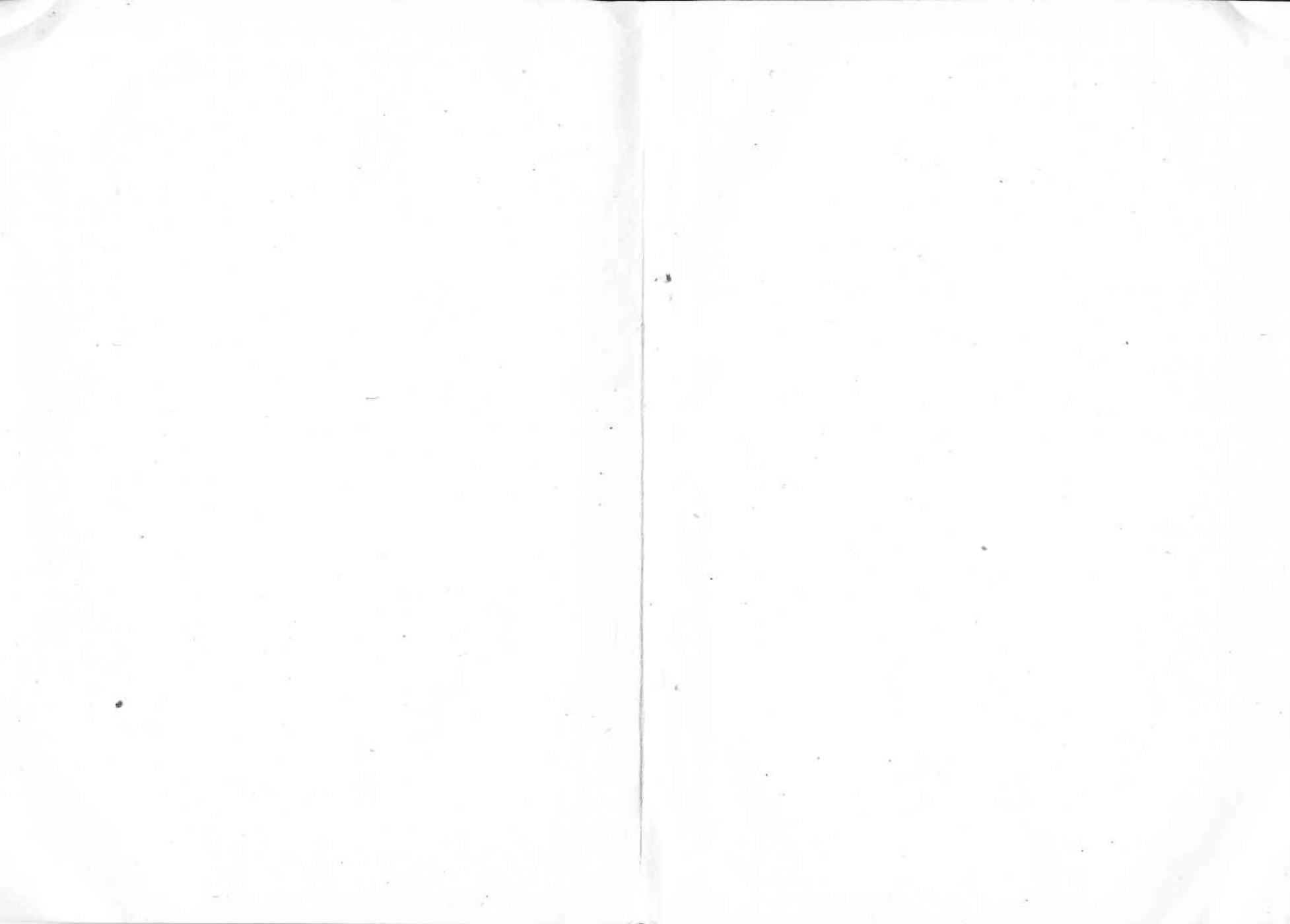


**THE
AGRARIAN REFORM LAW
OF
THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA**



FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS, PEKING



THE
AGRARIAN REFORM LAW
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA

TOGETHER WITH
OTHER RELEVANT DOCUMENTS

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
PEKING 1950

CONTENTS

	PAGE
THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA	1
DECISIONS CONCERNING THE DIFFERENTIATION OF CLASS STATUS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE	19
GENERAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ORGANISATION OF PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS	67
ON THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW (<i>By Liu Shao-chi</i>)	75

THE AGRARIAN REFORM LAW
OF THE
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA *

SECTION ONE

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1

The land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class shall be abolished and the system of peasant land ownership shall be introduced in order to set free the rural productive forces, develop agricultural production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialisation

* Promulgated by the Central People's Government on June 30, 1950.

SECTION TWO

CONFISCATION AND REQUISITIONING OF LAND

Article 2

The land, draught animals, farm implements and surplus grain of the landlords, and their surplus houses in the countryside shall be confiscated, but their other properties shall not be confiscated.

Article 3

The rural land belonging to ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches, schools, organisations and other land owned by public bodies shall be requisitioned. But local people's governments should devise appropriate measures to solve the financial problems facing such schools, orphanages, homes for the aged, hospitals, etc., that depend on the income from the above-mentioned land for their maintenance.

Land owned by mosques may be retained according to circumstances with the consent of the Moslems residing in the places where such mosques are situated.

Article 4

Industry and commerce shall be protected from infringement.

Industrial and commercial enterprises operated by landlords and the land and other properties used by landlords directly for the operation of industrial and commercial enterprises shall not be confiscated. In confiscating feudal land and other properties, no infringement upon industry and commerce shall be permitted.

Land and peasant dwellings in the countryside which are owned by industrialists and merchants shall be requisitioned, but their other rural properties and lawful businesses shall be protected from infringement.

Article 5

Revolutionary armymen, dependents of martyrs, workers, staff members, professional people, pedlars and others who rent out small portions of land because they are engaged in other occupations or because they are unable to work shall not be classified as landlords. If the average per capita landholding of such families does not exceed 200 per cent of the average per capita landholding in the locality, it shall remain untouched. (For instance, if the average per capita landholding in the locality is two *mow*, the average per capita landholding of such family members shall not exceed four *mow*.) If it exceeds this proportion, the surplus land may be requisitioned. If the land proves to have been purchased with the earnings of the owners' own labour or if old persons living alone, orphans, invalids, helpless widows or widowers, depend on this land for their livelihood, allowance may be made for such persons according to individual cases even though their average per capita landholding may exceed 200 per cent.

Article 6

Land owned by rich peasants and cultivated by themselves or by hired labour, and their other properties, shall be protected from infringement.

Small portions of land rented out by rich peasants shall remain untouched. But in certain special areas,

the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned in part or in whole with the approval of the people's governments at provincial or higher level.

If the portions of land rented out by rich peasants of a semi-landlord type exceed in size the land tilled by them or by hired labour, the land rented out should be requisitioned.

When rich peasants rent out land and are also tenants of land, these should be balanced against each other in computing their landholdings.

Article 7

Land and other properties of middle peasants (including well-to-do middle peasants) shall be protected from infringement.

Article 8

Transfer or dispersal since the Liberation by sale, mortgage, gift or any other means, of any land which should be confiscated or requisitioned according to this Law shall be declared null and void. Such land should be included in the land to be redistributed. But if peasants who took mortgages on the land will thereby suffer any considerable loss, measures should be worked out to suitably compensate them.

Article 9

The legal definition of landlords, rich peasants, middle peasants, poor peasants, farm labourers and other component classes of rural society will be dealt with separately.

SECTION THREE

DISTRIBUTION OF LAND

Article 10

All land and other means of production thus confiscated and requisitioned, with the exception of those to be nationalised as stipulated in this Law, shall be taken over by the *hsiang** peasants' association for unified, equitable and rational distribution to poor peasants who have little or no land and who have no other means of production. Landlords shall be given an equal share so that they can make their living by their own labour and thus reform themselves through labour.

Article 11

Land should be distributed with a *hsiang* or an administrative village corresponding to a *hsiang* as a single unit and on the principle of allotting the land to its present tiller. Land should be distributed in a unified manner according to the population and readjustment in landholdings may be made by taking into consideration the amount, quality and location of the land. However, *chu*† or county peasants' associations may make certain necessary adjustments between various *hsiang* or administrative villages corresponding to a *hsiang*. In areas of extensive territory and sparse population, for convenience in cultivation, the unit for land distribution may be smaller and below the level of the

* HSIANG is an administrative unit embracing several villages.

† CHU is a sub-district below county level.

hsiang. The land lying across the boundary of two *hsiang* shall be allocated for distribution to the *hsiang* where the actual tillers reside.

