this policy to the villagers, he found they accepted the idea quite readily. A poor peasant stood up and endorsed the policy by saying:

"Have you forgotten when the KMT bandits built their airfield? They just sent out troops and occupied our land without any payment at all. We had our title-deeds, but what good did they do us? Now our government lets us have rent-free land and promises to pay compensation for our losses should the land be taken back. I'd far rather plough state-owned land under this government of ours than my own land under the KMT government of the landlords."

"And if the state should take the land back," another peasant pointed out, "it means that a factory will go up and we can become workers if we want to."

This was the general trend of opinions, and the problems that the work-team anticipated never in fact materialized.

On January 15, a final mass meeting was held to wind up the agrarian reform programme. Almost all the inhabitants of the twelve villages attended, turning the occasion into a great festival. This was the day when the landlord's title-deeds were publicly burned. If any one day could be-

come known as the day when centuries-old feudalism came to an end in Shuanghuaishu, this was that day.

"But do not forget," Ko Lin reminded the assemblage, "that while we have overthrown feudalism, we have not yet overcome all our difficulties. Now we must dig in and raise production, for this is the only way to really improve our lives. But the government is behind us, ready to help in many

ways. And if we combine our energies to tackle production as we did in carrying out land distribution, then before many years, an old-timer will hardly recognize Shuanghuaishu."

The peasants voiced their whole-hearted endorsement of these words by thundering out the slogans:

"Long Live the Communist Party!"

"Long Live Chairman Mao!"

Truman Indicts Truman

— A Record of U.S. Aggression Against Taiwan —

Let Truman, President of the U.S.A., indict himself:

On January 5, 1950, he stated that:

"The traditional U.S. policy towards China... calls for international respect for the territorial integrity of China. This principle was recently reaffirmed in the U.N. General Assembly resolution of December 8, 1949, which calls on all powers to refrain from (A) seeking to acquire spheres of influence or create foreign controlled regimes within the territory of China; and (B) seeking to obtain special rights or privileges within the territory of China.

"Specific application of the foregoing principles is seen in the present situation with respect to Formosa (Taiwan — Editor).

"The U.S. has no predatory designs on Formosa or on any other Chinese territory. The U.S. has no desire to obtain special rights or privileges or to establish military bases on Formosa at this time... the U.S. government will not provide military aid or advice to Chinese forces on Formosa."

On March 15, Secretary of State, Acheson, continued to harp on this highminded theme, for, said he:

"Others will judge us and our intentions not by what we say, but by what we do. Actions have always spoken louder than words."

Truman's henchman put his foot in it. For on June 27, his President announced, without any rigmarole about 'peace' or 'democracy':

"... I have ordered the 7th Fleet to prevent any attack on Formosa."

Actions indeed speak louder than words. Two days before his January 5 statement, *Reuter*, quoting the *Washington Post*, reported that Truman had agreed to send armaments to the KMT remnants in Taiwan, payment for which was to be deducted from the 75 million dollars already approved for Chiang by the U.S. Congress. This aid included 16 naval

vessels, war equipment for five divisions and aircraft parts. More than 90 million dollars in outstanding funds were also earmarked for Chiang. Since then large amounts of arms have poured into Taiwan. These include several hundred tanks sold at \$1,000 each, against the original cost of \$58,000.

In mid-May, an assortment of American agents, posing as 'advisers' arrived to direct economic affairs or build military installations. U.S. generals and MacArthur-appointed Japanese militarists have directed the KMT air attacks and naval blockade against the People's China.

And in July, in an open act of aggression, the U.S. 7th Fleet invades Chinese territorial waters at Taiwan.

These acts of American duplicity and aggression refer only to Taiwan. They must be viewed as part of the vain expenditure of billions of dollars, great quantities of armaments and vast efforts to enable the Chiang Kai-shek gangsters rivet American imperialist rule on China. They are paralleled by widespread U.S. interventionist schemes in Korea, Viet-Nam, the Philippines and elsewhere.

On January 5, Truman still attempted to hide the U.S. warmongers' criminal activities behind a smoke-screen of hypocrisy and double-talk. Today, the advance of the Asian people in their resolute struggle for their rights, makes it impossible for him to resort to such subterfuges.

In the words of the Chinese People's Foreign Affairs Society: "The American rat is now out in the open. 'When a rat is driven from the house into the street', says the Chinese proverb, 'everybody shouts: Kill it!'"

SPRINGTIME AFTER LAND REFORM

From Our Own Correspondent

The jeep bumped, in the way that only jeeps can bump, over the broad road between fields of rich black earth. Manchuria's great central plain stretched out on all sides of us. We entered a village, a typical village of the plain. The brown adobe cottages were protected by a grove of trees, where pigs routed contentedly among the stumps. Before we had quite come to a stop, a crowd of children swooped on us. Plump, eager-faced, they were neatly clad in peasant cotton. Many, in school uniform, were evidently from a primary school. But I could remember no school in the village that we sought and which I had visited three years previously. The street, too, seemed different — cleaner. Chickens, cocks and hens seemed to cluck from every yard. I thought we must have reached another village: But the children chorused: "Yes, this is Seven Star Village, Mulan County."



Classes were just ended. The school-teacher came out and offered to accompany us to the village head. The children followed in a crowd, but I noticed that the village seemed devoid of adults. "Everyone is working in the fields," explained the teacher. "These days of the first harvest, no one idles now, you know."

The village chairman's old mother asked us to wait. Her son, she said, had led the Mutual-Aid Group out to the fields. But he would probably be back soon as she knew that there were many people who were building new homes and who wanted to register with him to secure timber from the government.

