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MAY DAY ADDRESS

by

Liu Shao-chi

VICE-CHAIRMAN OF THE CHINESE CENTRAL PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT

People's 
China

人民中国

A Biographical Note:

LIU SHAO-CHI



Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, is one of the early leaders of the modern Chinese revolutionary movement and of the trade union movement.

Liu Shao-chi was born in 1900 in Ninghsiang county, Hunan province. As a student in 1920, he joined the Socialist Youth League. The following year he became one of the foundation members of the Chinese Communist Party. In the spring of 1922, he was appointed to the Secretariat of the Chinese Labour Organization, the predecessor of the ACFL.

In the autumn of the same year, he became the first president of the Anyuan Trade Union in the famous Pinghsiang Mining Area of Kiangsi province. This union developed into one of the strongest and most militant units in the early trade union movement.

Comrade Liu helped to prepare the ground work for the Second All-China Labour Congress in Canton on May 1, 1925. The ACFL was founded by this Congress, and Liu Shao-chi was elected Vice-Chairman of the new Federation.

Later in the year he went to Shanghai, where the revolutionary movement was developing rapidly, and worked for a time in the Shanghai Trade Union Council. That winter he returned to the Federation Headquarters in Canton.

In 1926, he went with the ACFL Headquarters to Wuhan. When the 1927 Northern Expedition swept to Central China, he worked also in the Trade Union Council of Hupeh province in the same city. After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, Liu went underground and continued to direct the revolutionary trade union movement. In the autumn of 1932, he went to the Kiangsi revolutionary base from where he still carried on his trade union work.

Between 1936 and 1942, Comrade Liu was secretary successively of the Northern Bureau, Central Plains Bureau and Central China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.

Since 1932 he has been a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China. From 1943 onwards, he has been a member of the Secretariat of the Central Committee of the Party and Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Revolutionary Military Committee.

In June, 1949, he became Honorary President of the All-China Federation of Labour. Three months later, the Chinese People's PCC elected him one of the six Vice-Chairmen of the Central People's Government.

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by Liu Shao-chi

Delivered at a higher cadres' meeting held in Peking under the auspices of the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference, April 29, 1950.

Comrades:

With great elation we celebrate the first May Day since the founding of the People's Republic of China. Except in the liberated areas, in past years the majority of the Chinese toilers not only did not enjoy government protection but were strictly prohibited by the reactionary governments from celebrating their own festival.

They could only celebrate or pass their holiday under the watchful eyes of reactionary troops, secret agents and police and in self-sacrificing struggle.

But today as the Chinese working people celebrate May Day, the situation is entirely different.

The Central People's Government has decided that May Day shall be one of the most important official festivals and has directed that factories, mills, government institutions, schools and the People's Liberation Army troops to observe the day as a holiday. The people's troops and police, so far from preventing the people from holding celebrations and parades, will themselves join the people in the celebrations and parades. It is the duty of the people's government to protect the labouring people and ensure that they can celebrate their own May Day undisturbed and with good heart. In other words, this is the first time in history that the majority of the Chinese working people are celebrating their own holiday in freedom and joy and under the protection of their own government. How can we here and the Chinese labouring people all over the country fail to be proud and elated by all this?

Comrades, what does this change mean?

It means that the great people's revolution of China is victorious, that the labouring people of China have been liberated, that the regime of the reactionary classes which oppressed us and despised the labouring people has been overthrown by the people's forces, and that the

labouring people have established a people's regime with themselves as its foundation. This is the first and greatest victory of the Chinese labouring people in history. We celebrate this greatest victory! We celebrate May 1, Labour Day, of 1950! We celebrate the liberation of the Chinese labouring people!

Comrades, why is May 1, Labour Day, worthy of such solemn celebration by our country and our people?

SALUTE WORLD WORKING CLASS

It is because the world of man and even man himself are the creation of labour. Labour is the foundation on which human society exists and develops. Workers are the creators of civilization. Therefore, labour must command the highest respect in the world, workers must command the highest respect in the world, and Labour Day must become a day most deserving of celebration by our people and our country. Labour Day is a festival of solidarity between us workers and all other labouring people, a festival of international solidarity of the workers and the labouring people throughout the world. On this day, we must with solemn ceremony honour all that the workers have created, celebrate all that the workers have achieved by their labour, thank the workers for all the means of production and life and the means of enjoyment of culture and art given by them to mankind, and inspire the people to the highest enthusiasm for further labour and creation. At the same time, we give our fraternal salute, with the greatest enthusiasm, to the working class and labouring people of all the countries in the world, first and foremost the working class and labouring people of the Soviet Union!