Article 12

Under the principle of allotting land to the tiller, land owned by the tiller shall not be drawn upon for distribution during land distribution. When rented land is drawn upon for distribution, proper consideration should be given to the tiller. The land he acquires through land distribution plus his own landholding (if he has land) shall be slightly and suitably more than the landholding, after distribution, of the peasants who had little or no land. The principle in this connection should be that the tiller should retain the approximate average per capita landholding in the locality.

If the tiller possesses the surface rights of the land he rents, a portion of land equivalent to the price of the surface rights in that locality shall be reserved for him if the land is drawn upon for distribution.

Article 13

During land distribution, certain special problems of the landless and land-poor population shall be settled as follows:

(a) A poor peasant family of one or two members who are able to work may be given more land than the allotment for one or two persons, provided the land conditions in the *hsiang* permit.

(b) Rural handicraftsmen, pedlars, professional people and their dependents should be given a certain

amount of land and other means of production according to individual cases. But if the earnings from their occupations are sufficient to regularly maintain their dependents no land shall be allotted to them.

(c) If their homes are in the countryside, martyrs' families (the martyr himself can be counted as a family member), officers, men, wounded and demobilised servicemen of the People's Liberation Army, functionaries of the People's Government and people's organisations as well as their families (including those who travel with the Army) shall be given land and other means of production equal to those allotted to the peasants. But in the case of the functionaries of the people's government and people's organisations, less land or none may be allotted in proportion to the amount of their salaries and other income, and the degree to which they are able to support their dependents.

(d) If local residents take up occupations elsewhere, their dependents still living in the village should be given land and other means of production according to individual cases. But if the income of such persons from their occupations is adequate to regularly maintain their dependents no land need be allotted to them.

(e) Monks, nuns, priests and other religious personnel should be given shares of land and other means of production equal to those of the peasants if they have no other means of making a living and are able and willing to engage in agricultural work.

(f) Unemployed workers and their dependents who return to the countryside with certificates from municipal governments or trade unions should be given shares of land and other means of production equal to those of

the peasants if they ask for land and are able to engage in agricultural work and if local land conditions permit.

(g) Landlords who return after running away and persons who once worked for the enemy but who return to the countryside and the families of such persons, should be given shares of land and other means of production equal to those of the peasants, provided they are willing to earn a living by agricultural work.

(h) No land shall be given to those residing in the countryside whom the People's Government has ascertained to be collaborationists, traitors, war criminals, counter-revolutionaries who have committed extremely grave crimes, or criminals who have persistently sabotaged agrarian reform. Members of their families, who have not participated in their criminal acts, and have no other occupation with which to make a living and who are able and willing to take up agricultural work, should be given the same shares of land and other means of production as those of the peasants.

Article 14

During land distribution, each *hsiang* may reserve a small amount of land, in accordance with the local land conditions, for cultivation by natives of the *hsiang* who have gone or fled away, whose whereabouts are unknown but who may return, or for use in adjusting land in the *hsiang*. The land thus reserved shall be placed under the administration of the *hsiang* people's government and rented to peasants for cultivation. However, the total amount of land reserved for this purpose must not exceed one per cent of all land in the *hsiang*.

Article 15

During land distribution, the people's governments at or above the county level in accordance with the local land conditions may set apart a certain amount of land to be nationalised and used for establishing agricultural experimental stations or model State farms for one or more counties. Prior to the establishment of such farms, the land may be rented to peasants for cultivation.

SECTION FOUR

TREATMENT OF SPECIAL LAND PROBLEMS

Article 16

Confiscated and requisitioned woods, fish ponds, tea groves, tung oil plantations, mulberry fields, bamboo groves, orchards, reed lands, wasteland and other distributable land should be calculated in terms of ordinary land at an appropriate ratio and distributed in a unified way. In the interests of production, these tracts of land should first be allotted as far as possible to the peasants who have hitherto utilised them. Persons receiving this kind of land may be given little or no ordinary arable land. If this kind of distribution is detrimental to production, the land may be operated by the local people's government in a proper manner and under democratic management in conformity with established customs.

Article 17

Confiscated and requisitioned irrigation works, such as dams and ponds, if they are distributable, should be distributed together with the fields. If it is not convenient to distribute them, they should be democratically managed by the local people's governments in conformity with established customs.

Article 18

All great forests, large water conservancy works, large expanses of wasteland, large uncultivated hillsides, big salt fields and mines as well as lakes, marshes, rivers and ports must be nationalised and be managed and operated by the People's Government. Those in which private capital has been invested and which have so far been privately managed shall continue to be operated by the existing management, according to the decrees promulgated by the People's Government.

Article 19

The farms, seedling nurseries and agricultural experimental stations that are cultivated with machinery or other modern equipment, and the large bamboo groves, large orchards, large tea groves, tung oil plantations, large mulberry fields and large pastures—where technique is essential—shall continue to be operated by their existing managements, and should not be dispersed. But if such land is owned by landlords, it may be nationalised with the approval of the people's governments at the provincial level or above.

Article 20

During the confiscation and requisition of land, all graveyards and woods therein must remain intact.

Article 21

Scenic spots, historical relics and places of historical interest should be carefully preserved. Ancestral shrines, temples, monasteries, churches and other public buildings and landlords' houses should not be damaged. Surplus houses of landlords in the countryside which are not suitable for the use of peasants may come under the management of the local people's governments and be used for public purposes.

Article 22

Wasteland reclaimed after the Liberation should not be confiscated during land distribution and should continue to be tilled by those who reclaimed it. It should not be included in the amount of land to be distributed.

Article 23

Small plots of land necessary for maintaining bridges and highways in repair, resting places, free ferries and other public facilities may remain intact according to established customs.

Article 24

Land and houses owned by overseas Chinese should be dealt with in accordance with appropriate measures to be determined by the people's governments (or military and administrative committees) of the various

greater administrative areas* or by provincial people's governments on the principle of having regard for the interests of overseas Chinese and in keeping with the general principles of this Law.

Article 25

Sandy and shoaly land owned by landlords or public bodies should be nationalised and handled in accordance with appropriate measures to be determined by the people's governments at provincial level or above.

Article 26

Land bordering railways, highways, river banks and river dykes that is needed for their protection or land occupied by airfields, harbours and fortifications should not be distributed. The sites of projected railways, highways, waterways and airfields whose date of construction has been fixed shall be reserved with the approval of the people's governments at provincial level or above.

Article 27

Private persons managing land owned by the State may not rent it out, sell it or leave it untended. If the private operators no longer need the land, they must return it to the State.

* A greater administrative area is an administrative unit embracing several provinces.

SECTION FIVE

**ORGANISATIONS AND METHODS FOR
CARRYING OUT AGRARIAN REFORM**

Article 28

In order to strengthen the leadership of the people's governments in the work of agrarian reform, the people's governments at county level or above should, at the time of agrarian reform, organise agrarian reform committees to be composed of persons elected by people's representative conferences or persons appointed by the people's governments of a higher level. These committees are responsible for directing and handling all matters concerning agrarian reform.

Article 29

Hsiang and village peasant meetings, peasant representative conferences and committees of peasant associations elected at such conferences, the peasant congresses at *chu*, county and provincial levels and committees of peasants' associations elected at such congresses are the legal executive organisations for reforming the agrarian system.

Article 30

After agrarian reform is completed, the People's Government shall issue title deeds and shall recognise the right of all land owners to manage, buy, sell or rent out land freely. All land contracts made before the reform of the agrarian system shall be null and void.

Article 31

The determination of class status shall be carried out according to the decisions on class differentiation in the countryside issued by the Central People's Government. It shall be determined by democratic estimation and decision at the village peasant meetings and peasant representative conferences under the leadership of the village people's governments, by the method of self-assessment and public discussion. If any person concerned is not a member of a peasants' association, he should, nevertheless, be invited to participate in the estimation and decision at the meetings and be allowed to argue his case.

The estimation and decision must be reported to the *chu* people's government for ratification. If any person concerned, or any other person, does not agree with the result, he may within 15 days after the announcement of such ratification lodge an appeal with the county people's tribunal, which shall pass judgment and carry it into effect.

Article 32

In the course of agrarian reform a people's tribunal shall be set up in every county to ensure that it is carried out. The tribunal shall travel to different places, to try and punish, according to law, hated despotic elements who have committed heinous crimes, whom the masses of the people demand to be brought to justice, and all such persons who resist or violate the provisions of the Agrarian Reform Law and decrees. Indiscriminate arrest, beating or killing of people, corporal punishment and the like are strictly forbidden.

The regulations governing the organisation of the people's tribunal will be enacted separately.

Article 33

To maintain order during agrarian reform and to protect the people's property, it is strictly prohibited to slaughter draught animals or fell trees without authorisation, let land lie untended, destroy farm implements, irrigation works, buildings, crops or the like. Offenders shall be tried and punished by the people's tribunal.