We had not long to wait. The villagers came up to register and

among them I recognized Old Liang. I had had a long talk with him three years ago. That was before the agrarian reform and he and his family were about the poorest in the village. He also recognized me and heartily invited me to go home with him.

It was already sundown. The farmers were returning from the fields. Many carried new implements. I saw few patches or patched patches on their clothes — a common sight in the past. Nearly half of the houses on the village mainstreet were newly rebuilt. Even the old cottages had something new added — a stall in front or a sty behind. Men were feeding and brushing down the horses. Women were hustling the fat hogs home. There were many new carts.

As I entered Liang's old house, I was struck by the brightness of light inside it. To my surprised enquiry, Old Liang replied: "No, I've had no new windows put in. It's that the window in the old days was always shut and now we all open our windows wide."

"Perhaps you didn't notice," he continued. "Look at this mat. Isn't it new? In the old days we had only a threadbare mattress for our bed. Besides, we used to draw straw out of it sometimes to light a fire. In the end, that mat became leaner and leaner, till it looked like a mangy cat. We shut up our window. The darkness hid our wretched state."

Old Liang's wife was cooking. Their son was calling and driving the chickens into their run.

"So life is going better with you, Old Liang?" I asked him as we walked to the stall where he fed his horse.

"Don't you remember? In the past we hired-labourers had to hand over half the crop to the landlord. Out of the other half we had to pay 1,000 catties of grain to him for our meals. Then there were heavy taxes to the Japanese

puppet government. By the spring, nothing was left to us and we started all over again. Borrow from the landlord, work on his land, and again nothing left to us in the end! For twenty years, my wife had to wear her only patched old gown. And in the winter she could only sit in the ragged quilt.

"The agrarian reform gave me several mow of land. But I had no draught animal. Neighbour Wei had a cow but no helpers. So we and three other families formed a Mutual-Aid Group. Besides our own lands, we also reclaimed much wasteland. Thus, you see, we became prosperous. Last year, I harvested 5,000 catties of grain. After delivering the public grain, I have plenty left. This year I am going to loan new farm implements to reclaim more wasteland and increase my produce still more." Old Liang finished his long speech with a satisfied smile at me.

"How about the landlord?" I asked.

"He's also working on his share of land. So long as he lives on his own labour, it's alright," he replied calmly.



The village co-operative does most of its business in the evening and at night. It is housed in a large room facing a big courtyard. There, at a glance, you see piles of clothes and bolts of cloth, soap arranged in yellow pyramids, towels with bright borders, tobacco in baskets, bean-cakes like cart-wheels and modern stationary. There are big jars of vegetable oil and large tins of kerosene. Many villagers came to buy goods. They also sell their products such as grain, cotton, peanuts, beans, straw hats, baskets and such like to the co-operative.

The clerk scratched his head in perplexity as a woman scolded him: "Why don't you have better calico than this? We peasants want good quality goods now!"

In the courtyard were many new farm implements. Horsedrawn ploughs, harrows, seed drills, weeders, threshers. These the government lent to the farmers through the co-operative. At first, most of the peasants hesitated to use these new tools on their lands, as they didn't know what would turn out. But the news soon got around that the new machines could get the work done three to five times as fast as the old hand-rakes and back-breaking ploughs. Now the peasants are keen on using them.

Stepping out of the co-operative, Old Liang suggested that we go to see some of the other villagers.

"But won't they be in bed?"

"Oh, it's different now. Now we can afford to light our lamps. We no longer go to bed at dusk as we did in the old days. In the evening, the children do their home work and the women do some sewing."

So we visited several families. At every house the people told me similar stories. They have become prosperous through mutual aid. They are planning to practise more intensive cultivation, use better implements, spread more manure on their lands. They talk animatedly of their many activities.



It was Sunday, but the villagers still only recognize the big national holidays. Sunday, however, is a school holiday and the teacher was happy to show us around. We were glad of this because we wanted to see something of the village cultural activities in which he played a big part.

He was particularly enthusiastic about his literacy classes. This was formerly a 'blind' village. Now the men attended school every night. The women study two hours

daily at noon, soon after lunch. Now every student of the primary class can read 300 characters, while the advanced class can already read the newspapers.

Some fruits of this new literacy appeared on every wall in the streets. These were 'wall verses' chalked in white on the yellow walls and black doors, written and composed by the farmers themselves.

*Do you want a bumper harvest?
Then see your seed grain is the best!
Who said that worms and insects were divine?
While you burn incense, and kowtow to Buddha,
The rascals come and eat up all the fodder!
Like fish need water
And water likes fish,
Mutual aid,
Co-operation,
Make a rich and happy nation!*

There were other verses about savings, delivery of public grain, hygiene, production plans and both national and village affairs. Whenever the government set a new target for national policy, new 'wall verses' were sure to appear on the walls. The rhymes have taken the villagers' fancy, so every government directive quickly becomes known throughout the village by means of these simple vivid verses.

Inside the school-room there was another form of wall writing — the 'challenges' made by one pupil to another. One typical challenge was written by second grader Ma Shih-yung: "I challenge Hieh Yuching — for laughing! I often laugh in class. You also. It is not good behaviour. I set my mind to change from this moment. I challenge you to change, too!"