The Chinese people's revolution is victorious and the Chinese working people have been liberated, but the ideas and habits of paying respect to the social parasites who never work but live on the labour of others and of despising work and workers have existed for thousands of years in Chinese society, and are still alive. In celebrating May 1, Labour Day, we must

resolve henceforth to wipe out these utterly mistaken notions and habits which have done great injustice to the working people. We must give the labouring people the honour that is due to them, especially the labour heroes and inventors who have made important inventions and innovations, and we must show our just contempt for the social parasites who never work but live on others. This is one of our new moral standards.

This change that is now taking place in our country and occurred much earlier in the Soviet Union and the People's Democracies is really the greatest change in the history of mankind. The Chinese people will complete the change step by step and, by their own labour, will gradually fashion a future for themselves of boundless splendour, as the people of the Soviet Union have done. There are perhaps at present quite a number of people who cannot perceive the great significance of this change, but as time goes on people will realize more and more clearly the magnificent prospect that is opened up by the change that is beginning now in our country. Clearly this great change and the creation of a magnificent future are possible only under the leadership of the working class and the Communist Party. Because of this change, the Chinese working class has become the leading class in the country. And precisely because the working class has become the leading class in the country and is carrying out its historic mission under the leadership of the Communist Party, the working class is able to unite the people throughout the country and ensure the transition of the country to a state of wealth, strength and prosperity and the gradual transition from New Democracy to Socialism.

But, comrades, while we celebrate the people's victory and see the future of unlimited splendour, we must not forget that we still face temporary difficulties. The Kuomintang reactionaries are still clinging to Taiwan, Choushan, Kinmen and other islands. Assisted by American imperialists, they are bombing a number of our cities and blockading a number of our seaports. We must, therefore, pursue our campaign for liberating Choushan, Kinmen and Taiwan, and must also advance our troops into Tibet. We must wipe out the numerous Kuomintang bandits in a number of the newly liberated areas in the rear. At the same time, millions of people affected by natural calamities, the result of last year's disasters in several provinces, must be relieved by the state with huge sums of grain.

As our national economic system was formerly of a semi-colonial nature and could not stand on its own feet, depending for its existence

on and working in the service of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism—besides being seriously undermined by prolonged war—naturally great pains and efforts are required to heal the scars of war and to achieve the transformation of the national economic system into one that is independent, resting on the people and serving the people. Precisely because the former, old economic order is already destroyed while the new order is not established, serious dislocation and anarchy emerges in various social and economic enterprises. And when the false and superficial prosperity of certain enterprises created by the inflation and rocketing prices of the past 12 years comes up against the present situation of prices, with their tendency to stability, temporary difficulties of slack markets and retrenchment of production arise. As a result of these objective difficulties, and certain shortcomings and errors in our own work, a number of workers have become unemployed and certain difficulties have arisen for industries and commercial concerns. The overcoming of these difficulties depends on joint efforts of the government and people of all circles. And they can be fully overcome.

Why is it that our present difficulties are such that they can be completely overcome?

It is because they are difficulties that have occurred in the course of victory and progress. And victory and progress contain within themselves all the factors for overcoming the difficulties. If we can skilfully use these factors and create the necessary conditions, we can overcome the difficulties. Hence, our difficulties are temporary.

BASIC CONDITIONS

For the present we do, indeed, have difficulties. This is known to all. But by analysing the present situation, we can clearly see that the basic conditions for the development of China's economy and industry have either already been created or are being created. We thus have sufficient confidence that we will overcome the present difficulties, and gradually improve the situation. I will now list some of these basic conditions:

First. Imperialism has been driven from China and the many prerogatives of the imperialists in China have been abolished. The customs and foreign trade policy of New China has become an important means of safeguarding the development of the industry of the new China.

