

in the Soviet political power, is a key link in placing the work of the Soviet on a sound basis. The Soviet must maintain close link with trade unions, poor peasants' groups, representatives' congresses of women workers and farmers, cooperatives and all other civic groups so as to popularize the work of the Soviet, and carry out the work of the Soviet by mobilizing the broad masses of people through these groups.

In order to acquire speed and quality in the work of the Soviet so that all work will meet the requirements of the revolution, it is necessary to exert maximum effort to eliminate the relaxed and placid attitudes of Soviet functionaries and greatly heighten their work enthusiasm so that each one of them will consciously put out effort in the work of the state under the democratic dictatorship of the workers and peasants. Work discipline must be strict. All those elements who fritter away their time and neglect their duties and do not give importance to the work of the Soviet must be struggled against severely until they are expelled from their work. Corruption and waste must be opposed because not only do these phenomena inflict loss upon the finances and economy of the Soviet, but they also corrupt Soviet functionaries, cause them to lose enthusiasm for their work and lose spiritual essence. The slogans of "Subordinate all work to the war effort" and "Achieve speed and quality in work" must be set before the masses, and, in this respect, the principal responsible persons, especially the worker-peasant procuratory committee, should adequately carry out the work of persuasive education upon Soviet functionaries.

Place the burden of thoroughly and conscientiously carrying out the policies and laws of the Soviet on the shoulders of all Soviet functionaries. Impose heavy penalties on transgressions against Soviet laws and policies, first and foremost on such misdeeds by the Soviet functionaries themselves.

The Labor Law must be implemented in full, and every article of it explained to the broad masses of workers. The application of the 8-hour work system and the stipulation of minimum wage are the core to ensuring the interests of the workers. The labor inspection stations and the labor courts must see to it that they become fully effective. We must conduct resolute struggle against those personnel who neglect the interests of the workers and attempt to seek compromise with the capitalists, provide practical and timely aid to unemployed workers, and organize committees on aid to the unemployed in all the areas where there are unemployed workers. The system of social insurance must be put into effect where it is possible and required attention paid to the work of the social insurance bureau, avoiding past errors made in some areas with regard to the disbursement of insurance funds. The labor department of the Soviet should be placed on a sound basis in order to carry out this work fully, and there should be a close relationship between the labor department and the trade unions. One of the central tasks of the Soviet is to fully implement the land law and all the laws governing the struggle for land by launching a massive campaign of agrarian revolution throughout the country.

The struggle to confiscate land owned by the landlord class and big private land holders should be launched with emphasis and intensity in all the newly acquired territories of the Soviet. The many experiences accumulated from methods used in the past to distribute land should be collected and applied generally to all new Soviet areas. Develop the land inspection movement in all those areas where the land problem has not yet been thoroughly resolved, and rapidly sweep away from those areas the remnant forces of feudalism. A correct class line and adequate work on the masses in the agrarian struggle are prerequisites guaranteeing absolute victory in the agrarian revolution. Implementing the Soviet policy on culture and education, launching a cultural revolution within the soviet territories, arming the minds of the masses with communism, enhancing the cultural standard of the masses, putting into effect the system of compulsory education and strengthening the ability to mobilize the masses in the course of the revolution are tasks of similar importance for the Soviet.

The Soviet policy of punishing exploiters and suppressing counterrevolutionaries must be carried out with determination. The state's Bureau of Political Defense and the Soviet courts must enhance their own levels of alertness and sternly punish and suppress elements of the exploiting class who transgress against Soviet laws and all those who are engaged in counterrevolutionary activities. In this respect, the work of the Bureau of Political Defense, the popularization of the Soviet courts, the mobilization of the broad masses to participate in the struggle to suppress counterrevolutionaries are of vital importance. The general orientation of the Soviet's work in acquiring speed and quality in the work of the Soviet and making all the work of the Soviet meet entirely with the needs of the revolution.

4. On leading struggle against imperialism and work in White areas.

The Soviet Government must strengthen its leadership of the nationwide struggle against imperialism and the revolutionary struggles of workers and peasants in the Kuomintang areas in order to oppose imperialist aggression, unfold an intense struggle of workers and peasants over the whole country and expand the Soviet area to cover the entire nation. Apathy in this respect is tantamount to letting loose the bandit-like aggression of imperialism, prolonging the life of the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang and restricting the speed and limits of the expansion of Soviet areas. The Soviet Central Government and the various provincial soviets must extend their views into the vast areas under the Kuomintang. They must not only lead every anti-imperialist movement launched by the masses on their own initiative, but also utilize each concrete fact of imperialist aggression and the Kuomintang's capitulation and national betrayal to rouse the national and class consciousness of the masses in the ranks of the broad masses of workers and peasants and among the petite bourgeoisie, and, call them to organize and arm for the struggle to drive out imperialism and defend the territory of China. Especially in the three eastern provinces (Kirin, Heilungkiang and Liaoning), Jehol, Chahar, north China and areas where the Japanese imperialists are attacking, organize people's revolutionary armies and volunteer armies, lead the original volunteer army and

bring them out from under the reaction influence of the Kuomintang to wage resolute war with the Japanese imperialists. The Soviet Government must give all possible material and moral support to every one of the anti-imperialist strikes launched by workers and the anti-imperialist struggle of the peasants and petite bourgeoisie. The Soviet must use all possible means to organize, help and lead workers' struggle against the bourgeoisie and peasants' struggle against the landlords erupting in the Kuomintang areas. Every one of the Soviet personnel should understand that they must place their greatest attention upon the White dominated areas if they desire to develop the Soviet movement to envelop the entire country, create conditions to transform into Soviet territory the Kuomintang dominated areas which are several times larger than the Soviet's, establish new Soviet areas and be able to receive the help of the masses of the White areas in the struggle against imperialism and the massive "encirclement and suppression" of the Kuomintang. Prepared with all the material support needed, personnel must be dispatched from the Soviet areas to organize and lead the mass struggles in the White areas. Apathy in this respect is tantamount to apathy toward the expansion of the Soviet area and developing the revolution. Especially the masses in the Kuomintang areas in the vicinity of the Soviet territories have been most heavily influenced by the Soviet and they suffer most from the oppression of Kuomintang's military bondage and monopoly of salt. The Soviet Government, especially the government of the various provincial soviets, border counties and border areas must use every opportunity to achieve a link-up with these people, organize their daily struggles and develop them into guerrilla warfare and mass uprising, until a Soviet area has been established and it is linked with the old Soviet areas. In this respect, great importance should be placed on the work done in the boundary areas between the Soviet and White territories. In these areas, the Soviet (or the revolutionary committee) and the guerrilla units must completely abide by the basic policies of the Soviet. All indiscriminate beatings of local bullies without class distinction is prohibited. Confiscated money and property of landlord bourgeoisie and reactionaries must be distributed among the local people. Besides, effectively resolve such problems as the confrontation of Red and White, civilian deserters, the salt blockade and civilian victims in accordance with the class and mass lines and eliminate the cause of confrontations between Red and White and civilian desertion. And improvement in the work carried out in the boundary areas is an important link in securing the transformation of White areas into Soviet areas.
(The speech ended and was followed by a thunderous ovation.)

- ° Documents of the Second National Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic. The People's Committee, March 1934.
- * "Red China," special edition on the Second All-Soviet Congress, Vol 2, 26 January 1934.
- * "Struggle" (Shanghai), Vol 66, 1 March 1934.
- * "Only the Soviet Can Save China," 1934.

Table A

Profession	Period	Maximum wages			Minimum wages			Average wages	
		Pre-revolution	Current	Comparison	Pre-revolution	Current	Comparison	Pre-revolution	Current
Peking fruit worker	Per month	* 10.00	32.00	+22.00	2.00	22.00	+20.00		30.00
Paper industry worker	Per month	10.00	35.00	+25.00	3.00	32.00	+28.00		33.00
Oil industry worker	Per month	6.00	18.00	+12.00	3.00	12.00	+9.00		15.00
Medicine worker	Per month	6.00	30.00	+24.00	2.00	26.00	+24.00		28.00
Tobacco packing industry worker	Per month	7.00	36.00	+29.00	3.50	30.00	+26.00		28.00
Printing industry worker	Per month	15.00	36.00	+21.00	5.00	28.00	+23.00		34.00
Metal industry worker	Per month	6.00	18.00	+12.00		14.00			16.00
Carpenters	Per month per day	0.60	0.60	+ 0.20					
Boatmen	Per month from Ting-chou to								
Dyers	Shang-hang Per month	14.00 5.50	46.00 20.00	+32.00 +14.00	2.00	18.00	+16.00		19.00
Oil paper industry worker	Per month	5.00	21.00	+16.00	2.00	17.00	+15.00		15.00
Distillery worker	Per month	6.00	20.00	+14.00	3.00	18.00	+15.00		
Cloth industry worker	Per month	10.00	35.00	+25.00	2.00	31.00	+29.00		32.00

* Figures in yuan

Table B

Manual Transportation worker	Agricultural worker	Paper industry worker	Handicraft industry worker		
0.45 yuan	0.28 yuan	0.40 yuan	0.30 yuan	Pre-revolution period	Maximum wage Per day
0.67 1/2	0.30	0.40	0.30	Prior to 1 May 1931	
0.96	0.22	0.45	0.35	Current	
0.51	0.04	0.05	0.05	Increase over pre-revolution period	
0.26	0.10	0.22	0.22	Pre-revolution period	Average wage Per day
0.39	0.15	0.24	0.25	Prior to 1 May 1931	
0.50	0.20	0.30	0.30	Current	
0.24	0.10	0.08	0.08	Increase over pre-revolution period	
0.10	0.03	0.14	0.10	Pre-revolution period	Minimum wage Per day
	0.06	0.11	0.15	Prior to 1 May 1931	
0.20	0.10	0.25	0.10	Current	
0.10	0.07	0.11	0.10	Increase over pre-revolution period	

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CONCLUSIONS OF REPORT OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

27 January 1934

[Text] Comrades! You have discussed for 2 days--in the subgroup meeting held yesterday and in today's general conference--the report I presented on behalf of the Central Executive Committee and the People's Committee. In these 2 days, you have made many suggestions expressing in an all-round manner the lessons and experiences from our work done during the past 2 years. In summation, it can be said that there was unanimous agreement with my report. With regard to the current situation, the tasks that emerged from this situation, the implementation of Soviet policies in various areas during the past 2 years and shortcomings that exist in our work, there was general agreement in the discussions you held yesterday and today. The speeches made by the comrades were generally very correct. This should be pointed out in the first place.