★

When dusk set in, drums and cymbals were heard. "It's the gathering of the village dramatic team," the villagers told us. They also related that one of the 'hits' of the season was the play about Li Sui-to, the village Labour Hero, and a pair of loafers. The names of the lazy couple were not mentioned in the play, but directly they appeared on the stage, everybody knew whom they represented. The real couple were there in the

audience, too, and they were so taken aback that they cried out aloud. The woman said: 'For mercy's sake, if that's not me myself on the stage! It must be that Pa has gossiped about us. Who likes to be so shamed!' The couple cried, grumbled and cried again. But they immediately changed their style of living. The lazy wife went out next day with a hoe over her shoulder. 'Going to the fields?' people greeted her. 'How can I loaf any more?' she replied. 'They will act plays ridiculing me!'



"Now that couple has joined a mutual-aid team and are very active," the villagers concluded and invited me to visit the drama group. "They're rehearsing new plays."

In the dramatic circle's club-room the portrait of Chairman Mao looked down from the wall on many small groups rehearsing. Some were playing musical instruments, some singing and some reciting. The group was part of the adult's school. It had fifty members. They and the whole village got huge enjoyment out of their entertainments. Their plays kept abreast of events. Often the news received in the morning was the theme of their play that night. Through their performances they publicized the central tasks of the village.

We spent our last evening with the village chairman, Wang Tseng-tong. He was formerly a poor tenant, but now he ranked as a middle peasant. As he held a brimming bowlful of *kaoliang* at meal time, he recalled the hungry old days. Patting his son's head, he said: "Fortune belongs to you and your generation."

The mother of the child retorted: "Isn't your generation fortunate, too?"

But Wang Tseng-tong insisted: "Anyway, the children will be far more fortunate than we!"

POEMS FOR PEACE



China's poets have swiftly answered the call for peace. Since the first World Peace Congress in Paris and Prague, many poems dedicated to the struggle for peace have appeared in newspapers and magazines and have been recited at mass meetings, on stages and on the radio. These peace poems have freshened the memory of war's horrors and disasters, hardened the popular will for peace.

Poets, too, are playing an outstanding role in the direct organization of the peace campaign. Emi Siao, China's poet-delegate to the recent Stockholm Peace Congress, and Ai Ching, one of the country's leading poets and critics, have just returned to Peking from a nationwide journey to campaign for signatures to the Peace Appeal. They spoke at mass meetings in all the major cities from Peking in the North to Canton in the South and Sian in the Northwest. In a recent poem, Ai Ching writes of his signing the Appeal:

Under the sunny sky where white doves fly,

In our Peking bathed in a sea of green,
I sign my name to the Peace Appeal
In response to the great call:

"AGAINST AGGRESSIVE WAR!"

"SUPPORT WORLD PEACE!"

"BAN THE ATOMIC BOMB!"

"WHOEVER IS THE FIRST TO USE
IT WILL BE BRANDED
CRIMINALS OF WAR!"

Looking at the signers around him, he sees:

A soldier, honoured, with his wounded arm,

Has just laid down the signer's brush,
A young and tender hand then takes it up.

And in small characters adds yet another name for peace.

475 millions are expressing their hatred
For the criminals who plot another war.
In one resounding voice they give the warning:

"The Camp of Peace will not permit aggression!"

During the Anti-Japanese War, Ai Ching was in Yen-an, the Liberated Areas' 'capital', and was the leader of a literary working party that several times penetrated deep into the enemy rear to carry on literary and cultural resistance activities. During the Liberation War, he took an active part in agrarian reform work. Many of his lyrical works have been translated into Russian, English and Japanese.

The signing of the Peace Appeal in his own village is the subject of a poem by Chi Hsueh-pai, a new name in the poetic world. The verse is in folk ballad form —

The sun has set; the meals are over.

Loud sounds the gong.

Through all the alleyways and pathways

A strident voice cries: "On

The southwest ground, at the usual site

Our villagers will meet to-night!"

When everybody is gathered, the Chairman of the Peasant Association calls the meeting to order:

Silence, silence, fellow villagers!

I want to make this clear:

The world has lost its peace

Because of Mei-ti

— The American imperialists.

They're toying with the atomic bomb;

They're bent on war and loot.

None wish to fight against his kin,

We folk love peace and happiness,

But Mei-ti dreams of war.

There is our deadly enemy!

The World Peace Congress now appeals

For signatures for peace,

Signing your name to it

Will strengthen lasting peace.

I'll end on that.

Now what do you say?

Like thunder the voice of the masses

rang out,

Loud indeed is the voice of the masses,

A forest of hands moves to strengthen

the call,

A unanimous: "Peace for us all!"

A cotton-oil lamp shed its light on the board,

On the red tinted paper spread out to their view,

Like the long-stemmed grasses bent to the wind,

The peace-loving masses surge forward to sign.

Densely was the board encircled

By the thronging crowd of signers.

Then follows an animated description of the various signers. The last is:

Little Wang, just nine years old
And hardly the height of the table,
Squeezes up close and writes with the pen

— "Wang Hsiao-ko, Chu Village,
Wuyang Hsien."

Late, in the silence of the night,
When the villagers had all signed,
Homeward they marched

All singing: "The East Shines Red!"

This ballad first appeared in *Poetry and the Masses* published in Peking, one of the popular poetry magazines in New China.



TO NAZIM HIKMET

Their keen participation in the struggle for peace reflects that sharp awareness of contemporary events which characterizes China's poets. Their reaction is swift to reports of injustice and oppression.