Article 34

To ensure that all agrarian reform measures effectively conform to the interests and wishes of the overwhelming majority of the people the people's governments at all levels shall be responsible for effectively safeguarding the democratic rights of the people. The peasants and their representatives shall have the right to freely criticize and impeach functionaries of any sphere or level at all meetings. Any one who infringes on these rights shall be punished according to law.

SECTION SIX

BY-LAWS

Article 35

This Law shall apply to the rural areas in general, but not to the areas in the vicinity of big cities for which agrarian reform regulations will be formulated separately. The big cities referred to in this article shall be

determined by the people's governments (or military and administrative committees) of the greater administrative areas according to the circumstances of the cities.

Article 36

This Law shall not apply to areas inhabited by national minorities. But in areas where the *Han* nationality is in the majority, scattered inhabitants of national minorities shall be treated in the same way under this Law as the people of *Han* nationality in carrying out the agrarian reform in those localities.

Article 37

This Law shall not apply to areas where agrarian reform has in the main been completed.

Article 38

All areas which begin agrarian reform after the promulgation of this Law, with the exception of the areas referred to in Articles 35, 36 and 37 of this Law, shall proceed in accordance with this Law. The time for starting agrarian reform in various places shall be regulated by decree and made public by the people's governments (or military and administrative committees) of the greater administrative areas and provincial people's governments.

Article 39

When this Law is made public, each provincial people's government shall formulate regulations for

carrying out agrarian reform within its territory in accordance with the principles as laid down in this Law and the concrete conditions of the territory and shall submit them to the people's governments (or military and administrative committees) of the greater administrative areas and on ratification they shall be put into effect. They shall also be submitted to the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government for registration.

Article 40

This Law shall come into force after it is ratified and promulgated by the Central People's Government Council.

DECISIONS CONCERNING THE DIFFERENTIATION OF CLASS STATUS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE*

1. These Decisions are promulgated for the purpose of correctly putting into force the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China, which was promulgated by the Central People's Government on June 30, 1950.
2. The Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government is of the opinion that except for some minor sections that have now become obsolete, the remainder of the two documents *How to Analyse Class Status in the Countryside* and *Decisions Concerning Some Problems Arising From Agrarian Reform* promulgated by the Democratic Central Government in Juichin, Kiangsi, in 1933 to ensure a correct solution of agrarian problems, are in the main applicable in the present agrarian reform. These two documents were again made public by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 25, 1948. They have been put into operation in the course of carry-

* Adopted by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on August 4, 1950.

ing out the agrarian reform and have been proved applicable in the present agrarian reform. Therefore, the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government hereby promulgates anew these two documents with slight revisions and additions, to be used as documents for correctly solving the agrarian problems in the future. In these two documents, the additions made by the Government Administration Council are headed by SUPPLEMENTARY DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL. To these two documents, there is added *Some New Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council*.

3. The Agrarian Reform Law shall prevail if or when the interpretation of any provision in the documents made public in these DECISIONS is found to be at variance with the Agrarian Reform Law.
4. The various provincial people's governments may promulgate supplementary documents concerning the differentiation of class status in accordance with the actual situation in the various localities and in conformity with the principles laid down in the documents published in these DECISIONS. But such supplementary documents shall be submitted to the Government Administration Council for registration.

I. HOW TO ANALYSE CLASS STATUS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE

1. LANDLORD

A person shall be classified as a landlord who owns land, but does not engage in labour or only engages in supplementary labour, and who depends on exploitation for his means of livelihood. Exploitation by the landlords is chiefly in the form of land rent, plus money lending, hiring of labour, or the simultaneous carrying on of industrial or commercial enterprises. But the major form of exploitation of the peasants by the landlords is the exacting of land rent from the peasants. The management of landholdings owned by public bodies and the collection of rent from school land also belong to the category of exploitation in the form of land rent.

Some bankrupt landlords who, despite their bankruptcy and their ability to work, do not engage in labour, and whose living conditions are better than those of an ordinary middle peasant, shall continue to be classified as landlords.

Warlords, bureaucrats, local despots and villainous gentry are the political representatives of the landlord class, and are exceptionally cruel and wicked elements among the landlords. (Among the rich peasants, there are also small local despots and villainous gentry).

Any person, who collects rent and manages the landed property for landlords and depends on the exploitation of peasants by the landlords as his main means of livelihood, and whose living conditions are better than those of an ordinary middle peasant, shall be treated in the same manner as a landlord.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

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

(C) The class status of any person who receives income from some other occupation and who at the same time owns and rents out a large area of agricultural land the size of which exceeds the average landholding of each landlord family in the locality, shall be determined according to the major source of his

income. He may be referred to either as a person of other class status and concurrently as a landlord, or as a landlord having other class status. The land and property used directly for his other occupations shall not be confiscated.

(D) The average landholding of a landlord family in the various localities shall be computed with one or several counties as a unit, and shall be determined only after the people's government of a special administrative district* or of a county has submitted it to a provincial people's government and obtained the latter's approval.

2. RICH PEASANT

A rich peasant generally owns land. But there are also rich peasants who own only part of the land they cultivate and rent the rest from others. There are others who own no land but rents all their land from others. Generally speaking, they own better means of production and some floating capital and take part in labour themselves, but are constantly dependent on exploitation for a part or the major part of their means of livelihood. Exploitation by rich peasants is chiefly in the form of exploiting the wage labour (hiring long-term labourers). In addition, they may also let out part of their land for rent, or lend out money, or carry on industrial or commercial enterprises. Most of the rich peasants also manage the landholdings owned by public bodies. Some own a considerable amount of fertile land, engage in labour themselves and do not hire any labour-

* A special administrative district is an administrative unit below the provincial level, consisting of a number of counties.

ers. But they exploit the peasants in the form of land rent and loan interest. In such cases, they should be treated in the same manner as rich peasants. Exploitation by the rich peasants is of a constant character, and in many cases the income from such exploitation constitutes their main means of livelihood.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

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

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

people in order to distinguish them in status from other family members who do not participate in labour.

3. MIDDLE PEASANT

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

4. POOR PEASANT

Some poor peasants own inadequate farm implements and a part of the land they cultivate. Some have no land at all and own only some inadequate farm implements. In general they have to rent land for cultivation, and are exploited by others in the form of

land rent, loan interest or hired labour in a limited degree. These people shall be classified as poor peasants.

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

5. WORKER

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

II. DECISIONS CONCERNING SOME PROBLEMS ARISING FROM AGRARIAN REFORM

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

1. LABOUR AND SUPPLEMENTARY LABOUR

Under ordinary circumstances a family is considered as being engaged in labour if one family member is

engaged in essential labour for one third of a year. A family is considered as being engaged in supplementary labour if one family member is engaged in essential labour for less than one third of a year; or if he is engaged in labour, but not in essential labour, for one third of a year.

EXPLANATION

Attention should be paid to the following:

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

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

(3) It is stipulated that the standard length of time for labour is one third of a year, that is, four months. The line of demarcation between labour and supplementary labour (namely, the line of demarcation between rich peasants and landlords) is whether a person has engaged in essential labour for four months or less than four months. Some regard those as

being engaged in supplementary labour when they have already engaged in essential labour for half a year. This is not correct.

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

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

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

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

In the course of land distribution and investigation many mistakes have been committed in connection with the problems of labour and supplementary labour. By mistaking labour for supplementary labour, some have been

wrongly classified as landlords; by mistaking supplementary labour for labour, others have been wrongly classified as rich peasants. This is because there has been no clear-cut line of demarcation between landlords and rich peasants in the past. Such mistakes may be avoided if the above-mentioned rules are applied.

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

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

Second, there is the case where a man ought to be considered a landlord, so far as exploitation is concerned, but who cannot be so treated if his living conditions are taken into considera-

tion. Here, for instance, is a man who used to be a rich or middle peasant, but several years before liberation because of death or the sickness of the member of his family who was engaged in essential labour, he had to rent out all his land or to hire labourers to cultivate his land, and, as a result, his family led a life without engaging in labour. It would be inappropriate to classify such a man as a landlord. Rather, he should be treated according to his former status.

Here is another case. If someone who though nominally still a landlord, has in fact had his landholdings transferred to somebody else, practises only slight exploitation, engages in supplementary labour himself, and has led a life even worse than a peasant, such a man should be treated as a peasant.

The above-mentioned special cases were neglected in the land distribution and land investigation movement in some localities. This is not correct.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

(B) To be engaged in essential labour as stated above means to be engaged in major labour in connection with agricultural production. Under ordinary circumstances this is the basic cri-

terion for differentiating landlords from rich peasants. A landlord family may also be considered as being engaged in essential labour when some one in the family is engaged in some other occupation. However, the class status of such a person shall be determined according to the nature and condition of his occupation, and the treatment accorded him shall be determined according to his class status. For instance, if someone in a landlord family is regularly engaged in the medical or teaching profession he should be treated accordingly as a medical practitioner or a school teacher.