It behooves me to point out that in the discussions of yesterday and today, mainly in the meeting of the subgroup held yesterday, incorrect views were encompassed in the speeches made by individual comrades. These were mainly opinions expressed on the question of the fifth "encirclement and suppression." On this question the majority of the comrades accepted what I had said in my report: We have won the initial victory of the fifth "encirclement and suppression," but the final and decisive battle still faces us gravely. It is our current most important task to call upon the broad masses, unite all forces and strive for victory in the final and decisive battle of the fifth "encirclement and suppression." Some comrades said in the discussion that "the fifth 'encirclement and suppression' has been completely smashed," and this viewpoint is obviously incorrect. Other comrades said: "We are preparing to smash the fifth 'encirclement and suppression'," and this viewpoint is also wrong. We overestimated our own victory and lightly did away with the Soviet's task to smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression," in the end, while in reality Chiang Kai-shek is concentrating all his forces for a final, massive offensive against us. This kind of estimation is erroneous, and it is also very dangerous. It is erroneous not to see that the Red Army has dealt the enemy quite a serious blow in the past several months of arduous fighting and has won an initial victory. This kind of victory, in combination with the great victory of smashing the fourth "encirclement and suppression," forms a solid foundation for thoroughly smashing the fifth "encirclement and suppression." Underestimating our own achievements is similarly very dangerous.

A comrade said that there was some revolutionary essence in the Fukien People's Revolutionary Government and that it is not wholly counterrevolutionary. This view is also wrong. In my report, I have already pointed out that the People's Revolutionary Government is but a faction of the reactionary ruling class, and it is a new trick used to swindle the people in order to preserve itself from death. They regard the Soviet as an enemy, and the facade of the Kuomintang is too dilapidated. They came up with this People's Revolutionary Government, using the gambit of the third road to swindle the people in this manner. There is not a bit of revolutionary essence to it. Current facts have already proven this to be so.

Another comrade made erroneous remarks in the subgroup meeting. He said that the Soviet has not expanded the Red Army, and it does not have any guerrilla units, that the peasants still have to pay rent to the landlords. These remarks are, of course, quite inane, and require no further explanation. Yet another comrade said that the functionaries in Fukien were all opportunists. Without the need of an explanation, everybody will recognize this as erroneous. We admit that there are opportunists among some of the Soviet functionaries fomenting trouble and we should launch resolute struggle against such elements. But remarks such as the one the comrade made vilify the Soviet.

With regard to marriage, I have already said in my report that should one party of the marriage resolutely request divorce, the Soviet should grant it. It should be pointed out that the families of Red Army members are exceptions. In order to strengthen the will to fight in a Red Army fighter, the Central Government has resolved that a wife of a Red Army fighter can request a divorce only with the concurrence of her husband. Divorce can be requested by the wife alone only after 2 years have elapsed with no news from her husband. Quite a few of the comrades have proposed lowering the eligibility age for marriage. I do not feel that such suggestions are sound. In the interests of the race and of the class, the marriage age should not be lower than 20 for men and 18 for women. We should understand that early marriage is extremely harmful. Comrades, be a little patient (loud laughter burst forth in the conference hall). In the days under the rule of landlord bourgeoisie, poor workers and peasants still could not marry at the age of 40 or 50, so why is there such impatience now for 1 or 2 years? (more laughter from the hall).

The preceding has been the first part of my conclusion, but the principal part is still to follow.

A very important question on which the comrades have not focused their attention in the discussions is the well-being of the people with the revolution. This question was not pointed out with emphasis in yesterday's and today's discussions. I feel that it should be clearly set forth.

The central task of the Soviet at present is to mobilize the broad masses to take part in the revolution, overthrow imperialism and the Kuomintang by means of such war, spread the revolution throughout the country and drive imperialism

out of China. Leading the revolution and organizing the revolution are central tasks of the Soviet, and anyone who does not attach enough importance to this central task is not a good revolutionary cadre. A good Soviet cadre should have a clear and profound view of this central task. If he truly perceives this task with clarity and understands that spreading the revolution is our basic and pressing task, that the revolution must at all cost be spread throughout the country, then he should in no way neglect or underestimate the question of immediate interests, the well-being, of the masses. Why? Because the revolution is a war of the masses. It can be waged only by mobilizing the masses and relying on them. We must place this task of waging war before the masses, and mobilize the masses on a massive scale to participate in the war and support the war effort. Only thus can we win victory.

If we only mobilize the people to carry on the war and do nothing else, can we succeed in defeating the enemy? My answer is: Of course not. If we want to win, we must do a great deal more. We must lead the peasants' struggle for land and distribute the land to them, heighten their enthusiasm for labor and increase agricultural production, safeguard the interests of the workers, establish cooperatives, develop trade with outside areas and solve the problems facing the masses--food, shelter and clothing, fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt, sickness and hygiene, and marriage. In short, all the practical problems in the everyday life of the masses should claim our attention. If the Soviet attends to these problems, solves them and satisfies the needs of the masses, we shall really become organizers of the well-being of the masses, and they will truly rally round us and give us their warm support. Comrades, will we then be able to arouse them to take part in the revolution and sacrifice everything for the war effort? Yes, indeed we will.

Here is the kind of thing we have found among Soviet organizations. Some of the cadres talk only about expanding the Red Army, enlarging the transport corps, collecting the land tax and selling bonds; as for other matters, they neither discuss nor attend to them, and even ignore them altogether. For instance, there was a time when the T'ing-chou Municipal Soviet Government concerned itself with the expansion of the Red Army and with mobilization for the transport corps, and paid not the slightest attention to the well-being of the masses. The problems facing the people of T'ing-chou city were that they had no firewood, no salt was on sale because the capitalists were hoarding it, some people had no houses to live in and the houses confiscated from local despots have not yet been distributed to them, and rice was both scarce and dear. These were practical problems for the masses of T'ing-chou and they eagerly looked toward the Soviet Government for help in solving them. But the T'ing-chou Municipal Soviet did not discuss any of these problems. That is why when the new workers' and peasants' representative council was elected in the city, a hundred or more representatives were unwilling to attend after the first few council meetings had discussed only the expansion of the Red Army and mobilization for the transport corps, entirely ignoring the well-being of the masses, so that the council was

unable to go on meeting. The result was that very little was achieved in regard to the expansion of the Red Army and mobilization for the transport corps. This was one kind of situation.

Comrades, you have probably read the pamphlets given you about two model township soviets. There the situation is entirely different. What a great number of people have joined the Red Army from Ch'ang-kang township in Kiangsi and Ts'ai-hsi township in Fukien! In Ch'ang-kang township 80 percent of the young men and women have joined the Red Army, and in Ts'ai-hsi the figure is 88 percent. There has been a big sale of bonds, too, and 4,500 yuan worth have been sold in Chang-kang which has a population of 1,500. Much has also been done in other fields. What accounts for this? A few examples will make the point clear. In Ch'ang-kang when fire broke out in a poor peasant's house destroying one-and-a-half rooms, the township government immediately appealed to the masses to contribute money to help him. In another instance, three persons were starving, so the township government and the mutual-aid society immediately gave them rice. During the food shortage last summer, the township soviet obtained rice from Kung-lueh County's Shui-nan [3055 0589] and Fu-t'ien [1381 3944] areas more than 200 li away for the relief of the masses. Excellent work was done along these lines in Ts'ai-hsi as well. Such township governments are really models. They are absolutely different from the T'ing-chou Municipal Government with its bureaucratic methods of leadership. We should learn from Ch'ang-kang and T'sai-hsi townships and oppose bureaucratic leaders like those in T'ing-chou city.

I earnestly suggest to this congress that we pay close attention to the well-being of the masses, from the problems of land and labor to those of fuel, rice, cooking oil and salt. The women comrades want to learn plowing and harrowing. Whom can we get to teach them? The children want to go to school. Have we set up Lenin primary schools? The wooden bridge over there is too narrow and people may fall off. Should we not repair it? Many people suffer from boils and other ailments. What are we going to do about it? All such problems concerning the well-being of the masses should be placed on our agenda. We should discuss them, adopt and carry out decisions and check up on the results. We should convince the masses that we represent their interests, that our lives are intimately bound up with theirs. We should help them to proceed from these things to an understanding of the higher tasks which we have put forward, the tasks of the revolution, so that they will support the revolution and spread it throughout the country, respond to our political appeals and fight to the end for victory in the revolution.

The masses in Ch'ang-kang say, "The Communist Party is really good! It has thought of everything on our behalf." The comrades in Ch'ang-kang township are an example to all of us. What admirable people! They have won the genuine affection of the broad masses, who support their call for war mobilization. Look, 80 percent of the able bodied in Ch'ang-kang township have gone to the front! Do we want to win the support of the masses? Do we want them to devote their strength to the front? If so, we must be with them, arouse their enthusiasm and initiative, be concerned with their well-being, work earnestly and sincerely in their interests and solve all their

problems of production and everyday life--the problems of salt, rice, housing, clothing, childbirth, etc. If we do so, the masses will surely support us and regard the revolution as their most glorious banner, as their very life. In the event of a Kuomintang attack on the Red areas they will fight the Kuomintang to the death. There can be no doubt about this, for is it not a plain fact that we have smashed the enemy's first, second, third and fourth "encirclement and suppression" campaigns?