On July 2nd, 21 well-known poets published a statement protesting against the Turkish government's persecution of the progressive poet, Nazim Hikmet. Sentenced to 30 years imprisonment for 'Communist propaganda', Hikmet has already served 12, and is now on hunger strike in protest against his treatment in gaol. Translations of his poems written in his prison cell have appeared in current issues of Chinese magazines and several poems have been written in his defence. Among others, Lu Chien has published the following stanzas in *People's Literature*:

You're sharpening your sword,
And stoking fires of vengeance.
You sang under your enemies' eyes
For twelve winters already.

Horses love the vast plain,
Eagles love the blue sky,
Your heart beats move
With love for the people.

You are not alone!
The peoples of the world arise.
Do you hear the footsteps of your comrades'
Marching towards you and peace and liberty?

CURRENT CHINA

June 26—July 10, 1950



CP Anniversary

The Communist Party of China celebrated its 29th anniversary on July 1, amid nation-wide rejoicings. Workers in town and country marked the occasion by increasing their productive efforts.

All Chinese democratic parties and groups sent congratulatory telegrams to the Party reaffirming their support for the policies of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central Committee, whose brilliant leadership has guided China's revolution to victory.

Birthday greetings have poured in from the fraternal parties abroad. The Polish United Workers' Party said in its message: "Every victory of yours adds to the strength of the world peace camp!"

The Chinese CP, founded by a handful of Marxist revolutionaries in 1921, has, within three decades of bitter struggle, become the second largest working class party in the world. The following survey

of its development was issued on July 1:

| Period | Membership |
|-------------|------------|
| 1924-27 | 59,000 |
| 1927 | 10,000 |
| 1934 | 300,000 |
| 1937 | 40,000 |
| 1945 | 1,210,000 |
| 1949 (Dec.) | 4,500,000 |
| 1950 (June) | 5,000,000 |

On the occasion of its anniversary, the Chinese CP launched a campaign to remould the style of work throughout the party, so as to bring about a timely reorganization and consolidation of its ranks for the post-victory era and strengthen its links with the masses.

Non-proletarian influences, such as 'Commandism', brought into the Party during the period of recent rapid expansion, will be rooted out so as to purify and strengthen the Party. To increase the proletarian element in its membership, the Party has decided to raise the qualifications for admission and recruit one-third of all industrial workers in the next 3 to 5 years.

Laws Promulgated

Chairman Mao Tse-tung formally promulgated the Trade Union Law and the Agrarian Reform Law on June 29 and 30, respectively. (See Supplement)

Anti-U.S. Aggression Week

A National Campaign Week Against U.S. Aggression in Taiwan and Korea will be organized from July 17-24. This was decided by a meeting of various national organizations sponsored by the All-China Federation of Labour on July 10, in response to the call of the World Federation of Trade Unions.

This Campaign will aim to bring home by every possible means to the Chinese people a clearer realization of the character and methods of American imperialist aggression in the Far East, so that they can more effectively combat U.S. aggression in Taiwan and give active support to the liberation war of the Korean people.

Eleven popular organizations, including the All-China Federation of Labour and the China Committee of the World Peace-Congress, were elected to the commission which will organize the Campaign.

Bumper Wheat Harvest

The total wheat yield in China this year is estimated to be about 20 million tons. This is 3,300,000 tons more than last year's crop.

Targets Exceeded

More and more plants are reporting overfulfilment of their production quotas for the first six months of 1950.

The 21 state-owned plants in Kirin Province, Manchuria, and the railway workshops at Changhsintien, the second largest in North China, completed their half year programmes 20 days ahead of time.

CHINA: ANGRY AND RESOLUTE

The American imperialists' open armed aggression against Asian countries has caused widespread indignation throughout China and greater determination to liberate Taiwan.

All political parties and groups denounced Truman's June 27 statement. The Revolutionary Committee of the KMT regarded it as "a provocation for a war of aggression against all Asian peoples." The Chinese Democratic League said that it "constitutes an armed invasion of China's territory."

Popular organizations also forcibly expressed indignation. The All-China Federation of Labour declared that the militant Chinese working class will fight the American aggressors to the finish. Workers and peasants everywhere have publicly pledged themselves to step up production to provide more supplies for the PLA's campaign to liberate Taiwan.

Combat hero Wei Lai-kuo spoke for the troops of the whole 3rd Field Army when he declared: "The PLA has wiped out over five million KMT troops who were equipped and directed by U.S. imperialists. This time, they are confident of delivering a death-blow to the imperialists themselves."

Tax Readjustment

When urban taxes were re-adjusted on July 1, 387 commodity tax items were eliminated, and 87 other items, such as taxes on fabrics and leather goods, were combined with taxes on raw materials. Tax rates are decreased on 13 commodities, including cigarettes, wines and some chemicals.

Charges Reduced

Postal charges were reduced by 50% on July 1. This followed another 20% reduction made early in May when prices began to be stabilized.

Recently the East China branch of the state-operated People's Insurance Corp. announced an average cut of 50% in insurance premium rates for rail cargoes.

Public utility rates in Shanghai have been reduced from 20% to 35%.

HERE AND THERE

Foreign Trade: The exchange of goods has started between China and Poland under the Sino-Polish Trade Agreement.

National Minorities: At a recent meeting of the Commission for Nationalities Affairs, it was decided to set up colleges for minority nationalities to train administrative workers, for carrying out reforms in areas populated by national minorities whenever agreed upon by the majority of the inhabitants, minorities. A government-sponsored party of 120 persons is on its way to survey the national minorities, areas in the Southwest provinces.

Returning Students: Chinese students abroad who wish to return home may land at any port in their own country. No entry permits are required.

INTERNATIONAL

Mongolia: Mongolian Ambassador Bayaryn Dzhargalsaihan presented his credentials to Chairman Mao Tse-tung on July 3.