2. WELL-TO-DO MIDDLE PEASANT

Well-to-do middle peasants are part of the middle peasants. Their living conditions are better than those of the ordinary middle peasants and in general they practise a small degree of exploitation. The amount of income from such exploitation should not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family.

Under certain circumstances, although the income of a middle peasant from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent but not more than 30 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family, he shall still be treated as a well-to-do middle peasant if the masses have no objection.

Under democratic rule the interests of well-to-do middle peasants shall receive the same protection as that afforded to ordinary middle peasants.

EXPLANATION

Attention should be paid to the following:

(1) *Well-to-do middle peasants are part of the middle peasants, but they differ from each other in that the former live a better life than the latter and in general practise a small degree of exploitation, while the latter in general do not.*

(2) *The well-to-do middle peasants differ from the rich peasants in that the income of a well-to-do middle peasant from exploitation does not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual income of his family, while that of a rich peasant does. Such a line of demarcation is necessary in the actual differentiation of class status.*

(3) *A small degree of exploitation by well-to-do middle peasants means the hiring of herd-boys, odd-job labourers, or labourers on a monthly basis; the lending out of small amounts of money, or the lending out of small amounts of money for mortgaged land; the collection of small amounts of rent from school land or the renting out of small tracts of land, etc. However, the income from such exploitation must not constitute the major portion of the family's means of livelihood. In other words, it must not exceed 15 per cent of the total annual family income and the main means of livelihood of the whole family is by their own labour.*

(4) *Those who in the period just prior to the liberation of a locality practised the same degree of exploitation as rich peasants in the same period shall be treated as well-to-do middle*

peasants, provided that the duration of such exploitation does not exceed two years.

(5) Under certain circumstances a family whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent but not more than 30 per cent of the total annual income shall still be classified as a rich peasant family provided that the masses have no objection. By "certain circumstances" are meant such cases where the income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent, yet the life of the family is not one of plenty because it is a large family, few members of which are able to work, or because it is faced with difficulties caused by flood, drought, famine, sickness or death. Under such circumstances such a family shall be classified as a middle peasant family and not as a rich peasant family provided that the income from exploitation does not exceed 30 per cent of the total annual income.

If no such circumstances exist, a family whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of its total annual income, shall be classified as a rich peasant family and not as a well-to-do middle peasant family. The correct judgement in such circumstances should be based upon the consensus of opinion of the masses in the locality.

Well-to-do middle peasants constitute a considerable proportion of the population in the countryside. In the land distribution and land investigation movement it happened in many localities that well-to-do middle peasants were

treated as rich peasants. This is not correct. In most cases the middle peasants whose interests have been encroached upon are well-to-do middle peasants. This should be corrected immediately.

ILLUSTRATIONS

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

Conclusion: This family depends on its own labour as the main means of livelihood. Its own production amounts to over 250 silver

* Non-staple food means foodstuffs other than the main crops raised in the locality.

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

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

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

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

3. RICH PEASANT EXPLOITATION—ITS DURATION AND DEGREE

A person shall be classified as a rich peasant, who for three consecutive years counting backward from the time of the liberation of the locality had engaged in production himself and had depended for part or the major part of his family's means of livelihood on exploitation, the income from which exceeded 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family.

Under certain circumstances, a person whose income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent, but not more than 30 per cent of the total income, shall still be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant and not as a rich peasant if the masses have no objection.

EXPLANATION

Attention should be paid to the following:

(1) The duration of exploitation should be counted from the time of the liberation of the locality, and not from any other time. Some

want to settle "old scores" and determine the class status on the basis of exploitation long since past. This is not correct.

(2) Exploitation for three consecutive years is the standard duration that constitutes rich peasant status. If the duration of exploitation is less than three years, or if it is three non-consecutive years such a person should be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant even though the degree of his exploitation is the same as that of a rich peasant during the same period.

(3) A person can be classified as a rich peasant only when his income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of his whole family. If the income from exploitation is less than 15 per cent of the total annual income, he shall still be classified as a well-to-do middle peasant and not as a rich peasant, even though his duration of exploitation lasts for three or more consecutive years.

(4) By "the total annual income of the whole family", is meant the total value of the production of the whole family, plus the income from exploitation of others. For instance, a whole family in one year produces the equivalent of 400 silver dollars, and exploits others to the value of 100 silver dollars, the total income is therefore 500 silver dollars. Since the income from exploitation constitutes 20 per cent of the total income, such a family should be classified as a rich peasant family.

ILLUSTRATIONS

(1) A family has 11 mouths to feed, with two members of the family engaged in labour. The family owns land with a potential yield of 160 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 120 piculs of grain (worth 480 silver dollars). It owns two tea groves which bring in an annual income of 30 silver dollars and a pond which brings in an annual income of 15 silver dollars. The annual income from the production of non-staple food and the rearing of hogs is about 150 silver dollars. It had hired, for seven years prior to liberation, a long-term labourer and exploited his surplus labour to the value of 60 silver dollars a year. It had lent out, during the five years prior to liberation, 250 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent (or 75 silver dollars).

Conclusion: This family itself engages in labour, but it hires a long-term labourer, makes big loans, and its income from exploitation is more than 15 per cent of the total income of the whole family. Although the family is a large one, there has been still a considerable surplus left after meeting all family expenses. Therefore, this family should be classified as a rich peasant family.

(2) A family has three mouths to feed, with one member of the family engaged in essential labour for four months. The family

owns land with a potential yield of 60 piculs of grain, and itself cultivates land with a potential yield of 30 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 18 piculs of grain. The family rents out land with a potential yield of 30 piculs of grain and has for five years been collecting an annual rent of 12 piculs of grain. It usually hires a short-term labourer for 20 days each year. It owns an ox which it hires out for an annual charge of two piculs of grain. It has for three years been lending out 120 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent or 36 silver dollars.

Conclusion: This family's income from exploitation exceeds that which it produces itself. But because one of the family members is engaged in essential labour for four months, such a family should be classified as a rich peasant family.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

(A) The line of demarcation between rich peasants and well-to-do middle peasants, according to the afore-mentioned Sections 2 and 3, lies in whether or not the income from exploitation exceeds 15 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family. It is hereby changed to whether or not the income from exploitation exceeds 25 per cent of the total annual income of the whole family. A person whose income from exploitation does not exceed 25 per cent of the total annual income shall be classified as a middle peasant or well-to-do middle peasant as the case may be.

(B) In order to facilitate calculation, it is necessary to lay down the following criteria :

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

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

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

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

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

4. REACTIONARY RICH PEASANT

A rich peasant who engaged in serious counter-revolutionary activities before, and especially after the Liberation, shall be classified as a reactionary rich peasant. The land and other property of such reaction-

ary rich peasants and of their family members who took part in those counter-revolutionary activities shall be confiscated.

The above principle also applies to reactionary capitalists.

EXPLANATION

Attention should be paid to the following:

(1) Only those rich peasants who engaged in serious counter-revolutionary activities are to be classified as reactionary rich peasants, such as those who led the "militia" in the massacre of workers and peasants during the revolution, who stubbornly fought against the democratic government, especially those who after the Liberation continued to lead others in the formation of counter-revolutionary groups and organisations, or who individually carried out serious counter-revolutionary activities, such as assassination, spying for the enemy, voluntarily serving as guides for enemy troops, escaping to the enemy side to assist the Kuomintang, or actively and persistently sabotaging the land distribution and land investigation movement and economic construction. The land and other properties of rich peasants who, although taking part in counter-revolutionary activities, did not play a leading part or important part, shall not be confiscated.

(2) Only the land and other properties of those family members of reactionary rich peasants

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

(3) Those rich peasants who temporarily crossed over to the enemy side in order to seek a living are not counter-revolutionary rich peasants and shall not be treated as counter-revolutionary rich peasants.

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

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

counter-revolutionary organisations or engage in counter-revolutionary activities, and who have severed relations with their family members who did, may be returned to them if the local masses raise no objection." However, this measure of first confiscating the property of the whole family and then returning a portion of it, is not proper. Therefore, it is necessary to revise the said Article to make it conform to the present regulations. Moreover, in the past, the definition of reactionary capitalists was stretched beyond proper limits in some cases with the result that some business establishments were wrongly confiscated. This is not correct, either.

ILLUSTRATION

A family has nine mouths to feed, with one member of the family engaged in labour, and another in supplementary labour. It owns land capable of yielding 160 piculs of grain, and cultivates land with a potential yield of 80 piculs of grain, but an actual yield of 56 piculs of grain. For 10 years the family has been renting out land with a potential yield of 80 piculs of grain, for which it has been drawing an annual rent of 30 piculs of grain. The family owns five tracts of hilly land which brings in an annual income of 70 silver dollars. It regularly hires a long-term labourer. It has for three years been borrowing 425 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 25 per cent. It has for five years

been lending 380 silver dollars at an annual interest rate of 30 per cent. One member of the family was a company commander of the "Security and Protection Regiment" for two years. He took part in five battles against the Red Guard. Another member of the family was a member of the "A-B Corps" (Anti-Bolshevik Corps) for one year, but he was not an important or active member of the Corps. There was no evidence of any counter-revolutionary activities on the part of the other members of the family.