The Kuomintang is now pursuing a policy of blockhouse warfare, feverishly constructing their "tortoise-shells" as though they were bastions of iron. Are they really iron bastions? Not in the least! Think of the palaces of the feudal emperors over thousands of years, were they not powerful with their walls and moats? Yet they crumbled one after another the moment the masses arose. The tsar of Russia was one of the world's most ferocious rulers, yet when the proletariat and the peasantry rose in revolution, was there anything left of him? No, nothing. His bastions of iron? They all crumbled. Comrades! What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which no force can smash, no force whatsoever. The counterrevolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it. Rallying millions upon millions of people round the revolutionary government and expanding our revolution, we shall wipe out all counter-revolution and take over the whole of China.

I am going to talk about the second question. I feel that this question must also be thoughtfully brought before the Congress. The second question concerns our methods of work.

The Soviet is the leader and organizer of the revolution as well as the leader and organizer of the life of the masses. To develop the revolution and to improve the life of the masses are our tasks and our objectives. With regard to such tasks and objectives, we must not only discuss them, but also carry them out. In this respect we are faced with the serious problem of methods of work. It is not enough to set tasks and decide on the objectives to be achieved. We must also solve the problem of the methods for carrying them out.

If our task is to cross a river, we cannot cross it without a bridge or a boat. Unless the bridge or boat problem is solved, it is idle to speak of crossing the river. Unless the problem of method is solved, talk about the task is useless. Unless we pay attention to giving leadership to the work of expanding the Red Army and devote particular care to our methods, we will never succeed even though we recite the phrase "Expand the Red Army" a thousand times. Like a monk, you may recite Amida Buddha from dawn to dusk, day in and day out and it will still be Amida Buddha. No Red Army will materialize. (general laughter).

Are there similar situations in the work of our Government? Of course, and, indeed, not just a few! Let us take Jui-chin and Fukien as examples. Jui-chin's recent phenomenal campaign to expand the Red Army is worthy of

our admiration. Under the direct leadership of the Central Bureau and the Central Revolutionary Military Affairs Committee, the Red Army was expanded by nearly 4,000 during the 1 1/2 month period beginning 1 December. They won the most recent campaign to expand the Red Army with phenomenal speed by applying correct methods of work, launching struggles against opportunism and bureaucratism and by unfolding class struggles of the masses. As for Fukien, the total achievements of more than 10 counties in the province barely equal that of Jui-chin. This was possible only because of the change in the methods of work which took place under the direct leadership of the Central Political Bureau during the recent half month. Under the leadership of bureaucratism, as in December, it would not have been possible to even equal the achievements of one county such as Jui-chin. Even Jui-chin was able to achieve an expansion by only 30 people in the entire month of last August. Compared with the 4,000-men expansion in the recent period of 45 days, it can be seen what a vast difference results between bureaucratic leadership and effective and concrete leadership. Again, using the storm troop movement launched by Jui-chin in December to expand the Red Army as an example, hardly any achievements were made under the leadership of bureaucratism in such areas as Ch'eng [1004], Hsia-hsiao [0007 5135] and Huang-po [7806 2672] in the first half of the month.

In the latter half of the month, after the storm troop leader was replaced and work methods changed, not only was the quota for the month fulfilled but it was also exceeded by 100 percent. This was so with the movement to expand the Red Army. Now let us next take a look at the movement to sell bonds. By the time Jui-chin has sold and completed collecting the money on 240,000 yuan of bonds, only 19,000 yuan was sold in Yu-tu [7184 6757] County under the leadership of bureaucratism, and, till today, they still have in their boxes over 100,000 yuan of the 190,000 yuan of bonds issued to them. Ch'ang-kang township sold 4,500 yuan in bonds, averaging 3.80 yuan per person. If all the townships were like Ch'ang-kang, 12 million yuan worth of bonds can be issued in the Central Soviet areas alone, but if it were like Yu-tu, it would be hard to sell even 1 million yuan. We have been taught a very serious lesson in the matters of leadership and work methods. We cannot accomplish our tasks in any other field, for instance, in checking up on land distribution, or in economic construction, or culture and education, or our work in the new areas and the outlying districts, if all we do is to set the tasks without attending to the methods of carrying them out, without combating bureaucratic methods of work and adopting practical and concrete ones, and without discarding commandist methods and adopting the method of patient persuasion.

The comrades in Hsing-kuo have done first-rate work and deserve our praise as model workers. The comrades in northeastern Kiangsi have done good work and are also model soviet workers. By linking the problem of the well-being of the masses with that of the revolution the comrades in both these places are simultaneously solving the problems of revolutionary methods of work and of accomplishing their revolutionary tasks. They are working conscientiously, solving problems with minute care and shouldering their revolutionary responsibilities in earnest. They are good organizers and leaders of both

revolution and the well-being of the masses. Elsewhere, too, the comrades have made progress in their work and deserve our praise--as in some parts of the counties of Shang-hang, Ch'ang-t'ing and Yung-ting in Fukien Province. In Hsi-chiang and other places in southern Kiangsi Province; in some parts of the counties of Ch'a-ling, Yung-hsin and Chi-an in the Hunan-Kiangsi border area; in some parts of Yang-Hsin County in the Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi border area; in districts and townships of many other counties in Kiangsi Province and in Jui-chin County, which is directly under our Central Government, progress was made.

We should, however, point out that the work done by the soviets of some areas is far from satisfactory. And we should apply the spirit of self-criticism to enhance our revolutionary vigilance with regard to the work of these areas. For instance, there are many shortcomings in many places of the Fukien-Kiangsi, Hupeh-Kiangsi and Hunan-Hupeh-Kiangsi areas. Similarly, Fukien and Hunan-Kiangsi are a far cry from Kiangsi and Fukien-Chekiang-Kiangsi area. For example, the leaders of the Fukien Provincial Government are seriously afflicted with bureaucraticism. Many of the cadres in these areas do not enjoy good relations with the masses. They still do not comprehend the need to link closely the revolution with the well-being of the masses, to exert themselves in learning the arts of the masses and giving their leadership. They do not understand that without good methods of work, they absolutely will not be able to accomplish their tasks, that they should coordinate all work with the revolution war effort. There should be a thorough change in the work of these areas after the conclusion of the Second All-Soviet Congress. Especially those seriously afflicted with opportunism and bureaucraticism do not understand the situation prevailing in the lower levels and the feelings of the masses, engaging only in idle talk and even resorting to commandism in handling the work of the Soviet. The Congress should sternly censure these cadres. Their views and work methods are absolutely wrong. They hinder the work of the Soviet and are not beneficial to the revolution. These cadres should immediately change their ways.

In all the places under our leadership, there are undoubtedly many active cadres, excellent comrades, who have sprung from the masses. These comrades have a responsibility. That is to conduct a serious self-criticism campaign against those opportunists and bureaucrats, instruct and help them to rapidly rectify their errors, and cleanse the Soviet of those obdurate elements who refuse to change. We are in the midst of a great revolutionary war. We must break through the enemy's large-scale "encirclement and suppression" and spread the revolution to all parts of the country. All revolutionary cadres have a tremendous responsibility. After this Congress we must adopt effective measures to improve our work, the advanced areas should become even more advanced, and the backward areas should catch up with the advanced. We must create thousands of townships like Ch'ang-kang and scores of counties like Hsing-kuo. They will be our advance strongholds.

From these strongholds, we shall sally forth to smash the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns, overthrow the rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang throughout the country and win victory for the revolution in all of China! (loud applause)

The conclusion of the Central Executive Committee and the People's Committee report ends here. As for the rest, I have brought them up in the report and will not repeat them. My conclusion is ended. (thunderous applause)

- ° "Red China," special edition on the Second Congress, Vol 5, 31 January 1934.
- * "Struggle" (Shanghai), Vol 66, 1 March 1934.
- * Documents of the Second Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic, March 1934.

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CLOSING SPEECH

(At the Second All-Soviet Congress)

1 February 1934

[Text] Comrades! After 11 days of conference our Congress has been completely successful. It has come to a victorious end! (applause) We decided upon the policies and plans for nationwide victory for the Revolution! Nationwide victory for the Revolution is in our hands! (applause) We must smash imperialism's and the Kuomintang's "encirclement and suppression." We must overthrow imperialism and the Kuomintang. We decided upon the policies and plans to achieve them! (applause)

The current problem is to carry out these policies and plans 100 percent! We must have the courage to act and act resolutely. We must heighten the enthusiasm of all the cadres for their work, heighten the enthusiasm and activism of the broad masses. Our responsibility is great. We are shouldering the glorious burden of revolution placed upon us by the Congress. We must shoulder this burden with enthusiasm, resoluteness and courage and march forward. We certainly must shoulder this burden until we reach our destination! (applause) Smash the fifth "encirclement and suppression" thoroughly, overthrow imperialism and the Kuomintang and strive to achieve nationwide victory for the Revolution!

Victory for the bourgeois democratic revolution throughout the country! Victory for the worker-peasant democratic dictatorship in all parts of China! These are our objectives and we must carry the burden handed to us by the Congress to these areas. We will reach these areas, and reach them quickly! (applause) Is our mission accomplished after having reached these areas with the revolutionary burden? Is the worker-peasant democratic dictatorship our final objective? Comrades! No. The mission is not yet accomplished, and that is not our final objective. The revolutionary burden has to be carried to an even more distant place. Today, we shall point out this place. It is the Socialist Revolution under the Dictatorship of the Proletariat.

We have not only to accomplish the democratic revolution, but also bring about a change in the revolution and head it in the direction of socialism in the future! We must not only overthrow the rule of imperialism and the Kuomintang and wipe out the landlord class. We must also prepare as of now for an opportune moment in the future to wipe out the capitalist system, the system of man exploiting man. We must, as the Soviet Union is now doing, enter into communism in the final stage, putting into effect the system of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his needs," and emerge into a free, bright and great world. Only when such a time arrives can there be the final liberation of mankind. Only then can there be a final victory of mankind!

The Second All-Soviet Congress closes today. We must carry out our responsibilities. We must courageously shoulder the great responsibilities of the Revolution and march forward to realize our final victory!

Long Live the Soviet!

Long Live the Victory of the Revolution!