Germany: Four eminent Chinese scientists have left for the German Democratic Republic to attend the celebration of the 250th anniversary of the German Academy of Sciences.

CHOU EN-LAI'S STATEMENT ON SECURITY COUNCIL'S DECISION

On behalf of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, Foreign Minister Chou En-lai cabled an important statement on July 6 to Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations. It reads as follows:

Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, Lake Success, New York.

For transmission to the members of the Security Council:

In the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare: the resolution adopted by the Security Council on June 27 under the instigation and manipulation of the United States government, calling upon members of the United Nations to assist the South Korean authorities, is in support of United States' armed aggression and constitutes intervention in the internal affairs of Korea and violation of world peace. This resolution, being adopted moreover in the absence of the two permanent members of the Security Council, the People's Republic of China and the U.S.S.R., is obviously illegal. The United Nations Charter stipulates that the United Nations shall not be authorized to intervene in matters which are essentially within the domestic jurisdiction of any state, while the resolution of the Security Council on June 27 violates precisely this important principle of the United Nations Charter. Therefore the resolution of the Security Council with regard to the Korean question is not only destitute of any legal validity, but grossly violates the United Nations Charter. The action taken by Mr. Trygve Lie, Secretary-General of the United Nations, on the Korean question serves precisely to aggravate this violation.

Meanwhile, the statement by United States President Truman on June 27, of the beginning of armed prevention of Taiwan's liberation by the People's Republic of China, together with the action of the United States navy in invading the Chinese territorial waters around Taiwan, constitute an act of open aggression which thoroughly violates the principle of the United Nations Charter forbidding any member to use force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any other state. Taiwan is an inseparable part of the territory of China. This is not only a historical fact recognized by the entire world, but is also confirmed by the Cairo Declaration, the Potsdam Declaration and the situation since the surrender of Japan. By keeping silent on this act of open aggression of the United States government, the Security Council and the Secretary-General of the United Nations have forgone their functions and duties of upholding world peace, and thereby become pliant instruments to the policy of the United States government. Now, in the name of the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China, I declare: despite any military steps of obstruction taken by the United States government, the Chinese people are irrevocably determined to liberate Taiwan without fail.

CHOU EN-LAI,

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

ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW

(Continued from page 9)

pay dearly (with fighters, public grain and labour duty) to support the war and strive for victory. To strive for victory in the war was in the highest interests of the Chinese people and everything had to be subordinated to this need.

It was only at such a time that we allowed the peasants to requisition the surplus land and property of the rich peasants and also to confiscate all the property of the landlords so as to satisfy to a little greater extent the demands of the indigent peasants, raise the peasants' high revolutionary enthusiasm to participate in and support the people's revolutionary war, and strike down Chiang Kai-shek's regime — sponsored by American imperialism.

This was both necessary and correct at that time, when, if there had not been an extremely thorough agrarian reform in the liberated areas and if the demands of the indigent peasants had not been fully satisfied, it would have been hard to overcome the difficulties that were encountered.

The present situation is already essentially different from that of the past. The people's revolutionary war on the mainland has been in the main completed, and the Chiang Kai-shek gang of brigands are undoubtedly doomed to ultimate death. The two great tasks required of the peasants — military service and public labour — have entirely come to an end and the burden of public grain delivery has been comparatively lightened.

The present basic task for the people throughout the country is to carry out economic construction and rehabilitate and develop the national economy. The fight for Taiwan remains a huge task, but the PLA has adequate strength to shoulder it. The difficulties that we are meeting now are already different in character from those that we formerly encountered in the war.

Our present difficulties are mainly those arising in finance and economy and in the course of the restoration, reform and development of the economy.

At the same time, the great revolutionary unity of all nationalities, all democratic classes, parties and groups and people's organizations throughout the country has already been established politically and organizationally and the political attitude of the rich peasants, in general, has also undergone a change.

If the people's government carry out a policy of preserving the rich peasant economy, the rich peasants can be won over to a neutral attitude in general and better protection can then be given to the middle peasants, thus eliminating certain unnecessary misgivings of the peasants during the development of production. Therefore, in the present situation, the adoption of a policy which will preserve the rich peasant economy in the coming agrarian reform is necessary both politically and

economically. It will be relatively advantageous to our country and our people and in overcoming the current financial and economic difficulties.

During the period between July 1946 and October 1947, the masses of peasants and our rural cadres in many areas of North China, Shantung and North-east China, in carrying out the agrarian reform, were unable to follow the directions issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, on May 4, 1946, to leave rich peasants' land and property untouched in the main.

They followed their own will and confiscated the land and property of rich peasants as well as those of the landlords. This is understandable. It is because this was a period of the most heated and bitter struggle between the Chinese people and the KMT reactionaries. It was during this period that most of the deviations in agrarian reform occurred, in which the interests of part of the middle peasants were encroached on, industry and commerce in the rural areas were partly undermined and cases of indiscriminate beatings and killings occurred in some places.

These things happened mainly because of the serious political and military situation at that time and because most of our rural cadres had no experience of carrying out agrarian reform, they did not know how to differentiate class status correctly in the rural areas and in a number of cases mistakenly characterized rich peasants as landlords and middle peasants as rich peasants.

In view of this, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China promulgated the programme on agrarian law on October 10, 1947, under which the rich peasants and landlords were differentiated but the surplus land and property of the rich peasants were allowed to be requisitioned.

In the winter of the same year, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China issued a directive on the differentiation of class status in the rural areas, Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a statement on the "Present Situation and Our Tasks" and Comrade Jen Pi-shih also made a speech on questions of agrarian reform.