Conclusion: This family should be classified as a rich peasant family in status. One member of the family has been engaged in serious counter-revolutionary activities. He is a reactionary rich peasant and his property should be confiscated. The property of the rest of the family should not be confiscated. The other member of the family, although having joined the "A-B Corps", was not an important or active member of the Corps. His property should not be confiscated.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

5. THE LAND, BUILDINGS, DRAUGHT ANIMALS AND FARM IMPLEMENTS WHICH SHOULD BE OWNED BY THE RICH PEASANTS

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

EXPLANATION

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

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

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

The provisions of this section apply to landlords as well.

6. BANKRUPT LANDLORD

Any landlord who has, prior to the Liberation, lost all or the major portion of his land and other properties which were used for exploitation, who is able to work but who does not engage in labour, and who lives in better conditions than ordinary middle peasants, shall be classified as a bankrupt landlord. Such bankrupt landlords remain to be a part of the landlord class.

The class status, however, shall be changed in the case of landlords who, after going bankrupt, have depended on their own labour as the principal means of livelihood for one year. A landlord who, after going bankrupt, has depended on his own labour to earn a part of his livelihood, may be treated as a rich peasant, provided the said part of his income amounts to one third of his annual living expenses.

EXPLANATION

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

(2) There have been instances of classifying as bankrupt landlords those who, after going bankrupt, have engaged in essential labour for one year. That is all the more incorrect. Since

the landlord, after going bankrupt, had engaged in essential labour for one year (prior to the Liberation), he has already changed his class status from that of a landlord to a worker, peasant or poor odd-jobber.

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

7. POOR ODD-JOBBER

With the exception of workers and peasants, all those, who depend on their own labour for subsistence, or for the most part depend on their own labour for subsistence, or who depend on the management of their limited means of production to earn their living expenses, shall be classified as poor odd-jobbers, provided they do not have fixed occupations and provided their life is hard. The unemployed among the poor odd-jobbers in rural areas and small towns should be given land.

EXPLANATION

(1) Poor odd-jobbers constitute a rather considerable number in the cities. A number are also to be found in rural areas and small

towns. They follow diverse occupations, some of which are irregular, and often vary from season to season and from time to time. The life of the poor odd-jobbers is very hard; their income is often insufficient to meet their expenses.

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

8. INTELLECTUAL

The intelligentsia should not be considered as a class in itself. The class origin of intellectuals is to be determined according to the status of their families. The class status of the intellectuals themselves is to be determined in accordance with the means they employ to earn the major part of their income.

All intellectuals who come of the landlord or capitalist class, should be fully employed in work for the democratic government, provided they obey the laws of the democratic government and they should be educated to overcome their erroneous ideas of looking down upon the labouring people.

When intellectuals are engaged in work which does not involve the exploitation of other people—such as

serving as school teachers, editors, journalists, clerks, writers and artists they should be regarded as brain workers and should be afforded legal protection by the democratic government.

EXPLANATION

(1) *Recently, intellectuals have been subjected to boycott in some localities. This is not correct. It is a policy helpful to the cause of the people's revolution to draw upon the intellectuals of landlord or capitalist origin who are willing to serve the democratic government by participating in its work. During the period when they are working for the democratic government, measures should be taken to help solve their problems of livelihood.*

(2) *The class origin of intellectuals is to be determined according to the status of their families. For instance, one who comes of a landlord family is of landlord origin; one who comes of a rich peasant family is of rich peasant origin; one who comes of a middle peasant family is of middle peasant origin; and so on. The class status of the intellectuals themselves is to be determined in accordance with the means they employ to earn the major part of their income. For instance, one who makes his living as a landlord is a landlord; one who makes his living as a capitalist is a capitalist; one who makes his living as a professional person is a professional person; one who makes his living as a clerk is a clerk; one who makes his living as*

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

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

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

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

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

9. IDLER

Workers, peasants and other people, who had, shortly before the Liberation, lost their occupations or their land as the result of the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary government or the landlord and compradore-capitalist classes, and who have resorted to improper methods as their main means of livelihood for three consecutive years, are to be referred to as idlers. (Customarily, they are called vagabonds.)

The policy of the democratic government toward the idlers is to win over the majority whilst opposing those elements who ally themselves with the reactionary forces and take an active part in counter-revolution. The chief method of winning over ordinary idlers is to help them return to production by giving them land and work. The land, however, must be given only to those who reside in rural areas and who are able to cultivate the land by themselves.

EXPLANATION

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

There have been instances of listing as vagabonds all those people, employed or partly unemployed, who obtain a certain amount of improper income, which, however, is not their

major means of livelihood. This is not correct. It is all the more so to list as vagabonds those workers, peasants and poor odd-jobbers who have contracted such bad habits as brothel-going, gambling and opium-smoking.

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

10. RELIGIOUS PRACTITIONER

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

11. THE RED ARMYMAN OF LANDLORD OR RICH PEASANT ORIGIN AND HIS LAND

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

EXPLANATION

(1) Article 1 of the Regulations Governing Preferential Treatment for the Red Army reads: "All those Red Army men whose homes are located in the areas under the jurisdiction of the Democratic Government, together with their dependents, shall share equally with the impoverished peasants in their respective localities in the distribution of land, buildings, forests and ponds." This article covers all Red Army men. But recently, in some localities, only social origin has been taken into consideration while political activities have been disregarded. As a result, it happened that the land already distributed to Red Army fighters of landlord or rich peasant origin who, nevertheless, fight staunchly for the interests of the workers and peasants, were confiscated for the second time. This is wrong.

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

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

12. WORKER FROM RICH PEASANT OR LANDLORD FAMILY

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

EXPLANATION

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

There is still another person who runs a small manufactory in town, producing and selling the goods all by himself, and who has

depended on this as his main means of livelihood for one year, the said person is an independent producer. Each shall have his status determined in accordance with the nature of the means he employs to earn a living during the given period. The status of each person, in turn, determines the treatment he receives under the laws of the Democratic Government.

(2) There are rural workers, independent producers, school teachers and medical practitioners who own small plots of land. They shall not be treated as landlords when, failing to make a living in the rural area, they go elsewhere to seek a living and rent out their small plots of land, provided they are not depending on their land rent for their main means of livelihood.

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

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

2. In cases where marriages took place before the

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

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

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

4. The foregoing three articles apply to the children of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers, who were sold to landlords, rich peasants or capitalists before the Liberation, and to the sons of workers, peasants or poor odd-jobbers who were adopted before the Liberation as sons-in-law by landlords, rich peasants or capitalists, and vice versa.

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

EXPLANATION

Here "labour" includes domestic labour.

Supplementary Decisions Adopted by the Government Administration Council

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

It is provided in Article 3 of this section that the women who married after the liberation landlords, rich peasants or capitalists shall retain their original class status. In the present application of this provision, those who married landlords should retain their original class status. Those who married capitalists or rich peasants and have lived the same life with them for a year should be recognised as having the class status of capitalists or rich peasants.

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

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

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

15. MANAGEMENT OF LANDHOLDINGS OF PUBLIC BODIES

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

EXPLANATION

By the management of landholdings of public bodies is meant management of landholdings and other properties belonging to all kinds of ancestral shrines, temples, associations and societies. There is no doubt that this system has been one of the forms of feudal exploitation in the countryside. The concentrated ownership of large amounts of land and other properties by the landlord class and rich peasants, as the result of this system, has been one of the principal forms of feudal exploitation. The practice of managing such organisations, as are control-

led by a few who make a large income through feudal exploitation, should be one of the factors in determining the class status of those who are engaged in the management. Some of such organisations, however, are not controlled by a few, and those who are in charge of them can by no means make an income out of the management. There are still others of a smaller size which are alternately managed by the masses of workers, peasants and poor odd-jobbers and which permit very little exploitation. The management of such can by no means be one of the factors in determining the class status of those who are engaged in the management. Some maintain that all those who have shared in the management should be regarded as landlords, rich peasants or capitalists. This is not correct.

III. SOME NEW DECISIONS ADOPTED BY THE GOVERNMENT ADMINISTRATION COUNCIL

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

1. Small handicraft producers: Those, who possess such means of production as a small quantity of handicraft implements, small workshops and raw materials, and who are personally engaged in independent handicraft production and wholly or mainly depend on the sale of their manufactured goods for their means of livelihood, shall be classified as small handicraft producers or independent producers. The small handicraft producers in general do not hire workers. Sometimes they hire assistants and apprentices whose services are auxiliary in nature, but they chiefly depend on their own handicraft labour for their main means of livelihood. These small handicraft producers shall have a similar social status as the middle peasants.