Long live nationwide victory for the Revolution!

Long live worldwide victory for the Revolution!

Long live Socialism!

Long live Communism!

(Thunderous acclamations of joy and applause shook the conference hall.)

° "Red China," special edition on the Second Congress, Vol 7, 3 February 1934.

8493

CSO: 4005

ON ELECTION AT SECOND ALL-SOVIET CONGRESS AND THE CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE
AND PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

Notice No 1 of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic

3 February 1934

[Text] The Second All-Soviet Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic formally opened at the Red capital in the Soviet area on 21 January 1934. After 11 days of vigorous and lively debate the Congress closed with complete success. The Congress summed up the experiences from 2 years of the Chinese Soviet Movement, set forth the greatest fighting, historical tasks and held concrete discussions on such important questions as the building of the Red Army, economic construction and Soviet construction. The Congress passed a revised Soviet Constitution and resolutions on the aforementioned questions. Finally, the congress elected the following 175 persons as members of the Central Executive Committee:

Po Ku [0590 0657], Ch'en Shao-yu [7115 4801 4416], Ho Ke-ch'uan [0149 0344 0356], Liu Shao-ch'i [0491 1421 1142], Mao Tse-tung [3029 3419 2639], Hsiang Ying [7309 5391], Wu Liang-p'ing [0702 0081 1627], Chu Chiu-pai [4234 4428 4101], Chou Yueh-lin [0719 2588 2651], Chin Wei-ying [6855 4850 2503], Huang Fa-kuei [7806 4099 2710], Hsieh Yu-ch'in [6200 3768 2953], Li Fu-ch'un [2621 1381 2504], Hsieh Ming-jen [6200 0682 0088], Hsiao Shih-pang [5618 0013 2831], Lin Kuo-sung [2651 0948 1345], Huang Ch'ang-chiao [7806 7022 1293], Ts'ai Chang [5591 2545], Chung Pao-yuan [6988 5508 0337], Lou Meng-hsia [1236 1125 0204], Chang Chi-chih [1728 4921 0037], Hsu Ta-chih [1776 6671 1807], Ts'eng Shan [2582 1472], Chung Ch'ang-t'ao [6988 2490 2711], Liu Ch'i-yao [0491 0796 5669], Chung Hsun-jen [6988 1789 0088], Li Cho-jen [2621 0587 3544], Liu Kuang-ch'en [0491 1639 5256], Hsieh Hsien-se [6200 0341 [?]], Chu Teh [2612 1795], Chou En-lai [0719 1869 0171], Wang Chia-ch'iang [3769 4471 5638], Liu Po-ch'eng [0491 0130 2110], Ho Ch'ang [6320 2490], Ho Ch'ang-kung [0149 7022 1562], Hsi Tai-yuan [5230 0108 6678], Peng Te-huai [1756 1795 2037], Yang Shang-kun [2799 1424 2492], Lin Piao [2651 1753], Nieh Yung-chen [5119 2837 5271], Tung Cheng-tang [2516 2182 1016], Liu Po-chien [0491 0130 1017], Huang Su [7806 3836], Ts'ai Shu-fan [5591 2885 5672], Nieh Hung-chun [5119 3163 6874], Wang Ju-ch'ih [3769 1172 4082],

Wan Yung-cheng [5502 3057 6134], Ch'en Kuang [7115 0343], Hsun Chun-chou [1416 0402 1558], Lo Jui-ch'ing [5012 3843 0615], Chang Chun-ch'ing [1728 4783 3237], Chou Chien-p'ing [0719 1696 1456], Chou Kun [0719 2492], Le Shao-hua [2867 1421 5478], Chen Ah'chin [7115 7093 6855], Yuan Kuo-p'ing [5913 0948 1627], Yeh Chien-ying [0673 0494 5391], Ch'en Yi [7115 3015], Pi Shih-ti [3968 1102 2748], Ch'en Hung-shih [7115 3163 2514], Hsiao K'e [5618 0344], Kung He-lung [1313 5440 7893], Chu Jui [2612 3843], Liu Chou-hsi [0491 3985 6007], Hsu Yen-kang [1776 7346 0474], Ch'en Ch'ang-hao [7115 2490 3185], Hsu Hsiang-ch'ien [1776 0686 0467], Chang Kuo-t'ao [1728 0948 3614], Chang Ch'in-ch'iu [1728 3830 4428], Ho Lung [6320 7893], Kuan Hsiang-ying [7070 0686 2019], Hsia Hsi [1115 2569], Sung Pai-min [1345 4101 3046], Wang Wei-chou [3769 4850 0719], Lo Ping-fei [5012 3521 6540], Hung Shui [3163 3055], Ts'ai Kan [5591 1626], Chang Jen-ho [1728 3544 0735], Yu Hung-wen [0151 1347 2429], Wang Shih-t'ai [3769 0013 3141], Pan Shih-chung [3382 1102 1813], Chiang Ah-san [1203 7093 0005], Chang Kou-yi [1728 1379 0001], Chan Ta-ts'un [0594 1129 1317], Cheng Chen-fen [6774 2182 5358], Chu Ch'i [2612 3825], Kao Chun-t'ing [7559 0193 0080], Tsang I-chin [6124 0110 6930], Cheng Wei-san [6774 0143 0005], Wang Feng-ming [3769 7685 7686], Ch'eng Fang-wu [2052 0119 0710], Kuo Shu-shen [6753 6615 3947], Chang Te-san [1728 1795 0005], Chu Wei-yuan [4376 4850 0997], Ku Tso-lin [7357 0155 7207], Shao Shih-ping [6730 1709 1627], Huang Tao [7806 6670], Chu Chao-hsiang [2612 0340 4382], Kung Shu-an [1313 2579 1344], Liu Hsiao [0491 2556], Chung Shih-pin [6988 0013 2430], Fu Ts'ai-hsiu [0265 2088 4423], Chou Yi-k'ai [0719 5030 7030], Liu Ming-huei [0491 2494 6540], Hsiung Hsien-pi [3574 0103 3880], Liu Kuo-chu [0491 0948 3796], Chung Kuei-hsin [6988 2710 2450], Lo Mai [5012 6701], Ch'en Hsiang-sheng [7115 4382 3932], Lin Po-ch'u [2651 0130 3255], Liu Ch'un-hsien [0491 5028 0341], Hu Hai [5170 3189], Fan Le-ch'un [5400 2867 2504], Ts'eng Hung-yi [2582 3163 2496], Wu Tse-yuan [1566 1311 0337], Chang T'ai-ho [1728 1132 0735], Huang Yi-chang [7806 1355 4545], Chang Ting-ch'eng [1728 7844 0015], Li Chien-chen [2621 6015 3791], Wu Lan-fu [0702 5695 3940], Wu Pi-hsien [0702 1801 0341], Ch'iu Hsien-ying [6726 0341 5391], Chang Wen-t'ien [1728 5113 1131], Ch'en Yun [7115 0061], Wang Sheng-jung [3769 4141 2837], Teng Fa [6772 4099], Chen Tan-ch'iu [7115 3389 4428], Pan Han-nien [3382 3352 1628], Huang Chia-kao [7806 0502 7559], Chang Yun-hsien [1728 7189 0103], Chang Chin-lou [1728 6855 2869], Chou Shao-wen [0719 1421 2429], Ho Cheng-wu [0149 2182 0710], Ch'en Shou-ch'ang [7115 1108 2490], Huang Kuang-pao [7806 0342 0202], T'an Yu-pao [6223 0151 0202], Liu Shih-chieh [0491 1102 2638], Wang Chen [3769 7201], Kuang piao [2568 1753], P'eng Jen-ch'ang [1756 0088 2490], Jen Pi-shi [0117 1732 2514], Wu Te-feng [0702 1795 1496], Wang Hsiu-chang [3769 4423 4545], Hsiung Kuo-ping [3574 0948 3521], Yu Hung-yuan [0151 3163 6678], Li Wei-hai [2621 4850 3189], Ho Wei [0149 3956], Li Hsien-nien [2621 0341 1819], Tseng Kuang-lan [2582 0342 3482], Chou Kuang-k'un [0719 0342 0981], Li Ch'eng-chia [2621 2052 3946], Ch'en Tse-ch'ien [7115 1311 6197], Fang Chih-min [2455 1807 2404], Yu Han-ch'ao [0151 3352 2600], Huang Wan-sheng [7806 5502 3932], Wang Chin-hsiang [3076 6855 4282], Kuan Ying [7070 5391], T'u Cheng-nung [3205 2182 6593],

Kuan Ch'un-hsiang [7070 2504 7449], Wu Yu-chang [0702 3768 4545], Shih Ti-yuan [1136 0966 0337], Yang Chi-hsin [2799 0366 9515], Teng Cheng-hsun [6772 2182 6104], Ho Shu-heng [0149 0647 5899], Kao Tzu-li [7559 5261 4539], Liang Po-t'ai [2733 2672 0669], Hsu T'e-li [1776 0676 4539], Yuan Hsiao-hsien [7086 0876 0103], Teng Ying-chao [6772 7336 6389], Tung Pi-wu [5516 1801 2976], Chao Yun [6392 0061], Wang Hsien-hsuan [3769 6343 6693], Lo Tzu-ming [5012 2737 6900], Yang Shih-chu [2799 0013 3796] and Lai Mei-yu [6351 5019 3768].