Since then, certain chaotic phenomena in the rural areas ceased and agrarian reform has taken the right path.

It is necessary to draw attention to the experiences of the past so that our comrades shall not repeat former mistakes during the coming agrarian reform work in the newly-liberated areas.

Now we are in entirely new conditions and it is absolutely necessary to adopt in our proposed agrarian reform law the policy of eliminating the feudal system and preserving a rich peasant economy.

The policy adopted by us of preserving a rich peasant economy is of course not a temporary but a long-term policy. That is to say, a rich peasant economy will be preserved in the whole stage of New Democracy. Only when the conditions mature for

the wide use of mechanical farming, for the organization of collective farms and for the Socialist reform of the rural areas can the need for a rich peasant economy cease, and this will take a somewhat lengthy time to achieve.

This is why we advocate the preservation of a rich peasant economy at present.

Of course, in the areas where agrarian reform has been completed, the rich peasants are not permitted to take advantage of this to regain land from the peasants and, if such cases occur, they should be firmly prohibited.

A Number of Questions on Land Distribution

On the matter of how to distribute land, it must first be made clear that this is a question of distribution by subtraction, supplementation and adjustment based on the holdings of the existing tillers and properly taking into account the interests of the tillers of the land.

Land distribution on this basis will avoid excessive and unnecessary land changes and will be beneficial to production. When the rented land of the tillers is drawn on for distribution to others, proper care must be taken of the tillers.

It is proper that the land distributed to the tiller, plus his own land, if any, should be slightly and suitably greater than the land possessed by the local landless and land-poor peasants after land distribution, thus in principle enabling the tillers to have land which equals the average acreage owned by every person in the locality. To take too much from the land rented by the tillers would cause them to suffer some loss, and to give them this consideration will cause them little or no loss. This is necessary.

Also, after agrarian reform, there still remains a portion of land that has to be rented out. This land can be rented out to tillers who have had their land too much drawn upon, as an adjustment and compensation.

The best portion of the land of the tillers should be drawn upon either not at all or only slightly. Experience shows that the tillers will be satisfied after such proper consideration is given to them.

The tillers will be happy because the land which they rented from others now becomes their own, there is no need to pay rent or humble themselves before the landlords, their social status is raised, the land they acquire is more than others and they are better off.

During the distribution of land and other means of production, certain specific problems among the landless and land-poor population in the rural areas should be dealt with properly. If local land conditions permit, then more land should be given to certain people who can work, such as poor individual peasants or households of two members.

Less land or no land at all may be distributed to certain people, such as village handicraft workers, pedlars, professional people and members of their families, personnel of the people's government and other people's organizations who have salaries but whose families live in the countryside, other professional people who live elsewhere but have families in the countryside, and so forth. These people whose income is sufficient to maintain themselves should not acquire land, but some land—the amount can be less than the shares of the peasants—should be given to some people whose income cannot regularly and constantly maintain them or is not enough to maintain them.

Appropriate solutions of these questions must be based on the specific circumstances of the villages and each individual and concrete decision must be taken by means of consultation and discussion among the peasants and the individuals concerned.

Dependents of martyrs, as referred to in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law, include the immediate relatives of those who were killed in action during the various revolutions since that of 1911, during the Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War. The martyr himself should be counted as one of his family members and a portion of land be allocated as a kind of compensation for the dependents. This is essential.

Unemployed workers and their families who return to the countryside with credentials from municipal people's governments or trade unions should acquire shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants, if they demand their shares of land and are able to take up agricultural production and if local land conditions permit. In this way part of the unemployed workers will be settled and this is advantageous to society.

Monks, nuns, taoists and priests in the rural districts and the following people and their families—refugee landlords and other people who worked for the enemy, but who have now returned to the villages—should be given shares of land and other means of production similar to the peasants, if they have no other means of livelihood and are willing and able to take up agricultural production, otherwise they will become jobless vagabonds, upset public order and be very injurious to the interests of the people.

As a punishment, persons whose homes are in the villages and who are identified by the people's government as collaborationists and traitors, war criminals, counter-revolutionaries guilty of heinous crimes, or criminal elements who persistently sabotage the agrarian reform, cannot acquire land for themselves. While some of these persons have been identified, others still remain to be identified during agrarian reform. They should be investigated and carefully dealt with by the local people's government.

The local people's government should immediately send personnel to take charge of and manage

land and other properties, which are to be nationalized according to the Draft Agrarian Reform Law and which have no people to manage them, in order to prevent them from being damaged or wasted.

If there are persons to manage the land and the state does not need it for the time being, the existing managers may continue to manage it, but they may not rent it out, sell it or leave it untended. If they have no need to utilize the land, it must be handed back to the state.

The local people's government must ensure that personnel are sent to take charge of scenic and historic places and historic relics, if no one is taking charge of them and they are in need of care, so that they may not be damaged.

These are explanations of certain questions of land distribution.

Points For Attention During Agrarian Reform

Agrarian reform is a systematic and fierce struggle. Our general line during future agrarian reform is that reliance should be placed on the poor peasants and farm labourers, while uniting with the middle peasants, neutralizing the rich peasants, eliminating the feudal exploitation system step by step and with discrimination and developing agricultural production.

The peasants associations should be the main organizational form and executive bodies of the forces of agrarian reform. Peasants' congresses at all levels, committees of the peasants' associations and the people's representative conferences at all levels should be the centres of activity during the agrarian reform. Sound active elements from among the peasantry, together with cadres sent by higher authorities to do agrarian reform work in the rural districts, should become the backbone of the agrarian reform.