That is to say, the key to China's front door is in our own pockets instead of in the pockets of the imperialists and their running dogs, as was formerly the case. China's industry from now on will not suffer from the competition of the cheap commodities of the imperialists. China's raw materials will first of all supply the needs of her own industry. This clears away one of the biggest obstacles that has hindered the development of China's industry for the past hundred years.

Second. The people's war of liberation is coming to a victorious end. The People's Liberation Army recently successfully landed on Hainan Island in the face of the enemy's strong fortifications and routed a large number of enemy troops. The experience of liberating the whole island—which will soon be completed—can therefore be applied to operations against Taiwan and other islands occupied by the enemy. After the liberation of Taiwan, enemy bombing and blockade will naturally come to an end. Military and administrative expenditure by the state will be greatly reduced. And it will be possible to increase greatly the volume of investment in economic reconstruction. Our country will be turned completely on to the path of economic reconstruction. All this we can clearly foresee.

Today, the Northeast is already completely turned to economic reconstruction. In 1950, the Northeast People's Government, in addition to providing the Central People's Government with 2,600,000 tons of grain to support the war, for relief of food shortages in deficiency areas and for the development of production, has set aside in its budget the equivalent of 3,990,000 tons of grain (calculated in terms of millet south of the Great Wall) for investment in economic undertakings in the Northeast. According to the report of Kao Kang, Chairman of the Northeast People's Government, industrial production in the Northeast amounted in 1949 to 35 per cent of the gross industrial and agricultural output. In 1950, the percentage will increase to 43 per cent. The industrial production of public enterprises in the Northeast this year will be 193 per cent of the previous year.

Agricultural production will be 137 per cent of the previous year. In 1949, the number of workers employed in the Northeast public enterprises increased by 240,000. The real wages of the workers increased on the average by 27 per cent. In 1950, the state will receive in profits and depreciation from the Northeast state-run enterprises an amount equal to almost half the total revenue of the Northeast. The burdens of

the Northeast peasants were lightened in 1949 as compared with 1948 and will be further relatively lightened in 1950. Private industry and commerce in the Northeast also developed. For instance, the number of private industrial enterprises in Mukden increased by 23 per cent in 1949. The number of workers employed in these enterprises increased by 18 per cent. There are now no unemployed workers in the Northeast. A shortage of labour power is felt. The standard of living of the people of the Northeast is beginning to improve. The demand for all sorts of consumer goods has greatly increased, and the market has greatly expanded. These things which have already emerged in the Northeast will also emerge in the areas south of the Great Wall in the not distant future.

This shows that the future development of China's economy and industry is wholly bright.

Apart from the Northeast, vast areas south of the Great Wall have now begun to turn to economic reconstruction. The people's government is reviving the economy at a number of key points. The equivalent of 3,930,000 tons of grain were invested by the Central People's Government in 1950 in economic enterprises. Adding the investments, both north and south of the Great Wall, the sum invested by the people's government in economic enterprises amounts to 7,920,000 tons of grain, or approximately 700 million U.S. dollars. Apart from these investments, the state bank is extending big loans to public and private enterprises. As we all know, these investments and loans are made by the people's government while we are still facing the difficult conditions of war and natural calamity. When the war ends, and finance and prices are completely stable and military and administrative expenditure is greatly reduced, it is not hard to imagine what vast capital investments the state will be able to apply to economic enterprises. Without doubt, it will promote the swift rehabilitation and development of the economy.

Third. Land reform has been completed in Northeast and North China, except for Suiyuan province. In Honan province and some other areas it will also be completed this year. In various newly liberated areas, land reform will begin this autumn in accordance with the decree of the people's government. Land reform throughout the whole country will be basically completed within the next two or three years. In this way, the productive potentialities of the rural districts will be set free, resulting in an adequate supply of grain and raw materials for the cities. At the same time the problem of markets for industrial development will be solved. Taking the example of Northeast China again,

the sale of cloth in the Northeast was 800,000 bolts in 1947, 1,200,000 bolts in 1948, 3,200,000 in 1949 and in 1950 is expected to reach nine million bolts. Two million five hundred thousand bolts have been sold during the first quarter of 1950. In other words, after land reform the peasants' production has increased, their standard of living has improved, their purchasing power has greatly risen and the market for industrial goods has expanded considerably. We have created or are now creating the most fundamental and important conditions for stimulating industrial development. After the completion of the land reform and after two or three reasonably good harvests, the present shrunken purchasing power in the rural districts will be swiftly revived and will gradually increase so that industry and commerce in the urban areas will flourish. This is beyond any shadow of doubt.