The following 36 persons were elected as alternate members of the Central Executive Committee:

Yang Ping-lung [2799 3521 7893], Hsieh Cheng-fu [6200 2182 1381], Chiu Shih-feng [6726 2514 7364], Teng Yao-sheng [6772 1031 4141], Tung Ch'ang-sheng [5516 7022 0524], Liu Yi [0491 3015], Li Mei-ch'un [2621 5019 5028], Tsou Chung-ts'ai [6760 0022 2088], Hsu Shun-yuan [1776 7311 3180], Hsu Ming-fu [1776 2494 1381], Yeh Te-kuei [0673 1795 6311], Teng Tzu-hui [6772 2737 1863], Chu Yung-sheng [2612 2837 3932], Chia Yuan [6328 0337], Feng Hsueh-feng [7458 7185 1496], Li Yi-mang [2621 0001 3047], Li K'e-nung [2621 0344 6593], Chang Ai-p'ing [1728 1947 5493], Lo Yung-huan [5012 2837 2719], Li Tzu-wan [2621 6337 0029], Yen Li-chi [7346 4539 6068], Yin Jen-kuei [1438 0088 2710], Liu Yen-yu [0491 3601 3768], Fang Ching-he [2455 2417 0735], Hsieh Ping-huang [6200 3521 3552], Chung Yi-chin [6988 5030 6210], Huang Fu-wu [7806 1381 2976], Fang Cheng-hua [2455 2182 5478], Tsou Tun-hou [6760 2415 0624], Liao Han-hua [1675 3352 5478], Lung Chun-shan [7893 2504 1472], Hua Hsin-hsiang [5478 2450 3276], Chou Kuei-hsiang [0719 2710 7449], Kuan Chu-ch'uan [2568 2612 2938], Teng P'ing [6772 5493] and K'ang Ke-ch'ing [1660 0344 3237].

The Central Executive Committee is composed of 211 regular and alternate members. It will be the supreme political power after the All-Soviet Congress is concluded.

On 3 February, the Central Executive Committee convened its first meeting, and the following were unanimously elected to the 17-member Presidium, which will be the supreme political power organization after the conclusion of the Executive Committee meeting:

Mao Tse-tung, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, Chu Teh, Chang Wen-t'ien, Po Ku, Chou En-lai, Chu Ch'iu-po, Liu Shao-ch'i, Chen Yun, Lin Po-ch'u, Teng Cheng-hsun, Chu Ti-yuan [2612 0966 0337], Teng Fa, Fang Chi-min, Lo Mai and Chou Yueh-lin.

Mao Tse-tung was elected chairman and Hsiang Ying and Chang Kuo-tao vice chairmen of the Presidium.

Chang Wen-t'ien [Luo Pu - 3157 3184] was also elected as chairman of the People's Committee. Eleven people's departments have been set up under the People's Committee as administrative organs of the Central Government: Wang Chia-chiang, committee member for foreign affairs, Chu Teh for military affairs, Teng Cheng-hsun for labor affairs, Kao Tzu-li for land,

Lin Po-ch'u for finance, Wu Liang-p'ing for national economy, Cheng Tan-ch'iu for food grains, Liang Po-t'ai for judicial, Ts'eng Shan for interior, Chu Ch'iu-pai for education and Hsiang Ying for the worker-peasant procuratorate.

Chu Teh was elected as chairman of the Central Revolutionary Military Affairs Committee, Chou En-lai and Wang Chia-chiang as vice chairmen of the Military Affairs Committee.

Yuan Hsiao-hsien was elected as chairman of the Committee for Audits. Tung Pi-wu was appointed as chairman of the Provisional Supreme Court.

Besides accepting in full all of the fighting tasks assigned to us by the Second All-Soviet Congress, the Central Executive Committee called upon all cadres to urgently mobilize, step up the pace of their own work, mobilize the greatest number of workers and peasants to unite solidly around the Soviet Government, concentrate all forces, develop the Revolution and struggle to thoroughly smash the imperialist's and the Kuomintang's fifth "encirclement and suppression" and win victory for the Soviet throughout China!

Mao Tse-tung, Chairman. Hsiang Ying and Chang Kuo-tao, Vice Chairmen.

3 February 1934 A.D.

° "Red China," Vol 148, 12 February 1934.

* No 1 notice of the Central Executive Committee, Chinese Soviet Republic
5 February 1934.

8493

CSO: 4005

DECLARATION ON THE FUKIEN INCIDENT

11 February 1934

[Text] Masses of all China!

The so-called People's Revolutionary Government of Fukien, due to the armed intervention of Chiang Kai-shek and the surrender and sellout by the leaders of the People's Revolutionary Government, is finally defeated.

The leaders of the Fukien People's Revolutionary Government were severely attacked last year at Lien-ch'eng and Min-pei by our Workers and Peasants Red Army and Eastern Army. They now know that temporary concessions of the soviet and Red Army are the necessary condition for maintaining their available forces and rule. At the same time, the bankruptcy of the traitorous and oppressive Kuomintang rule, the growing anger and resistance of the tens of millions of worker-peasant masses to the imperialist Kuomintang and their sympathy and support for the anti-imperialist, anti-Kuomintang soviet Red Army gave the bureaucrats, politicians and militarists of the Fukien Kuomintang Provincial Government and 19th Route Army at that time no choice but to seek modes of rule besides those of the Kuomintang. They came to preserve the entire rule of the landlord and bourgeois class.

At that time, the bureaucrats, politicians and militarists of the Fukien Provincial Government and 19th Route Army first sent a special envoy, Hsu Ming-hung [1776 0682 7703], to the soviet Central Government where he indicated he was willing to accept the three provisions of the soviet Central Government and Revolutionary Military Committee, that is, 1) immediate halt to attacks on soviet areas; 2) immediate guarantee of freedoms and rights of the masses to speak, assemble, form associations and strike; and 3) immediate establishment of a volunteer army of the armed masses to safeguard China and to strive for the independence, unification and territorial integrity of China.

The soviet government completely understood this scheme of the bureaucrats, politicians and militarists of the Fukien Kuomintang Provincial Government and 19th Route Army of that time. All the empty words absolutely could not fool the leaders of the soviet government. On the other hand, according to

its own declaration, the soviet government was willing to provide real impetus and support to all anti-imperialist and anti-Chiang plans. The soviet government and Worker-Peasants Red Army of that time, with the representatives of the Fukien Provincial Government and 19th Route Army permitted to accept all of our demands and conditions, and according to our own basic revolutionary position, drew up a preliminary agreement with them. From the very beginning, the leaders of the soviet government told the representatives of the Fukien Provincial Government and 19th Route Army that only if they resolutely wage and back the anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist, anti-Chiang revolutionary struggle of the broad masses, arm them and give them all the democratic freedoms and rights, can they save the Chinese nation from perishing. Any reformist deceptive propaganda can only serve as an additional tool for the imperialist Kuomintang.

After the representatives of the Fukien Provincial Government and 19th Route Army drew up the preliminary agreement with the soviet government and Worker-Peasant Red Army, they stated that they would separate from the Kuomintang, announced some "left" reformist political programs and openly published declarations opposing Chiang Kai-shek of the Nanking Kuomintang Government. This was just lip service. In reality, they still colluded with the Japanese and American imperialists as before and toadied to them. They kept silent and did not make a sound about the provocations of the Japanese ronin in Foochow. In respect to allowing democratic rights for the masses and arming the masses, on the pretext that it was wartime, they did not make good on any of their promises. As for the workers, peasants and all toilers, not only did they not have any concrete methods to improve their life but on the contrary, they made every effort to prohibit the workers' struggle to strike and the peasants' struggle to resist the landlords and seize land. Militarily, they completely took the defeatist line. Faced with Chiang Kai-shek's relentless attacks, first of all they offered no concrete military deployment whatsoever and then they surrendered and sold out again and again, from the direct mutiny of Ssu-t'u Fei [0674 1778 7236] and T'an Ch'i-hsiu [6223 0796 4423] to Shen Kuang-han [3098 0342 3352], Mao Wei-shou [3029 4850 1108], Ou Shou-nien [0575 1108 1628] and Chang Yen [1728 3508]. The militarists of the 19th Route Army, the likes of Chiang Kuang-ting [5592 0342 7844] and Ts'ai T'ing-chieh [5591 1694 6946], retreated without a fight and surrendered the Kwangtung militarists to save themselves. Many other bureaucrats and politicians, the likes of Ch'en Ming-shu [7115 6900 2873], Ch'en Yu-jen [7115 0645 0088] and Huang Ch'i-hsiang [7806 3825 5046], spent all day in empty talk and deceiving the masses. As soon as they heard a shot they flew away as chickens, scattered as dogs and fled for their lives to imperialist legations and warships. Although our Red Army had already taken positive action in Min-pei and occupied Sha-hsien to Yu-ch'i in order to coordinate their anti-Chiang struggle, it was still of no help to those packs of jackals.

The soviet government and the Worker and Peasant Red Army had already warned the People's Revolutionary Government again according to the preliminary agreement that only by realizing every provision of the agreement and

launching the revolutionary struggle of the broad masses could they defeat the armed attacks of Chiang Kai-shek and go right on to oppose the Japanese imperialists. The warning of the soviet government and Worker-Peasant Red Army could not get the attention of the bureaucrats, politicians and militarists in the People's Revolutionary Government. They looked on the masses as enemies and they did not have the slightest difference from other Kuomintang bureaucrats, politicians and militarists. As a result, just as we said, the People's Revolutionary Government, faced with Chiang Kai-shek, concluded its sad fate of over 50 days.

Masses of all China! You can see fully from the preliminary agreement drawn up by the soviet government and the People's Revolutionary Government and from the soviet government's detelegram how the soviet government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are unwavering in the struggle to oppose Japanese imperialism and its lackey Chiang Kai-shek and for the thorough liberation of the Chinese nation. All the facts prove that only the soviet government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are the anti-imperialist vanguard that can liberate China from the iron heel of the imperialist Kuomintang. All the reformist factions, from the Productive Masses Party, Social Democratic Party and Third Party, right down to the Trotskyite Ch'en Tu-hsiu [7115 3747 4423] liquidationists were all nothing but yes-men to the imperialist Kuomintang and accomplices with the imperialist Kuomintang in opposing the Chinese revolutionary masses!