Higher level leading organs in the various provinces where agrarian reform is being carried out should set up telephone connections with the rural districts to establish close contact with the lower levels. Responsible personnel and inspection teams should be sent down from every level to the appropriate lower level to take in hand the practical leadership of the movement.

Measures and plans for the agrarian reform are to be worked out beforehand from the *hsiang* upwards and are to be operated after endorsement by the higher level. If any problem arises which is beyond the capacity of the lower level to solve, it should be reported to the higher level for instruction. The higher organ should at once dispatch personnel to help solve the problem. The first questions which should be solved are the vital ones, those which are ripe for solution, about which clarity has been achieved and which affect the majority of people.

Those problems which are still unclear or about which there is still some divergence of view and

which affect the minority should be settled later, lest the difficult problems affecting the minority should get in the way of those affecting the majority. These are the points which should be borne in mind by cadres at all levels who direct agrarian reform work.

Before the general carrying out of the agrarian reform, leading organs of county level and above must carry out model experiments in a few *hsiang* to obtain developed experience to be used in the training of cadres and for directing the agrarian reform.

The purity of the leadership of the peasant associations at all levels should be guarded. The masses should be mobilized to re-elect the leadership where there is impurity. Here, the term "purity" does not mean the adoption of a closed-door attitude toward such farm labourers, poor peasants or middle peasants as may have committed certain errors or the exclusion of them from participation in the associations. On the contrary, they should be welcomed into the associations, educated and brought into unity. The term "purity" here means to prevent landlords, rich peasants and their agents from joining the peasants' associations and, still more important, from taking leading positions in them.

The main leadership of the peasant associations must be chosen from among the poor peasants and farm labourers. But real alliance with the middle peasants and, above all, real protection of their land and property (including that of the well-to-do middle peasants) from encroachment is indispensable. At the same time, active middle peasants must be absorbed into the leadership of the peasant associations. It should be stipulated that one third of the leadership of peasant associations at all levels should be chosen from among the middle peasants. This is absolutely necessary. No poor peasant leagues should be organized in addition to the peasant associations. Nor should trade unions be organized in the villages.

Meetings or representative meetings of poor peasants, farm labourers and handicraft workers can be held within the peasant associations to discuss questions affecting them. Meetings of this kind, however, should be open to the participation of representatives of the middle peasants.

The peasant associations must, in practice, pay attention to recruiting the women of peasant families as members and to drawing active women into participation in the leadership. It is necessary to call women's meetings or women's representative meetings within the peasant associations so as to safeguard the interests of women during the agrarian reform, to safeguard the social rights of women and to discuss all kinds of women's problems.

Peasant associations should draw in poor, revolutionary intellectuals and other labouring people in the rural areas. Moreover, the peasant associations must unite into an anti-feudal united front all elements outside the associations who are opposed

to feudalism—including enlightened gentry who support agrarian reform—to fight hand in hand against the system of feudal exploitation.

The people's government should call together the rich peasants, inform them of the government's policy and explain the actions of the peasant associations in order to settle their doubts. The people's government should also call the landlords together and tell them the policy and decrees of the government so that they also can understand the content and the procedure of agrarian reform.

They must also be warned not to resist or engage in subversive activities, but must honestly obey the orders of the people's government and the resolutions of the peasant associations. Then the people's government will treat them with clemency.

Only those landlords, secret agents and counter-revolutionary elements who conspire to organize resistance and carry out subversive activities should be ruthlessly suppressed and all their resistance smashed in good time.

During the period of agrarian reform, widespread publicity and explanation should be carried out not only in the rural areas but also among people of every sphere in the cities and among the PLA units. The agrarian reform policy and decrees of the people's government should be explained to workers, students, employees, industrialists, businessmen and the commanders and fighters of the armed forces to enable them to understand, sympathize with and help the peasants and not the landlords. It is still more necessary that they should not protect the landlords or protect landlords among their own relatives and friends. These landlord elements must be told that they have to observe honestly the laws of the people's government and the resolutions of the peasant associations, and must not carry out resistance and subversive activities, if they are to avoid punishment.

This is also very important in organizing the united front against feudalism.

During the agrarian reform, cadres of the democratic parties and groups, teachers and other democratic elements in the cities, who are willing to participate, must be absorbed into the agrarian reform work. It is not necessary for them to leave their native places. This will enable them and the peasant masses to undergo useful tests and education.

People's courts should be set up to suppress and punish the resistance and subversive activities of despots, secret agents, counter-revolutionary elements and the landlord class in good time and to handle the charges made by the peasants against these elements during the agrarian reform.

The people's courts should hand over ordinary criminal and civil cases and specially complicated cases, which need a long investigation before settlement can be reached, to the ordinary courts and

public security organizations for decision, so as to enable themselves to concentrate their efforts on dealing with current breaches of the law during the agrarian reform and preserving revolutionary order in the rural areas.

The people's courts should carry out their work in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the government and should not deal with culprits at random. People's organizations and institutions other than the people's courts and public security organizations must not detain, try or deal with culprits. People's governments at all levels should pay great attention to helping the people's courts and to strengthening and training the cadres of the people's courts, thus enabling them to shoulder their own task. Otherwise there is danger that order may not be very well maintained during the agrarian reform.

Differentiation of class status in the rural areas is a complex and extremely important work in the agrarian reform. Leading organs at all levels must tackle this in earnest according to the decisions promulgated by the Central People's Government. Great care must be taken in differentiating the landlord class because this involves the confiscation of their land and other means of production.