Fourth. At the present time, the financial and economic work of the state has been unified, the state revenue and expenditure are approaching balance, and we shall shortly be able to attain complete balance and currency and prices will soon become stabilized. This is in the interests of the majority of the people throughout the country.

Apart from the victories of the People's Liberation Army at the front, this is the greatest achievement for the people of the Central People's Government since its inauguration. Historically, Chinese finance and economics have never been unified. For many decades, state revenue and expenditure were never balanced and the reactionary governments issued a large volume of banknotes and contracted large domestic and foreign loans every year to maintain their existence. Financial and price stability have been unknown in China for the past twelve years and the people had to pay heavily for the losses suffered through inflation.

The people's government, however, carried out important measures and attained results in a very short time, with the war not yet over and despite food shortages as well as the imperialist blockade. This is something which no reactionary government could possibly achieve and in fact could only be achieved by a genuine people's government. This proves that our slogan for the unification of China is not an empty slogan, but one full of serious political, military and economic content.

This is an extremely important step forward for our country. With this step, the conditions have been created for the rehabilitation and

development of all legitimate industrial and commercial and other productive enterprises, so that capital will not be used for speculation or squandered in inflation, but used for legitimate industry, commerce and other productive enterprises.

Naturally, some sufferings and difficulties are inevitably bound to arise in this period as the new, progressive situation is born. They are like the labour pains just before childbirth. In order to balance the budget and stabilize prices, the people's government has had to be very strict about collecting public grain and taxes, issuing public bonds and cutting down expenses. The only alternative was further inflation and fluctuating commodity prices. But the strict collection of public grain and taxes and the issue of public bonds have added to some of the burdens of the people in rural and urban areas and led to difficulties for many. As a result of economy in expenditure, several million army personnel and government functionaries are continuing to live under the frugal supply system and it is impossible or hardly possible for them to look after their families, many of whom have to live a hard life or even a hungry life. Thus difficulties arise for them too. This is one of the expressions of the labour pains. Out of these pains emerges a new situation wherein the financial budget is approaching balance and commodity prices are approaching stability.

With the emergence of this new situation of stable prices, the kind of hoarding that was done in the past has ended and speculators have had to put on the market the goods which they hoarded. Many consumers who bought and stored away considerable quantities of consumer goods in time of inflation do not for the time being buy consumer goods, even though they have money in hand. They keep their money in their pockets instead or deposit it in the bank. Goods cannot therefore be sold quickly and so prices go down. Cash deposits in the banks increase greatly and the banks find it hard to loan the money out. A number of factories are over-producing and many shops cannot sell their stocks of goods. They find it difficult to keep going and so the phenomenon arises that part of the workers become unemployed. Such are the sufferings and difficulties which inevitably arise when commodity prices approach stability and, moreover, they are unavoidable.

With the emergence of the new situation, some pain and hardship might certainly be reduced if all the doctors and assistants in the maternity hospital of our people's government were first-rate and if there were sufficient equipment and medicines for midwifery. But the fact is that not every doctor and assistant in the hospital is first-rate, and the equipment and medical preparation work are not sufficient. In their various creative activities they can only work and study at the same time, step by step drawing conclusions from their experience and adding to it. They have thus not been able to avoid some avoidable suffering and hardship.

In other words, there are shortcomings and errors in the work of many of our comrades. Serious efforts must be made to correct these shortcomings and errors. We hope that the mass of the people will develop criticism of the work of the government and put forward proper suggestions so as to ensure that the government personnel will correct their shortcomings and errors and so reduce unnecessary sufferings and difficulties.

Yes, there are shortcomings and errors. There are sufferings and difficulties. But, after all, a new situation is emerging before us, in which revenue and expenditure are approaching balance and prices are approaching stability. Comrades! Countrymen of all circles! Clench your teeth, continue exerting your efforts and after some time the critical phase will pass. Our sufferings and difficulties are a purely temporary phenomenon. This is beyond doubt.