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

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

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

working in the State or private organisations as employees, they shall be classified as staff-members.

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

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

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

8. Dependents of revolutionary martyrs: The dependents of revolutionary martyrs refer to the parents,

widows or widowers, children and brothers and sisters under the age of 16, of those killed in battle and of martyrs killed since the Revolution of 1911 and those killed in battle during the Anti-Japanese War and the People's Liberation War. The dependents of other people (armymen, functionaries of the people's government and the people's organisations—*Editor*) as referred to in the Agrarian Reform Law cover the same family members as above.

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

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

11. Changes in the class status of landlords: Landlords, who since the completion of agrarian reform, have always obeyed the government's laws and decrees, devoted themselves strenuously to labour and production or other occupation, and have not been found guilty of any reactionary conduct whatever for over five consecutive years, may have their landlord class status changed

to that of labourers or others according to the nature of the labour or occupation they have engaged in, by decision of the *hsiang* people's representative conference and with the approval of the county people's government.

This provision does not apply to those who do not devote themselves strenuously to labour and production or other occupation, or have been found guilty of any reactionary activity whatever, or have been guilty of defying the laws or decrees of the People's Government. The rich peasants in the old liberated areas, who have conformed to the foregoing conditions for three years since the completion of agrarian reform, may have their class status changed in the same way. Those who have failed to conform to the foregoing conditions should not have their class status changed.

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

GENERAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE ORGANISATION OF PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS*

CHAPTER I

GENERAL PRINCIPLES

Article 1

Peasants' associations are mass organisations of peasants formed on a voluntary basis.

Article 2

The tasks of peasants' associations are:

- (a) To unite farm labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants and all anti-feudal elements in the rural areas, so as to carry out step by step anti-feudal social reforms and to protect the interests of the peasants in accordance with the policy, laws and decrees of the People's Government;

* Adopted by the Government Administration Council on July 14, 1950.

- (b) To organise the peasants for production, to set up rural cooperatives, to develop agriculture and subsidiary occupations and to improve the living conditions of the peasants;
- (c) To safeguard the political rights of the peasants, to raise the peasants' political and cultural level, and to take part in the construction of a State of people's democracy.

Article 3

In accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China, peasants' associations are legal organs in the rural areas for reforming the agrarian system.

CHAPTER II

MEMBERSHIP

Article 4

Farm labourers, poor peasants, middle peasants, rural handicraftsmen and impoverished revolutionary intellectuals in the rural areas, who voluntarily apply for membership, may become members of a peasants' association if their applications are approved by the committee of a *hsiang* peasants' association. Any person who is sent to the rural areas as a functionary in the peasant movement may join a peasants' association on the approval of the local peasant mass meeting or peasant congress.

After agrarian reform is completed, rich peasants applying for membership may become members of a

peasants' association on the approval of a *hsiang* peasant mass meeting or a *hsiang* peasant congress.

Article 5

Members of a peasants' association shall have the following rights:

- (a) To speak, to vote, to elect and to be elected in the peasants' association; to propose the dismissal and replacement of functionaries of the peasants' association;
- (b) To enjoy the lawful rights and protection offered by the peasants' association;
- (c) To have priority in enjoying the cultural, educational and economic facilities provided by the peasants' association.

Article 6

Members of a peasants' association shall have the following duties:

- (a) To abide by the constitution of the association;
- (b) To obey the organisation;
- (c) To carry out decisions;
- (d) To pay membership dues.

CHAPTER III

ORGANISATION

Article 7

The basic organisation of a peasants' association is

a *hsiang* (or an administrative village corresponding to a *hsiang*) peasants' association. Above it are the *chu*, county, special administrative district and provincial peasants' associations.

For a city, a suburban peasants' association may be formed to unify the leadership of all *chu* and *hsiang* peasants' associations in the suburban districts of the said city.

In a Greater Administrative Area, if necessary, the various provincial peasants' associations concerned, may, after mutual consultation, convene a Greater Administrative Area peasant congress, in order to form a Greater Administrative Area peasants' association.

Article 8

The principle governing the organisation of a peasants' association shall be democratic centralism—the principle of subordination by individual members to the organisation, subordination of minorities to the majority, and subordination of lower organisations to higher organisations.

Article 9

The organs which exercise the authority of the peasants' associations at all levels shall be the peasant congresses at the same levels. Their functions and powers shall be to determine the policies and plans of the peasant movement, to examine the reports on the work of the committees of the peasants' associations and to elect the committees of the peasants' associations in accordance with government laws and decrees, the in-

structions of peasants' associations of a higher level, and the wishes of the local peasants.

Article 10

Delegates to peasant congresses at all levels shall be elected in the following manner:

Delegates to a *hsiang* peasant congress shall be elected directly by the peasants of the whole *hsiang*. Peasants who have not yet joined the peasants' association may also, with the approval of the committee of the *hsiang* peasants' association, take part in this election. Delegates to county or *chu* peasant congresses shall be elected by *hsiang* peasant mass meetings or *hsiang* peasant congresses. Delegates to provincial or special administrative district peasant congresses shall be elected by county peasant congresses.

The number of delegates to peasant congresses at all levels shall be fixed by the committees of the peasants' associations at the corresponding levels in accordance with the concrete conditions therein, subject to approval by the committees of the respective higher peasants' associations.

Article 11

The time of meetings of the peasant congresses at all levels shall be fixed according to the constitutions of the respective provincial peasants' associations.

Article 12

During the intervals between peasant congresses, the committee of a peasants' association shall be the

executive organ of the association. The committees of the peasants' associations at all levels shall be composed of a number of members and candidate-members elected by the peasant congresses at all levels. The members shall elect from among themselves a chairman and one to several vice-chairmen to take charge of the affairs of the committee. The committee may establish under it a number of departments to carry out the work by division of labour.

Article 13

The term of office of the members of the committees of the peasants' associations at all levels shall be laid down in the constitutions of the respective provincial peasants' associations.

Article 14

In areas where peasants' associations have not yet been established, the local people's governments may convene a provisional peasant representative conference to elect a number of persons to function as a preparatory committee, which shall carry out the tasks of the committee of a peasants' association and shall have the same functions and powers as those of the committee of a peasants' association. The preparatory committee shall cease to function after a peasant congress has been formally held to elect the committee of a peasants' association.

Article 15

The peasant congresses at all levels, and the committees of the peasants' associations may take disciplinary measures, according to concrete circumstances,

against those who violate the rules and discipline of the association. Disciplinary measures applicable to any individual member shall be: admonition, warning, removal from assigned work or expulsion from the association. Disciplinary measures applicable to an entire organisation shall be: reprimand, partial reorganisation of its leading body, dismissal of its leading body and appointment of an interim leading body, or dissolution of the entire organisation and sending of functionaries to reorganise the association.

Article 16

The committees of the peasants' associations at all levels, may, when necessary, convene a representative conference of the peasants' associations.

CHAPTER IV

THE FUNDS OF PEASANTS' ASSOCIATIONS

Article 17

The funds of a peasants' association shall come from the membership dues and subsidies of the People's Government.

Each member of a peasants' association shall pay annual membership dues at the rate of one catty of rice.

The People's Government shall provide the peasants' associations with the necessary buildings and equipment. In utilising the facilities of the post, telegraph, telephone, railways, highways, shipping, etc., the peasants'

associations shall enjoy the same treatment as accorded the People's Government organs of the corresponding level.

Article 18

A statement of the income and expenditure of the funds of the peasants' associations shall be submitted at fixed intervals to the peasant congress, and shall be made public to the peasants after being audited and approved by the congress.

CHAPTER V

BY-LAWS

Article 19

All provincial peasants' associations shall draw up, in accordance with these General Regulations, their respective unified rules which shall be promulgated and put into effect after ratification by the provincial peasant congress. Regulations which were drawn up prior to the promulgation of these General Regulations, if found to be in conflict with these General Regulations, shall be modified accordingly.

Article 20

These General Regulations shall be promulgated and put into effect following their adoption by the Government Administrative Council of the Central People's Government.

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 in a number of other areas in North China and in half the area of Honan Province involving a total rural population of 26 million.

Generally speaking, no serious deviations occurred in the course of carrying out the agrarian reform last winter. It was carried out quite smoothly and very few disruptive incidents took place. The people, especially the peasants who have been given 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 People's Liberation

* *Liu Shao-chi, Vice-Chairman of the Central People's Government, made this report on June 14, 1950, at the Second Session of the National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference held in Peking.*

Army carried out campaigns to wipe out bandits, oppose local despots and reduce land rent, and have set up peasants' associations in many areas. According to reports from East China and Central-South China, the peasants' associations in these two areas have a combined membership of about 24 millions and 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* levels and peasant's representative conferences have generally been held. Active peasant elements have emerged in large numbers, the administrations in more than 38,000 *hsiang* have been reconstructed and the level of consciousness of the masses of the peasants has been rapidly raised. About 180,000 cadres will be trained in East China and Central-South China before 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 for permission to proceed with agrarian reform in the winter of this year have been made by various areas with a total 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. Action on such requests have to be discussed by the National Committee of the People's Political Consultative Conference and a decision to carry it out has to be made by the Central People's Government.