The soviet Central Government and the Revolutionary Military Committee declare once more to the masses of all China, revolutionary soldiers and all armed ranks, that just because of the defeat of the Fukien People's Revolutionary Government or the breaking of the agreement by the bureaucrats, politicians and militarists in the People's Revolutionary Government, the soviet government absolutely will not forsake [two characters deleted] the proposals of the battle agreement drawn up and fought for under the three conditions of the past. On the contrary, through the Fukien incident, every worker, every peasant, every soldier, every intellectual and anti-Japanese Chinese can see even more clearly that the soviet government, not in lip service but in actual deed, is willing to unite with all the armed forces which can truly resist Japn and oppose Chiang and strive for the independence, freedom and liberation of the Chinese nation. All those who can truly resist Japan and oppose Chiang as well as all anti-imperialist and anti-Kuomintang forces can obtain strong guidance and support from the soviet government and Worker-Peasant Red Army but the soviet government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army will continue to attack and expose mercilessly all counterrevolutionary reformist factions which attempt to preserve imperialism and the Chinese landlord and bourgeois rule with empty promises and deceptive propaganda.

Masses of all China! The disastrous history of the Fukien People's Revolutionary Government pointed out again that only with your own brave, resolute struggle can you finally overthrow the rule of the imperialist Kuomintang and assure China's independence, freedom and territorial integrity. The victorious and successful experience of tens of millions of workers in the vast soviet areas of China tells you that only the soviet road can attain the national and social liberation of the masses nationwide! If you oppose the attacks of the imperialist Kuomintang against the soviet areas and safeguard the Chinese soviet, you are safeguarding the Chinese revolution and assuring your own victory!

Anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist forces of all China unite!

Smash the five "encirclement and suppression" of the imperialist Kuomintang!

Down with Japanese and all imperialism!

Down with the traitorous Nanking Kuomintang Government and all Kuomintang governments!

Long live anti-imperialist soviet China!

11 February 1934

° "Red China," No 149, 14 February 1934

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China.

Chu Teh, Chairman of the Revolutionary Military Committee.

7755

CSO: 4005

ORGANIC LAW OF THE CENTRAL SOVIET

17 February 1934

[Text] Order of the Executive Committee, Provisional Central Government,
Chinese Soviet Republic

The Organic Law of the Central Soviet, Chinese Soviet Republic, is hereby
proclaimed.

First writing

17 February 1934

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet
Republic of China

Hsiang Ying, vice chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, vice chairman

Chapter 1. General Rules

. Article 1

This organic law is drawn up in accordance with the general principles of the
Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic. The central organs of political
power of the soviet must be organized in accordance with this law.

Chapter 2. All-China Soviet Congress

Article 2

The All-China Soviet Congress is the highest organ of political power of the
Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 3

The representatives to the All-China Soviet Congress are elected from each of the provincial Soviet congresses, Soviet congresses of counties directly subordinate to the Central Government and Red Army.

Article 4

The All-China Soviet Congress is convened once every 2 years by the Central Executive Committee. If it cannot meet due to special circumstances, the meeting time is postponed.

Article 5

An ad-hoc Congress of the All-China Soviet is convened automatically when necessary by the Central Executive Committee or when local soviets representing one-third of the population of the whole country demand that the Central Executive Committee convene it.

Article 6

The All-China Soviet Congress hears reports by the Central Executive Committee and discusses them, draws up and revises the Constitution and other laws, decides the general political policy of the whole country and reorganizes the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter 3. Central Executive Committee

Article 7

The Central Executive Committee is the supreme organ of political power when the All-China Soviet Congress is not in session.

Article 8

The membership of the Central Executive Committee is not to exceed 585 persons.

Article 9

A plenary session of the Central Executive Committee is convened once every 6 months by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee. If it cannot meet due to special circumstances, the meeting time is postponed.

Article 10

An ad-hoc session of the Central Executive Committee is convened by resolution of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee or on demand by over one-half the membership of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 11

The Central Executive Committee of the All-China Soviet Congress is responsible for making working reports to the All-China Soviet Congress.

Article 12

The Central Executive Committee promulgates various laws and orders and puts them into effect throughout the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 13

The Central Executive Committee reviews and ratifies all nationwide political and economic policies and changes in the state organs.

Article 14

The Central Executive Committee has the right to suspend and alter decrees and resolutions of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, People's Council and other organs.

Article 15

The Central Executive Committee elects the Presidium, the membership of which is not to exceed 25 persons. It also elects one chairman and two to four vice chairmen.

Article 16

The Central Executive Committee elects the People's Council and its chairman. Those elected to the People's Council should be members of the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter 4. Presidium of the Central Executive Committee

Article 17

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee is the highest organ of political power nationwide when the Central Executive Committee is not in session.

Article 18

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee supervises the implementation of the Constitution of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the decrees and resolutions of the All-China Soviet Congress.

Article 19

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee has the right to suspend or alter resolutions and decrees of the people's commissariats.

Article 20

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee has the right to suspend or alter the resolutions and decrees of the people's commissariats.

Article 21

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee has the right to promulgate various laws and orders and it has the right to review and ratify decrees, regulations and orders proposed by the People's Council and by the people's commissariats and other subordinate organs.

Article 22

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee settles problems on relations between the People's Council and the people's commissariats and problems on the relations between the provincial soviets.

Article 23

The Presidium of the Central Executive Committee bears full responsibility to the Central Executive Committee and must make working reports to the Central Executive Committee.

Chapter 5. Powers of the All-China Soviet Congress and Central Executive Committee

Article 24

The powers of the All-China Soviet Congress and Central Executive Committee are stipulated as follows:

- (1) To promulgate and amend the Constitution.
(Note) This item is the exclusive right of the All-China Soviet Congress.
- (2) To conclude various foreign treaties and ratify international treaties on behalf of the Chinese Soviet Republic.
- (3) To draw up the system and organization of courts and promulgate civil, criminal and litigational laws.
- (4) To promulgate the Labor Law, Land Law, Election Law, Marriage Law, Soviet Organic Law and all special laws.

- (5) To decide the general direction of domestic and foreign policy.
- (6) To revise state boundaries.
- (7) To define the powers of the local soviets and solve disputes between local soviets.
- (8) To divide up administrative units, with the right to establish and remold or dissolve local organs of political power.
- (9) To declare war and make peace.
- (10) To fix weights, measures and currency.
- (11) To issue bonds at home and abroad.
- (12) To review and ratify the budget and final account.
- (13) To set the tax rate.
- (14) To organize and direct the armed forces.
- (15) To establish the civil rights of the nation of the Chinese Soviet Republic and the residency and civil rights of other nationalities living in the territory of the Chinese Soviet Republic.
- (16) To declare total or partial amnesty.
- (17) To establish the general principles of national education.
- (18) To appoint and remove the members and chairmen of the People's Council.
- (19) To formulate policies and plans for industry, agriculture, commerce and communications.
- (20) To conclude treaties on behalf of the Chinese Soviet Republic with nationalities in the territory of China to organize soviet federal republics.
- (21) To exercise the right to replace and alter the membership of the subordinate Soviet Executive committees.

Chapter 6. People's Council

Article 25

The People's Council is the administrative organ of the Central Executive Committee and is responsible for directing the political affairs of the whole country.

Article 26

The People's Council consists of the following members:

- (1) The Chairman of the People's Council,
- (2) The People's Commissar of Foreign Affairs
- (3) The People's Commissar of Labor,
- (4) The People's Commissar of Land,
- (5) The People's Commissar of Military Affairs,
- (6) The People's Commissar of Finance,
- (7) The People's Commissar of National Economy,
- (8) The People's Commissar of Food,
- (9) The People's Commissar of Education,
- (10) The People's Commissar of Internal Affairs,
- (11) The People's Commissar of Justice,
- (12) The Chairman of the Worker-Peasant Procurators Committee.

Note (1): As the need arises, the people's commissars may be increased by the Central Executive Committee at any time.

Note (2) The name, people's commissar, can be applied only to the members of the People's Council. Other central and local committee members cannot use this name.

Article 27

With the object of suppressing counterrevolution, the State Bureau of Political Security is established as a separate organization under the People's Council.

Article 28

To reach the objective of Article 25 of this Organic Law, the People's Council, within the scope set by the Central Executive Committee, promulgates various decrees and regulations and adopts appropriate administrative guidelines to maintain speed and orderliness in administration.

Article 29

The resolutions of, and the various degrees and regulations promulgated by, the People's Council must be reported to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 30

Resolutions of the People's Council, such as those pertaining to the general political policy, should be submitted to the Central Executive Committee or its Presidium for review and ratification. In case of emergency, however, the People's Council must settle the issue and report to the Central Executive Committee or its Presidium.

Article 31

The People's Council has the right to review, revise or suspend decrees and resolutions proposed by the people's commissariats.

Article 32

When the people's commissariats and provincial soviet executive committees disagree with the resolutions and decrees of the People's Council, they may present their opinion to the Central Executive Committee or its Presidium but they must not suspend enforcement.

Article 33

The People's Council is responsible to the Central Executive Committee and its Presidium for making reports to them periodically.

Chapter 7. Supreme Court

Article 34

To ensure the effectiveness of the revolutionary laws of the Chinese Soviet Republic, the Supreme Court is established under the Central Executive Committee.

Article 35

The Supreme Court includes a president and two vice presidents appointed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 36

Under the Supreme Court, are established criminal courts, civil courts and military courts, each with a director.

Article 37

The jurisdiction of the Supreme Court is stipulated as follows:

- (1) To make legal interpretations of the general laws.
- (2) To review the decisions and resolutions of the provincial courts and higher military courts.
- (3) To review cases of violation of the law by members of the higher organs, excluding members of the Central Executive Committee, committed during their term of office (cases of violation of the law by members of the Central Executive Committee are handled separately by the Central Executive Committee or Presidium),
- (4) To try cases appealed against decisions of the provincial courts or higher military courts or cases in which the procurator lodges a protest in disagreement with decisions by the provincial courts or higher military courts.

Article 38

A committee is organized in the Supreme Court, its membership stipulated as needed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, with the president of the Supreme Court as its chairman, to discuss and decide important questions and cases on the functions and powers of the Supreme Court.

Article 39

The Supreme Court includes a chief procurator, a vice chief procurator and a number of procurators. The chief procurator and vice chief procurator are appointed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 40

The detailed organization of the Supreme Court is set down elsewhere.