Fifth. The international conditions for carrying out our construction work are also very good. After the end of the war and the unification of the whole country, we shall urgently need a peaceful environment to carry out our economic construction. In the diplomatic sphere, the people's government, of course, earnestly pursues a policy of peace and fights for the defence of world peace side by side with the Soviet Union and the New Democracies.

It is very clear that the imperialists are extremely hostile to the liberation of the Chinese people. The American imperialists are still helping the Chiang Kai-shek gang in Taiwan and engaging in all sorts of conspiratorial and disruptive activities against New China. Therefore, the people throughout the country and the People's Liberation Army must enhance their vigilance, resolutely liberate Taiwan, consolidate national defence and be prepared to counter any possible imperialist provocation.

However, the imperialist camp of aggression, headed by the United States, has already met with and will continue to meet with the resolute resistance of all peace-loving people throughout the world. The strength of the camp of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, has seen unprecedented growth. If the imperialists dare to stage a provocation and launch a war of adventure, the result will be the complete doom of the imperialist system. As a result of the signing of the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance, we have acquired a powerful ally. As Chairman Mao Tse-tung said; this will free our hands to carry out construction work. We have also received low-interest loans and the help of specialists from the Soviet Union. Moreover, we are co-operating with the Soviet Union in setting up several enterprises which we would have been unable to start by ourselves in the near future. This will reduce the difficulties arising from lack of capital and experience.

Summing up the above-mentioned favourable conditions, it can be seen that without doubt our present difficulties will be overcome one by one, our economic situation will gradually improve after a short period of hardship and will change fundamentally for the better in two or three years.

THE PRESENT TASKS

From this analysis, we can see clearly what should be the present tasks and the direction of effort of the Chinese people. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China, in the 38 slogans which it issued for May Day, has clearly and correctly posed the tasks on all fronts and I shall only add a few remarks on the following points.

1. The liberation of Taiwan and Tibet, the wiping out of all bandits and enemy agents and the consolidation of national defence.

People's Liberation Army troops at the front should prepare actively for the campaign to liberate Tibet and Taiwan and other enemy-occupied islands, and thus end the nation-wide war. People's Liberation Army troops, public security organizations and troops on duty in the rear must, as swiftly as possible, wipe out all bandits and secret agents and safeguard social order, thus enabling the people to engage in production with peaceful minds. At the same time troops in the rear should also engage in production and general education, raise the level

of their military technique and consolidate national defence. These are the foremost demands of the people at the present moment. People all over the country, including the people of Taiwan and Tibet, should devote their full energy to supporting and co-operating with the People's Liberation Army in fulfilling these glorious tasks. But now we want to say a few words to the KMT generals on Taiwan and other islands and to the rulers of Tibet: Stop your futile resistance immediately, sever all relations with the imperialists and send representatives to negotiate with the People's Liberation Army. Either cross over to the People's Liberation Army, or lay down your arms in co-ordination with the People's Liberation Army's operations to liberate these places. Only by doing this, will it be possible for the people's government to pardon your past crimes. Only thus will you have the barest reason for asking the people's government to forgive your past and observe your future actions. This is your last chance to obtain the people's pardon.

2. Readjustment of industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises.

The Central People's Government, in accordance with the Common Programme and the directions of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, will take certain concrete measures to readjust industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises. This will permit the organization and planning of the economic life of our country in the present circumstances, so as to enable the derangement and anarchy in the relations between public and private enterprises and between different branches of enterprises to be overcome.

The people's government must render assistance to those private productive enterprises which can possibly be maintained, which are beneficial to the national economy and the livelihood of the people, but which are facing difficulties. The proprietors and the workers of those enterprises also must jointly do everything in their power to ensure that these enterprises may be maintained and wait for conditions to improve.

It is extremely important to centralize and allocate all the orders for and processing of goods of the state institutions and state enterprises in the most appropriate manner, in order to readjust industry and commerce and the relations between public and private enterprises and overcome the present difficulties. The amount of these orders and volume of processing

are very great and defects and losses have very often occurred owing to lack of proper centralization and allocation. Our military and administrative institutions and enterprises must take all possible steps to draw up systematically their budgets of orders and processing for given periods, especially the budgets for large orders and processing, and hand them to the industrial, commercial and trading institutions, together with their own views. At the same time, the industrial, commercial and trading institutions in different places must demand from their local publicly and privately-owned productive enterprises factual reports on the conditions of production. They must investigate these conditions and report them to their superiors. This will enable our central industrial, commercial and trading institutions to centralize and allocate the various state orders and processing properly and to adjust the production of the various enterprises properly. In this way, the state institutions, on the one hand, can avoid certain unnecessary losses and, on the other, regulate the market and adjust production, extend relief to many productive enterprises which are facing difficulties and stimulate the development of new productive enterprises. In regard to state orders and processing, it is necessary to give consideration to the industries and commerce in Shanghai which are facing particular difficulties.