But the class status of most of the population in the rural areas is clear and can easily be differentiated without much divergence of view. Their class status should first be ascertained. In the case of a small proportion of the people whose class status is unclear and difficult to differentiate and where there is divergence of view, they should be dealt with later and classified after thorough study and after obtaining instruction from the higher authorities. Impatience in determining the class status of these people must be avoided lest errors may be made which lead to their dissatisfaction. In short, no person's class status should be wrongly classified and, if any mistake is made in this, it must be corrected.

To carry out these tasks and the other tasks of agrarian reform correctly, the key lies in remoulding the working style of our cadres and especially in correcting 'commandism'. The movement for remoulding the working style is now under way in various areas. If this work and the study concerning agrarian reform are very well done, then, I believe that the coming large-scale agrarian reform movement will surely be carried out with order, system and discrimination and in accordance with the laws and decrees of the Central People's Government. The accomplishment of the agrarian reform will create the decisive condition permitting a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation. Moreover, it will organize the broad masses of the peasants politically. Then our country and the people's government will be stronger and more consolidated than ever before.

This is my report on the question of agrarian reform. I hope you will all examine and discuss it.

CHINA'S LAND REVOLUTION

(Continued from page 11)

land distribution. Some of the rural masses and cadres were still ensnared in petty-bourgeois concepts of 'absolute equalitarianism' which led them to mix up feudal exploitation, which was to be eradicated, with capitalist exploitation, which was to be curbed but not eliminated during the period of New Democracy. In several extreme cases, industry and commerce were brought to a standstill by an erroneous application of the Party's land distribution policies.

This was a suicidal deviation, as Chairman Mao pointed out. He went on to explain: "Owing to the backwardness of China's economy, even after the revolution has victoriously spread over the entire nation, capitalist economy represented by the broad petty and middle bourgeoisie must be allowed to continue its existence for a long period."

Agrarian reform aims at creating the necessary conditions for the industrialization of China. Therefore, industrial and commercial enterprises, even though they belong to landlords and rich peasants, are beneficial to the present social economy and should be protected, thus subordinating partial temporary interest to total long-term interest. Only commercial and industrial enterprises of the bureaucratic capitalists are confiscated.

The third deviation of that early period took the form of indiscriminate violence. This development arose out of the intensity of the rural class struggle in 1946-47. The Communist Party has consistently forbidden the use of unnecessary violence, upholding the principle that only the key counter-revolutionaries and tyrants who had committed gross crimes against the people should receive capital punishment. Even in such cases, Party policy required that the matter be dealt with by the people's courts.

In analysing the deviations that had arisen in the land reform work, Chairman Mao arrived at the following conclusion:

"A study of the reasons for the occurrence of all the mistakes we committed shows that they are all due to our departure from the objective situation at a given time and place, and that our working principles were determined subjectively. All our comrades should take this as a lesson."

These deviations were corrected by the efforts of the people's governments and also in the course of the ideological remoulding movement initiated by the Central Committee early in 1948 to purify the Party and improve its members' working style. These counter-measures proved effective.

A New Stage

By the spring of 1949, new problems were presented by the unprecedented rate at which huge sections of China were being liberated. When the Central Committee of the Party held its Second Plenum at Shihchiachuang in March, 1949, it further

clarified the agrarian reform policies to be carried out in newly liberated areas. A resolution issued at the close of the session summed up this policy briefly as follows: "First launch a systematic struggle against bandits and despots, i.e., against the ruling landlord class; complete preparations for rent reduction in order to carry out the task of rent reduction and to create, within one or two years after the arrival of the PLA, the necessary conditions for land distribution; at the same time, pay attention to preventing a decline in the level of agricultural production."

In January 1950, the government issued a special directive covering the land reform programme in the suburbs of large cities. According to this new policy, all land taken over for distribution in such areas will be nationalized and then allocated to the peasants in the form of rent-free leases. This procedure was adopted in order to facilitate the eventual expansion of these cities and to permit the development of industry around their outskirts.

Since last autumn's harvest, another 26 million people have successfully completed land distribution. This means that areas with a rural population of 145 million have concluded or virtually concluded their agrarian reform programme. This enormous force of thoroughly emancipated peasants will prove a decisive factor in winning future victories on the economic front, just as the emancipated peasants did in gaining military victory.

New Rich Peasant Line

The imminent conclusion of China's revolutionary war has created a new set of circumstances necessitating certain revisions in our land reform programme. Since primary emphasis is shifting to the task of raising production, it is now in the people's interest to preserve the rich peasant economy in the countryside. Furthermore, the government is now in a position to help the poor peasants in many ways besides that of distributing land. That is why, as Chairman Mao said on June 6, "there should be a change in our policy towards the rich peasants, a change from the policy of requisitioning the surplus land and property of the rich peasants to one of preserving a rich peasant economy in order to further the early restoration of production in the rural areas." This policy has since been embodied in the Agrarian Reform Law. (See *On the Agrarian Reform Law* by Liu Shao-chi on p. 5 and *The Agrarian Reform Law* in the Supplement to this issue. — Ed.)

With all these invaluable experiences of the past, plus the steady progress being made in preparing the necessary groundwork for land distribution, the successful and orderly completion of China's agrarian reform is assured. Within three to five years, the land revolution will be virtually concluded, thus fulfilling the most basic task of the New Democratic revolution and laying the groundwork for constructing an industrialized, Socialist China.

北京市軍市管制委員會報紙雜誌
第一類新聞紙類登記證新字第一〇七號