Besides, there is still an area with a rural population of about 164 millions 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—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 other areas inhabited by a population of about 20 million 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 areas inhabited by national minorities. 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 realised, it will be an extremely great historic victory for the Chinese people. And it will be a very rapid, and not slow, fulfilment of one of the basic historic tasks of the Chinese revolution.

It is necessary to work out such an approximate plan. This will enable the People's Government and people's organisations in the various newly-liberated areas to prepare and to carry out their work according to this plan. We request that, in those areas where it is decided not to carry out agrarian reform this year, it shall not be carried out. Even if the peasants should spontaneously go ahead with agrarian reform, they should be dissuaded from doing so. 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 the public grain collection. All possible efforts should be made to complete agrarian reform in the main in a correct way in an area with a rural population of 100 millions within the winter of this year. If deviations should occur in some areas after agrarian reform starts and give rise to certain chaotic conditions which cannot be remedied 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 must not be allowed to occur and no deviation or confusion may be allowed to remain uncorrected for long in our agrarian reform

work in the future. 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 in accordance with 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 agrarian reform under guidance and in an orderly way in the future, the Central People's Government must promulgate an agrarian reform law and a number of directives. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of China has drawn up and submitted a Draft Agrarian Reform Law to the National Committee for examination and discussion. As soon as general agreement has been reached, the Draft Law will be submitted to the Central People's Government Council for promulgation and enforcement. 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 distribution to the landless or land-poor peasants. Thus the landlords as a class in society are abolished and the land owner-

ship system of feudal exploitation is transformed into a system of peasant land ownership. This is indeed the greatest and most thorough reform in thousands of years of Chinese history.

Why should such a reform be made? In a nutshell, it is because the original land ownership system in China is extremely irrational. In general the land situation in old 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 their land.

Poor peasants, farm labourers, middle peasants and others, however, who make up 90 per cent of the rural population, possess in all only 20 to 30 per cent of the land. They toil all the year round but can hardly have a full belly and warm back. This situation has undergone some changes in the past ten-odd years of the Anti-Japanese War and the People's War of Liberation. Apart from the areas where agrarian reform has been carried out, land in some areas has been even further concentrated in the hands of the landlords. In Szechuan and other areas the landlords possess about 70 or 80 per cent of the land.

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

Land owned 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 represents about 3 to 5 per cent, while land cultivated by rich peasants themselves constitutes about 10 per cent.

In other words 90 per cent of the rural land is cultivated by middle peasants, poor peasants and a section of the farm labourers, who own merely a part of the land, and the greater part does not belong to them. Such a situation is still very serious.

Herein lies the basic reason why our nation has become the object of aggression and oppression and has become impoverished and backward. This also constitutes the principal obstacle to our nation's democratisation, industrialisation, independence, unification and prosperity. 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 industrialisation of New China cannot be realised and the people cannot enjoy the fundamental gains of the victory of the revolution.

But to change the situation, we must, as stipulated in Article 1 of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law, "abolish the land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class and introduce the system of peasant land

ownership in order to set free the productive forces in the rural areas, develop agricultural production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialisation." It is for this basic reason, and with this basic aim that we must institute agrarian reform.

Dr. Sun Yat-sen long ago put forward the slogan of "equalisation of land ownership" and, later, the slogan of "land to the tillers." The industrialisation of China must rely on the vast rural markets at home. Without a thorough agrarian reform, it would be impossible to realise the industrialisation of New China. This reason is too obvious to require much explanation.

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

We can see from the basic reason for and the aim of agrarian reform that the historical crimes committed by the landlord class in the past are rooted in the old social system. Landlords in general will only be deprived of their feudal landholdings and abolished as a social class, but they will not be physically eliminated. A small number of them on whom the people's courts should pass sentences of death or imprisonment, comprises 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 their land

and other means of production have been confiscated, the landlords will still be given shares of land and 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 basic reason for and the aim of agrarian reform are 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 viewpoints of Communists have always been different from those of the philanthropists. The results of agrarian reform are beneficial to the impoverished labouring peasants, helping the peasants partly solve their problem of poverty. But the basic aim of agrarian reform is not purely one of relieving the poor peasants. It is designed to set free the rural productive forces from the shackles of the feudal land ownership system of the landlord class in order to develop agricultural production and thus pave the way for New China's industrialisation. The problem of poverty among the peasants can be finally solved only if agricultural production can be greatly developed, if the industrialisation of New China can be realised, if the living standards of the people throughout the country can be raised and if China finally embark upon the road to Socialism. The mere carrying out of agrarian reform can only solve part, but not the whole, of the problem of the peasants' poverty.

The basic reason for and the basic aim of agrarian reform are intended for production. Hence, every step in agrarian reform should in a practical way 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 has proposed that rich peasant economy be preserved and protected from infringement in future agrarian reform. 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 organisations and other land owned by public bodies; (3) The rural land 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 landholding 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 and do not requisition them. This will have some unfavourable effects upon rural production but such possible effects cannot be great, because in our estimate, the total amount of land thus rented out in small plots do 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 or those who have lost their labour power. Moreover, much of such land has been bought with the hard-earned proceeds of the unremitting toil of individuals. 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 property of the rich peasants, Article 6 of the Draft Agrarian Reform Law clearly stipulates:

Firstly, land owned by rich peasants and cultivated by themselves or by hired labour and their other properties shall be protected from infringement because a rich peasant economy can only be preserved in this way.

Secondly, small plots of land rented out by rich peasants shall remain untouched. But in certain special areas, the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned in part or in whole with the approval of the People's Government at provincial level or above. Because, in general, the amount of land rented out in small

plots by rich peasants is not great. In order to neutralise the rich peasants effectively and to protect the middle peasants and small land lessors it is also necessary to allow the rich peasants to retain this portion of the rented-out land.

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, the land rented out by rich peasants may be requisitioned in part or in whole to solve the problem, if this is ratified by the people's government at provincial level or above.

Thirdly, the large amounts of land rented out by a small number of rich peasants should be requisitioned in part or in whole. For instance, if a rich peasant rents out more land than the land he cultivates by himself and by hired labour, then he is no mere rich peasant; he is a rich peasant of a semi-landlord type. Therefore, the Draft Agrarian Reform Law stipulates that where large tracts of land are rented out by a rich peasants of a semi-landlord type, exceeding in area the land cultivated by him or by hired labour, the rented-out portion should be requisitioned.

Then there are also members in a landlord family who throughout the year are engaged in the main agricultural work, cultivating part of their land but renting out the major part of it. Such persons in a landlord family should be given consideration. Land which they cultivate themselves should be basically retained after adequate readjustment has been made, but the rest should be confiscated.

Landlords' draught animals, farm implements, and their surplus grain and surplus houses in the countryside 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 re-arranged. By surplus grain is meant the grain retained by landlords in excess of their own food requirements after rent reduction and delivery 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 such 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 help each other, together with the Government's assistance.

Except for the above cases, other properties of the landlords including their industrial and commercial enterprises must not be confiscated. Of course, owing to long years of exploitation most landlords have a great deal of other properties. According to past experience, if these properties of the landlords are to be confiscated and distributed, the landlords will hide and disperse them, while the peasants will search for them. Thus chaotic conditions will 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 earn 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 future agrarian reform is far more lenient than it was 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 landlords and should not be lenient or let them have their way.

Certain elements in the landlord class will conduct sabotage during and before agrarian reform, such as the slaughtering and killing of draught animals and the destruction of trees, farm implements, water conservancy projects, buildings, crops and furniture. The people's governments at all levels 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 should not destroy, hide, disperse or sell them. They should pay compensation or be punished for any violations. Other persons than landlords, who destroy such property, should also be punished.

PRESERVE RICH PEASANT ECONOMY

The various provisions in the Draft Agrarian Reform Law regarding land and other properties of the

rich peasants are aimed at preserving the rich peasant economy and, in the course of land reform, at neutralising the rich peasants politically and rendering 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 in the coming agrarian reform? It is mainly because the present political-military situation is basically different.

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

On the one hand, the rich peasants still did not believe that the people could win the war and they still leaned to 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 make great sacrifices in fighters, public grain and labour service to support the war and strive for victory. To strive for victory in the war was in the greatest 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 pro-

erty of the landlords so as to satisfy to a greater extent the demands of the impoverished peasants, rouse the peasants' revolutionary enthusiasm to a high degree in order to participate in and support the people's revolutionary war, and overthrow Chiang Kai-shek's regime which was supported by American imperialism.