Chapter 8. Audit Committee

Article 41

The Audit Committee is established under the Central Executive Committee. Its functions and powers are:

- (1) To audit the state annual revenues and expenditures.
- (2) To supervise the administration of the state budget.

Article 42

The Audit Committee consists of five to nine members appointed by the Central Executive Committee.

Article 43

The Audit Committee establishes a chairman and vice chairman. The other members are installed as needed.

Chapter 9. People's Commissariats and Councils of Commissars

Article 44

Under the People's Council are established the People's Commissariats of Foreign Affairs, Labor, Land, Military Affairs, Finance, National Economy, Food, Education, Internal Affairs and Justice.

Article 45

The people's commissariats include one or two deputy people's commissars, appointed by the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee, to assist in the work of the people's commissars and to assume the duties of the people's commissar when the people's commissar is absent.

Article 46

To facilitate the work of the people's commissariats, councils of commissars are established under the people's commissariats to discuss and recommend working organs for the commissariats.

Article 47

The members of the councils of commissars are appointed by the People's Council. The membership is increased or decreased as stipulated at any time by the People's Council. The people's commissars are the ex officio chairmen of the councils of commissars of the commissariats.

Article 48

Each people's commissar has the sole power to solve all problems in his jurisdiction. However, important problems must be submitted to the Council of Commissars of the commissariat for discussion. If the Council of Commissars differs with the decision of the people's commissar, it has the right to submit it to the People's Council or to the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee.

Article 49

The duties and detailed organization of the people's commissariats are set down elsewhere.

Article 50

The functions, powers and organization of the Revolutionary Military Commission and Worker-Peasant Procurators Committee are set down elsewhere.

Chapter 10. Supplementary Provision

Article 51

This Organic Law goes into effect from the day of proclamation.

° Document of the Second All-China Congress of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

March 1934.

7755

CSO: 4005

PROVISIONAL REGULATIONS GOVERNING THE UTILIZATION OF AUXILIARY LABOR

20 February 1934

[Text] Order of the Executive Committee, Provisional Central Government, Chinese Soviet Republic.

The Provisional Regulations Governing the Utilization of Auxiliary Labor are hereby proclaimed.

Third writing.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Soviet Republic of China

Hsiang Ying, vice chairman

Chang Kuo-t'ao, vice chairman

Article 1

These regulations are drawn up in accordance with the provisions of Note 1, Article 1 of the Labor Law promulgated 15 October 1933. All rely on their own labor for their livelihood but middle peasants, poor peasants, small boat operators and small handicraftsmen with insufficient labor who employ the labor of others to assist their own labor insufficiency, so long as they observe these regulations, are exempt from the various restrictions of the Labor Law. However, rich peasants who regularly exploit the labor of others and enterprises, organs, shops and workshops which regularly employ two or more persons, cannot apply these regulations.

Article 2

The labor placement procedures for employing auxiliary labor are carried out in accordance with the general provisions of the Labor Law on hiring procedures. During the busy farming season or other periods of seasonal work, the employer who employs seasonal workers must recruit his own laborers but he must report to the employment agent.

Article 3

The average actual working hours per day for laborers hired as auxiliary labor cannot exceed 8 hours. The worker can, if he wishes, work overtime, providing the overtime does not exceed 4 hours in 2 consecutive days.

Article 4

The average actual working hours per day for minors hired as auxiliary labor generally cannot exceed 6 hours but when the job requires the equivalent of an adult's working time, with the agreement of the employee, the employer can require the employee to extend the appropriate working hours and work overtime but such working hours have the same restrictions as the same job done by an adult.

Article 5

The actual working time and break time per day are agreed on by both the employer and employee before the job. If it amounts to full-time for a month it must be agreed on in a contract.

Article 6

There should be one to two breaks in the morning and afternoon every day for tea and smoking breaks. At noon there should be a longer break for eating and a nap. These breaks are not included in figuring the actual work hours.

(Note:) Women nurse their children during the break time.

Article 7

On a full-time, month-long job, for every legal holiday that should be taken off with pay but that is not taken off on the day of the holiday, within an appropriate time, a number of compensatory days may be taken off.

Article 8

Commemoration days stipulated in the Labor Law and local revolutionary commemoration days stipulated by the local governments are holidays for all. Those who do conduct work on commemoration days, no matter whether it is full-time for a month or part-time, must obtain the agreement of the worker and pay all double time.

Article 9

Vacation time limits, vacation procedures and wages for vacation periods for laborers hired as auxiliary labor who work continuously for over 5 1/2 months, are governed by Articles 26, 27 and 28 of the Labor Law.

Article 10

The amount of wages due and payment procedures for all laborers hired as auxiliary labor, must be stipulated in a contract. If it is part-time work, it must be agreed upon by both the employer and worker before the job but it can never be less than the minimum wage promulgated by the local government.

Article 11

Wages are paid mainly in the local common currency but with the agreement of the employee, goods may be substituted for wages.

Article 12

Wages cannot be postponed. The pay day for each pay period of a full-time month-long job must be stipulated in a contract.

Article 13

Overtime wages must be paid for overtime work beyond the legal hours. The payment procedures for overtime wages must be stipulated in a contract. If it is part-time, it must be agreed upon before the job.

Article 14

For all those who perform work hazardous to the health (such as carrying manure or dismantling or demolishing houses), the employer must provide the employee with gear such as aprons and must provide special food such as eggs and meat.

Article 15

The employee's lodging site must be placed in a clean, healthy location. The employee cannot be ordered to lodge close to ash sheds, stables or outhouses. In cold weather, the employee must be provided cotton quilts and in hot weather, must be provided mosquito netting or mosquito repellent.

Article 16

The meals the employer serves to the employee must be the same as the employer's and there must be enough food.

Article 17

Women employees, if full-time, must be given 2 months leave with pay before and after giving birth. Wages for this leave time must be paid by the employer.

Article 18

If an employee who undertakes a full-time job to last continuously for over 6 months gets sick or injured after completing 2 months, medical care and wages are provided for 1 month by the employer. Those who have not completed 2 months are governed by Article 19.

Article 19

If an employee who undertakes a job by the month to last continuously for over 3 months gets sick or injured after completing 1 month, the employer is responsible for medical care and wages for 1 week. Those who have not completed 1 month are governed by Article 20.

Article 20

If those working by the month for a month get sick or injured after completing 10 days, the employer is responsible for medical care and wages for 3 days. Those who have not completed 10 days are governed by Article 21

Article 21

If an employee on part-time day-work gets sick or injured on the job, wages and medicine for that day must be provided.

Article 22

If a laborer who is hired as auxiliary labor dies during the period of employment, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with funeral expenses. This allowance is paid according to the following procedures:

(1) If a full-time employee dies from a work-related illness or injury, no matter whether the employee is permanent or temporary, an allowance of 2 months of the employee's wages must be provided. If the death is due to ordinary causes, if the employee has worked 1 full month, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with 1 1/2 months of the employee's wages as a death and funeral allowance. If the employee has not worked 1 full month, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with 1 month of the employee's wages as a death and funeral allowance.

(2) If an employee hired by the month dies from a work-related illness or injury, whether the employee is permanent or temporary, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with 1 month of the employee's wages as a death allowance. If the death is due to an ordinary illness or injury, if the employee has worked 10 full days, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with half-a-month of the employee's wages as a death and funeral allowance. If the employee has not worked 10 full days, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with 10 days of the employee's wages as a death and funeral allowance.

(3) If a part-time employee dies from a work-related injury, the employer must provide the employee's dependents with 10 yuan for the employee's funeral expenses.

Article 23

These regulations go into effect the day of proclamation.

° (Provisional Regulations Governing the Utilization of Auxiliary Labor)

* Compilation of Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, Vol 5, 1935.

7755

CSO: 4005

JUDICIAL PROCEDURE

8 April 1934

[Text] By Order of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic No 5

This is a proclamation of the promulgated judicial procedure of the Chinese Soviet Republic, 8 April 1934

Mao Tse-tung, chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, vice chairmen

In the situation of a civil war, the soviet courts, political security bureaus, committee for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and other organs should adopt speedily resolute and correct methods to suppress counterrevolutionaries and guarantee the victory of the revolutionary people, and consolidate the soviet regime. The following judicial procedures have, therefore, been specially set forth:

1. The special agent of the area Security Bureau, the area Procurator's Court, the area Committee for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries (that is under the Revolutionary Committee of the new soviet areas), the People's Police, Labor courts all have the authority to arrest counterrevolutionaries and others who should be apprehended. The law prohibiting the area from arresting a person without permission from higher levels should be abolished, and it is also set forth that when there is an emergency, the township and city soviets and the rural and urban revolutionary committees have the authority to arrest counterrevolutionaries and other important criminals provided they have received the support of the local revolutionary masses. After apprehension they are to be handed over to counterrevolutionary suppression organizations of the area level.
2. The Procurator's Court and the Committee for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries of the soviet area have the authority to bring to trial and sentence all local criminals (counterrevolutionaries and others as well).

At times of emergency mobilizations (such as the land inspection movement, the expansion of the Red Army and launching surprise attacks), the Procurator Department of the area, the area Committee for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries, with the support of the revolutionary people, have the right to apprehend criminals such as gentry and landlords in the new border areas, areas where the enemy is carrying out its offensives and, in areas where counterrevolution is especially active, have them executed immediately after they have been tried. After the sentence has been carried out, however, it must be reported to higher echelons for handling.

3. The procurator departments of the county and provincial levels, the Committee for the Suppression of Counterrevolutionaries, the preliminary level and higher courts of the military all have the authority to apprehend, bring to trial and sentence, as well as carrying out the sentencing (including the death sentence) of all criminals.