3. The shift of certain kinds of production to other trades and the way out for private capital.

There is no future for enterprises which served imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism in the past, such as those making high-grade consumer goods and goods used for superstitious purposes or for businesses dealing in commercial speculation, and financial businesses dealing in usury and stock market speculation. All such enterprises should turn to other trades. Some industries which are suffering from temporary over-production, such as the cigarette, match and soap industries, have temporarily to reduce their production or turn to other trades. Some industries must earnestly make substantial changes in their products to suit the needs of the peasants before they can expand their market. Moreover, because speculation has ceased, large sums of idle capital are available in society to be invested in production.

Fundamentally, these are without doubt good phenomena. Without doubt, also, they will cause some pain. The reduction of output, the suspension of work, the shift to other trades, will inevitably cause some workers to become unemployed and others to change their occupation. At present there are some people raising

the question: I am willing to change to another trade but what to turn to? Will the people's government please tell me, what are the enterprises which may be operated? It is correct to raise this question.

In order to answer each one of these questions concretely and precisely, there must be concrete investigation and study. I can here only make a reply along general lines. That is, all those enterprises can be operated which properly serve the needs of the people, especially those which properly serve the needs of the peasants and which cannot at present be operated by the state or which, though put into operation, are still small in number. Communications and transport and those branches of industry which serve the revival of national economy at key points as well as medical enterprises can also be operated. Apart from these, the state will sign contracts under suitable conditions with private persons and permit them to operate the exploiting and refining of certain special minerals, the building of certain factories, the installation of certain power stations.

The people's government has not at present forbidden private persons to set up any enterprises which are beneficial to the people and do not exercise a dominant influence over the people's livelihood. The sphere of operation of private enterprises is therefore very wide. Certain inappropriate phenomena of competition between state and private productive enterprises, and inappropriate conditions in ordering and processing goods should be corrected in the work of readjusting industry and commerce.

Labour-capital relations may also be directed into normal channels by labour legislation of the state, collective agreements and labour-capital consultative organs. Hence, private capital is not without a way out. Of course, the enterprises should be conducted honestly and there should be no fear of expending some energy and capital in the operation of those really beneficial to national economy and livelihood of the people. The people's government will give the necessary facilities and direction to those entrepreneurs who are honest and do not withhold from spending energy and capital in production and will help them to avoid plannlessness and to succeed in their enterprises.

4. Relief for the people affected by natural calamities, and for unemployed workers.

As the result of the efforts made by the people's government and the broad masses of the people to transport grain, we can certainly say that the food supply situation this year is assured.

The wheat harvest is now only forty odd days away. The present moment is critical for relief work and, therefore, relief workers in such places should not hold the relief grain in reserve sent to them by the government. They should distribute it swiftly in accordance with the policy of organizing the people in the affected areas to help themselves in production, thus enabling them to pass through the difficult period. As a result of the efforts of the people themselves and large-scale organizational work of the people's government, we are certain to get through this year's period of food shortage without an iota of relief grain from foreign countries. Having helped the Chiang Kai-shek gang to kill several millions of Chinese people, the American imperialists suddenly became philanthropic and said they would come here to relieve the people in the affected areas. The purpose of their so-called relief is to conduct subversive activities among the people of the affected areas of China. The Chinese people welcome really well-intentioned assistance from abroad, but as to the "good intentions" of the imperialists, we have learned enough. We do not need these people to come to conduct subversive activities.