This was both necessary and correct at that time, when, if there had been no extremely thorough agrarian reform in the Liberated Areas and if the demands of the impoverished 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 destruction. The two great tasks required of the peasants—military service and labour service—have entirely come to an end and the burden of public grain delivery has also been comparatively lightened.

The present basic task for the people throughout the country is to undertake economic construction on a nation-wide scale. The fight for Taiwan remains a huge task, but the People's Liberation Army has adequate strength to shoulder it. The difficulties we are meeting with are different in character from what we encountered in the war of the past.

Our present difficulties are mainly financial and economic difficulties arising 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, all democratic parties and groups and people's organisations throughout the country has already been established politically and organisationally and the political attitude of the rich peasants, in general, has also undergone a change.

If the People's Government pursues 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 dispelling certain unnecessary misgivings of the peasants during the development of production. Therefore, in the present situation, the adoption of a policy to preserve the rich peasant economy in the coming agrarian reform is necessary both politically and economically. It will help to overcome the current financial and economic difficulties and thus benefit our country and our people.

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 Northeast China, in carrying out agrarian reform, failed to follow the directive issued by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on May 4, 1946, which stressed that the rich peasants' land and property should be substantially left untouched.

Instead, they arbitrarily 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 upon, industry and commerce in the rural areas were partly impaired and indiscriminate beatings and killings occurred in some places.

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

In view of this situation, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China made public the Outline of Agrarian Law on October 10, 1947, under which the class status of the rich peasants and landlords was distinguished 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 countryside. Chairman Mao Tse-tung issued a statement on the "Present Situation and Our Tasks" and Comrade Jen Pi-shih also made a speech on problems of agrarian reform.

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

It is necessary to draw attention to the experience of the past so that our comrades may not repeat former mistakes in carrying out agrarian reform 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 throughout the whole stage of New Democracy. Only when the conditions are mature for the extensive application of mechanised farming, for the organisation of collective farms and for the Socialist reform of the rural areas, will the need for a rich peasant economy cease, and this will take a somewhat long 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 strictly prohibited.

SOME PROBLEMS CONCERNING LAND DISTRIBUTION

On the question 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 present tillers and properly taking into account the interests of the present tillers of the land.

Land distribution on this basis will avoid excessive and unnecessary land changes and will benefit production. When rented land is drawn on for distribution to others, proper care must be taken of the original 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 each person in the locality. To take too much from the land rented by the tillers would cause them to suffer some loss but to give them this consideration will mean that they suffer little or no loss. This is necessary.

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 not be drawn upon at all or should be drawn upon only slightly. Experience shows that the tillers will feel 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. They have no need to pay rent or curry favour with the landlords, their social status is raised, they receive more land than others and they are better off.

During the distribution of land and other means of production, certain specific problems facing the landless and land-poor population in the rural areas should

be dealt with properly. If local land conditions permit, more land should be given to certain people who are able to work, such as poor peasant families of one or two members.

Less land or no land at all may be distributed to certain people, such as village handicraft men, pedlars, professional people and members of their families, personnel of the People's Government and people's organisations 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 support themselves should not be given 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 support themselves or is not sufficient to support themselves.

Appropriate solution of these problems must be based on the specific circumstances of each village and each individual, and concrete decisions must be made 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 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 his 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 share 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 and disturb public order to the detriment of the interests of the people.

As punishment, no land shall be given to persons whose homes are in the villages and who have been established 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. While some of these persons have been identified, others still remain to be identified during agrarian reform. These cases 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 nationalised 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 utilise 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 spots and places of historical interest, 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 to be followed in future agrarian reform is that reliance should be placed on the poor peasants and farm labourers, while uniting with the middle peasants, neutralising the rich peasants in order to eliminate the feudal exploitation system step by step and with discrimination and to develop agricultural production.

The peasants' associations should be the main organisational form and executive organs of the forces of agrarian reform. Peasant' 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 a lower organ cannot solve, it should be submitted to a higher level for instruction. The higher organ should at once dispatch personnel to help solve the problem. The first problems 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, or 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 matured experience to be used in the training of cadres and for directing the agrarian reform.

The purity of the leadership of the peasants' associations at all levels should be safeguarded. The masses should be mobilised 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 who have committed certain errors. Nor does it mean their exclusion from the peasants' 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 holding leading positions in the peasants' associations.

The main leadership of the peasants' 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 peasants' associations. It should be stipulated that one third of the leadership of the peasants' associations at all levels should be chosen from among the middle peasants. This is absolutely necessary. No poor peasant' leagues should be organised in addition to the peasants' associations. Nor should trade unions be organised in the villages.

Meetings or representative meetings of poor peas-

ants, farm labourers and handicraft workers can be held within the peasants' associations to discuss questions affecting them. Meetings of this kind, however, should be open to the representatives of the middle peasants.

The peasants' 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 peasants' 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.

Peasants' associations should draw in impoverished revolutionary intellectuals and other labouring people in the rural areas. Moreover, the peasants' 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 peasants' associations in order to dispel their suspicions and misgivings. 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 to engage in subversive activities, but must honestly obey the

orders of the People's Government and the decisions of the peasants' associations. Then the People's Government will treat them with clemency.

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

During the period of agrarian reform, wide-spread publicity and explanation should be carried out not only in the rural areas but also among people in every walk of life in the cities and among the People's Liberation Army 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, sympathise 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 decisions of the peasants' associations, and must not put up resistance or carry on subversive activities, if they are to avoid punishment which can possibly be avoided.

This is also very important in organising 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 tribunals should be set up to suppress and punish in good time the resistance and subversive activities of despots, secret agents, counter-revolutionary elements and the landlord class and to deal with the charges made by the peasants against these elements during the agrarian reform.

The People's tribunals 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 organisations 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 tribunals should carry out their work, in accordance with the regulations promulgated by the government and should not deal with culprits at random. People's organisations and institutions other than the People's tribunals and public security organisations must not detain, try or deal with culprits. People's governments at all levels should pay great attention to helping the people's tribunals and to strengthening and training the cadres of the people's tribunals, 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 countryside is a complex and extremely important work in 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 ascertain 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 should be made which lead to their dissatisfaction. In short, no person's class status should be wrongly determined. If any mistake is made, 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 well carried out I believe 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 completion of the agrarian reform will create the decisive condition for bringing about a fundamental turn for the better in our country's financial and economic situation. Moreover, it will organise 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. It is hoped that you will be kind enough to examine and discuss it.

PUBLICATIONS ON CHINA

IN ENGLISH

	STANDARD EDITION	POPULAR EDITION
On People's Democratic Dictatorship (By <i>Mao Tse-tung</i>) ...	US\$0.15	US\$0.10
On The Party (By <i>Liu Shao-chi</i>)	0.50	0.30
China Wins Economic Battles ...	0.15	0.10
*China Fights for Peace	0.25	0.15
China's Youth March Forward...	0.30	0.20
The Chinese People's Liberation Army	0.30	0.20
Women in New China	0.15	0.10
*Important Documents of the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference	0.15	0.10
*700 Millions for Peace and Democracy	0.25	0.15
*The Sino-Soviet Treaty and Agreements	0.10	0.05
The Trade Union Law	0.10	0.05

IN FRENCH

La Dictature de la Démocratie Populaire <i>par Mao Tsé-toung</i>	0.15	0.10
*Adresse du Premier Mai <i>par Liou Chao-chi</i>	0.15	0.10
Documents Importants de la Première Session Plénière de la Conférence Consultative Politique du Peuple Chinois	0.15	0.10

* AVAILABLE ALSO IN RUSSIAN

	STANDARD EDITION	POPULAR EDITION
L'Instruction et la Culture dans la Chine Nouvelle <i>par Kuo Mo-jo</i>	US\$0.15	US\$0.10
La Reconstruction Economique du Nord-Est de la Chine <i>par Kao Kang</i>	0.15	0.10
Première Année de Victoire de la Chine Nouvelle <i>par Chou En-lai</i>	0.15	0.10

IN GERMAN

Über die Diktatur der Volks- demokratie	0.10	0.05
--	------	------

IN INDONESIAN

Kediktatoran Demokrasi Rakjat	0.10	0.05
-------------------------------	------	------

BOOKS IN PREPARATION

The Marriage Law
 Internationalism and Nationalism (by *Liu Shao-chi*)
 Culture and Education in New China
 China's Year of Victory
 Program Bersama dan Dokumen-dokumen Lain Dari
 Sidang Lengkap Pertama Dari Madjelis Permu-
 sjawaratan Politik Rakjat Tiongkok (in Indonesian)
 La Loi sur la Réforme Agraire

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS

26, KUO HUI CHIEH, PEKING, CHINA

CABLE ADDRESS: FOLAPRESS PEKING

OBTAINABLE AT ALL LEADING BOOKSTORES