Since certain economic enterprises must unavoidably contract, suspend work or shift into other occupations, all possible relief must be given to unemployed workers in all major cities. This is absolutely necessary and may not be deferred. The Central People's Government has decided to allot a certain amount of grain and money and, at the same time, has asked the industrialists and merchants, as well as employed workers, to contribute some money as a relief fund for unemployed workers. The Ministry of Labour of the Central People's Government is now drafting measures for the relief of unemployed workers and is preparing to set up relief departments and employment agencies for unemployed workers in all major cities. Before the measures of the Central People's Government are made public, temporary relief measures may and should be taken in Shanghai and certain other cities. Former governments of China never helped the unemployed workers, but the people's government, although it is still confronted by difficulties, will decide on practical relief measures for unemployed workers and will carry them out.

5. Future land reform.

The land reform should be carried out this autumn in those parts of the newly liberated areas where preparatory work has been done. But these regions should not be too extensive. In view of the fact that victory has now been basically won, only the landlords' land and public land should in future be confiscated and

distributed in land reform to landless and land-poor peasants. Landlords will also be given a similar share and the rich peasants' land and property should not be touched. Other properties of the landlords will not be subject to confiscation and distribution, with the exception of those means of production needed by the peasants. These points will be regulated in detail in the forthcoming new agrarian law. On the basis of past experience, the land reform in future should be carried out with leadership, preparation and order. Disorder cannot be permitted. Therefore, we must not be impatient to complete the land reform in all newly liberated areas, but must carry it out step by step, period by period and area by area. If we can mainly carry out land reform throughout the country in the coming three years, that will be quick enough and a very big success.

6. Serious correction of shortcomings and errors and the training of cadres.

Since the field armies of the People's Liberation Army began the advance to the South and the Northwest on April the 20th last year, the entire Chinese mainland, with the exception of Tibet, and its 300 million population, have been liberated within this very brief period. The territory under our control is vast and the various features of the work are heavy and complicated. We have insufficient experienced cadres and large numbers of new cadres have joined. All these factors, plus the lack of time for training, have caused many shortcomings and errors to arise in the course of attaining these great achievements. We must have an overall view of the question. That is, we should see both the achievements and the shortcomings and errors in the work; both the hard work and the defects of the cadres. Under-estimation of any aspect should be avoided. Now people throughout the country are acclaiming our achievements and at the same time are demanding that we correct the shortcomings and errors which have already occurred. We should face these shortcomings and errors squarely and correct them. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has already decided to expand criticism and self-criticism and to train cadres. After these steps have been taken, we believe that our shortcomings and errors will be corrected.

The most fatal among our mistakes is that of merely enforcing orders. We have a considerable number of cadres who, although striving to fulfil the tasks assigned to them by the state and the Party, do not take the trouble to execute them according to the policies of the state and

the Party. They do not fulfil those tasks within the limits of strictly pursuing the policies of the state and the Party. Instead, they adopt a rude manner of work, taking no heed of the actual situation and its possibilities, unwilling to consult the local people humbly but simply fulfilling the tasks. The result is that tasks have been fulfilled, but the people have suffered losses which were entirely avoidable. Such simple enforcement of orders is quite serious in the work of levying public grain, collecting taxes and selling Victory Bonds, and it has aroused the dissatisfaction of many persons. If this is not corrected, we shall be estranged from the masses. Before long, we shall carry out agrarian reform over a vast territory and it will be difficult to do this work well without taking out time for training cadres.

Concerning such an erroneous style of work among our cadres, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has every year been giving instructions emphasizing the need for its correction. But, even after it has been corrected repeatedly, it may recur.

The Communist Party now has a membership of four million, nearly half of whom have been members of the Party for just two and a half years, two years, one year or even a few months. During the past year or more, we have taken over large numbers of old personnel to work in government institutions. In this entire new situation, we are required to undertake large-scale training work immediately, and first of all the training of cadres. The main task will be to review our work and correct authoritarian styles of work and, secondly, to correct other mistakes and shortcomings.

Comrades! If our style of work is better, our shortcomings and mistakes less, and our work better done, then we can the better unite with the people throughout the country and encourage their enthusiasm, further strengthen the people, enable our country and people to tide over the present difficulties more quickly and create a bright future. All these are objectives which we set ourselves to achieve as we celebrate May Day this year.

Long live May Day—the great day of unity of the labouring people throughout China and throughout the world!

Long live the unity and co-operation of all nationalities, all democratic classes, all democratic parties and groups and all people's organizations throughout China!