4. The state's bureaus of political security at various levels have the authority to pre-try all cases concerning counterrevolution. They are to be handed over to the courts for handling afterward. The security bureaus of the border areas and of the Red Army on the fronts have the authority to take direct action against enemy spying, against fascist imperialists, armed groups of bandits and counterrevolutionary landlords and gentry without going through the courts. Emergency action may be taken by the State Political Security Bureau and its local bureaus, the branch bureau of the Red Army and the military zone in serious and urgent cases of counterrevolution. If disputes arise between the local government and military and political leaders or other organizations after action was taken, the decision to decide the correctness or error of the action rests with the People's Committee and with the provincial presidium in areas which are not connected with the Central Soviet area.

5. The system of approval from higher levels is abolished and the system of reporting to higher echelons will be carried out instead. Criminals are permitted to appeal if they are not satisfied with the sentence meted out. The period of appeal available will be 7 days at a maximum, beginning from the day the document of judgment is handed over to the defendant (verbal explanations must be given to illiterates).

In areas under enemy attack and under other emergency situations, the right to appeal may be refused in cases of counterrevolution or landlords and gentry who have committed crimes.

6. It is hereby resolved that the soviet courts will function on a two-level system of preliminary hearings and final trials. If preliminary hearings are held by the area, the county will carry out the final trial. When the county is the one that carries out the preliminary hearings, the final trial will be held at the provincial level. If the military courts happen to be the organs holding the preliminary hearings, then the final trial will be held by the Supreme Court. In the structure of trial functions the Supreme

Court is the final organization. All cases cannot be appealed after proceeding through these two trials and sentence passed. But, should the procurator feel that there are points of disagreements after going through the two trials, he can protest against a judicial organization and have the case retried.

7. Except for those organizations so named in this functional system, no other organizations will have the authority to apprehend, bring to trial and pass judgment on any criminals. Only emergency situations are the exceptions.

8. The judicial procedures set forth in the provisional procedures of military courts published on 1 February 1932, the provisional trial procedures and organizations of courts, published on 9 June 1932 and Ordinance No 6 proclaimed by the Central Executive Committee on 16 December 1931 are herewith rescinded.

° Dictionary of Soviet Laws, Vol 2. Department of the People's Committee on Judicial Procedures (Moscow), July 1934.

* Compilation of the Red Bandit Reactionary Documents, 1935.

8439

CSO: 4005

REGULATIONS GOVERNING PUNISHMENTS OF COUNTERREVOLUTIONARIES

8 April 1934

[Text] By Order of the Chinese Soviet Republic Central Executive Committee,
No 6

Directive on the proclamation of the laws governing the punishment of counter-
revolutionaries, 8 April 1934

Mao Tse-tung, chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, vice chairmen

Article 1

Punishment will be meted out in accordance with these laws to all who are
guilty of the offenses listed regardless of whether he is Chinese or a
foreigner, or whether the crime was committed within or without the terri-
tories of the Chinese Soviet Republic.

Article 2

Regardless of the means used, all attempts to overthrow or sabotage the
authority of the Soviet Government and the authority won by the worker-
peasant revolution in order to preserve or restore the rulers of the gentry
class or the landlord bourgeoisie are counterrevolutionary activities.

(Note:) The term counterrevolutionary criminal activities against the
Soviet or within the Soviet territories includes all criminal activities
against the revolution, against the revolutionary committee or areas under
its jurisdiction.

Article 3

The death penalty will be passed on those who organize armed forces against
the revolution and groups of bandits to aggress on the territories of the
soviets, or those who incite the people residing within the soviet terri-
tories to engage in counterrevolutionary activities.

Article 4

All those who collude with the imperialist Kuomintang warlords to attack Soviet territories by force, or resist the movements of the Red Army will be given the death sentence.

Article 5

Organizers of various counterrevolutionary groups to oppose or sabotage the Soviet in an attempt to preserve or restore the rulers of the gentry class and the landlord bourgeoisie shall be given the death penalty. A minimum of 3 years' imprisonment will be given to those offenders of lesser gravity.

Article 6

Organizing or inciting the people to refuse payment of taxes or from discharging other obligations in order to harm the Soviet will be given the death sentence. A minimum of 1 year imprisonment will be imposed on those with lesser offenses.

Article 7

The death penalty will be passed on those who deliberately oppose or sabotage the various laws and other various enterprises engaged in by the Soviet with the objective to counter the revolution. Lesser offenders will be given a minimum of 1 year imprisonment.

Article 8

Those who infiltrated Soviet organizations or Soviet enterprises in order to rob the Soviet of its political power or its enterprises with the objective of countering the revolution will be given the death sentence. Where circumstances are of lesser gravity, a minimum sentence of 2 years will be imposed.

Article 9

With counterrevolution as the objective, those who commit murder or harmful acts against the Soviet Government, the Red Army, workers of revolutionary groups and other revolutionaries, the person who gave the instructions or the person who actually performs the act will receive the death penalty, regardless of the means used.

Article 10

Anyone who spies, or who passes along, steals or collects various sensitive materials of state on military secrets with the objective of counterrevolution or to seek rewards in the service of the counterrevolutionaries will be given the death penalty. Those who are lazy in performance of duties and unwittingly reveal these aforementioned secrets will receive a sentence of from 1 to 5 years.

Article 11

The death penalty will be given to those who have held positions of high responsibilities with the counterrevolutionary rulers and actively oppose the interests of the workers and peasants and the revolutionary movement. The penalty may be commuted to a lesser one when the circumstances are special.

Article 12

Those who with counterrevolution as their objective use reactionary literature, pictures, lectures and discussions to encourage and make propaganda to residents and Red fighters, or create rumors to bring panic to society, sabotage the confidence in the Soviet and the Red Army, will be sentenced to death. Lighter offenses will be given imprisonment of 6 months or more.

Article 13

Manufacturing and retaining various literature, pictures, of a provocative nature to use in making counterrevolutionary propaganda will be sentenced to imprisonment from 1 to 5 years.

Article 14

Using religious superstition to instigate people to sabotage the Soviet and its laws with counterrevolution in mind will be given the death penalty. Lighter offenses will be given terms of imprisonment for a period of 6 months or more.

Article 15

The death penalty will be given to those (revolutionary renegades) who surrender to the counterrevolution and turn over to them all State secrets, or actively help the counterrevolution to oppose the Soviet and the Red Army.

Article 16

Those taking weapons and other military supplies and surrendering to the enemy, persuading or organizing others to surrender to the enemy will all be sentenced to death.

Article 17

The death penalty will be given to those who infiltrate revolutionary armed troops in an attempt to sabotage or take over to help the enemy with the objective of countering the revolution.

Article 18

The death penalty will be given to all who lead or organize Red fighters to flee. This also applies to individual Red fighters going AWOL. Penalties may be commuted under special circumstances.

Article 19

Those who with counterrevolution as the objective take to deliberately destroying or discarding weapons and other military supplies or who secretly sell military supplies to the enemy will all be given the death penalty. A minimum of 1 year imprisonment will be given to lighter offenses.

Article 20

The death penalty is for all who, with counterrevolution as their objective, deliberately disobey the orders of their commanders in an attempt to sabotage certain combat tasks, or deliberately fire on their own troops at the front, or try to create confusion when the opportunity occurs.

Article 21

Anyone who, with counterrevolution in mind, wantonly kills revolutionary people or destroys their properties, hurting the honor and trust enjoyed by the Soviet and the Red Army, will be given the death penalty. A sentence of 6 months or more will be given to offenses of lighter nature.

Article 22

Surreptitious stocking of arms, in an attempt to achieve the objective of counterrevolution, will draw the death penalty.

Article 23

Those who organize secret organizations, with counterrevolution in mind, sabotaging land and water transportations, public granaries, state enterprises and other buildings will receive the death sentence. For lighter offenses imprisonment of 6 months and over will be imposed.

Article 24

Arson activities against buildings and forests, with counterrevolution as the objective, causing great damages to the State and the people will incur the death penalty. Six months or more imprisonment will be given for lighter offenders.

Article 25

Printing or bringing in counterfeit Soviet currency, bonds or letters of credit to sabotage the economy of the Chinese Soviet Republic, will result in the death penalty. Those who instigate the people to refuse acceptance of Soviet currency or bring about market panic through the manipulation of Soviet currency, or instigate the people to refuse paying taxes to Soviet banks or hoard large amounts of cash, or surreptitiously sending out large amounts of cash to other areas in a deliberate attempt to confuse the money market of the Soviet will be given the death penalty. Six months or more of imprisonment will be imposed on lesser offenses.

Article 26

Blocking or sabotaging the trade of the Soviet, with counterrevolution as the objective, causing damages to State enterprises, cooperatives and the people, or deliberately closing down enterprises to bring about an economic crisis will result in the death sentence. Lesser offenders will receive imprisonment of 1 year or more.

Article 27

Anyone posing under the name of the Red Army or a revolutionary group and forging public and private seals and documents of the Red Army or of the revolutionary groups, to carry out counterrevolutionary activities, will be sentenced to death. Six months or more of imprisonment will be imposed for lesser offenders.

Article 28

Infiltrating Soviet organizations with counterrevolution as the objective, deliberately condoning criminal activities of counterrevolutionary elements or landlord bourgeoisie or allowing them to escape are crimes punishable by death. Anyone who passes light sentences for serious crimes, falsely accusing revolutionary elements and subjecting them to cruel punishments, or suppresses charges brought against counterrevolutionaries shall be sentenced to death. For lesser offenses, sentences of 2 years or more will be passed.

Article 29

Death will be the penalty for those who secretly return to the Soviet areas after their expulsion, in order to engage in counterrevolutionary activities.

Article 30

Hiding or assisting the various criminals described under articles 3 through 29, will be considered the same as crimes described under those articles.

Article 31

Heavier sentences will be imposed on those who have been sentenced by the courts for one or more of the crimes listed under articles 3 through 30 and again commit one or more of the same crimes.

Article 32

Penalties may be reduced for those who engaged in the criminal acts listed under these articles but had not been able to achieve the objective (uncommitted crime), thereby becoming an accessory.

Article 33

Should anyone be threatened by others to commit a crime, or not realize the ultimate purpose of the criminal act or not be directly connected with the crime, his sentence could either be commuted or he could be set free, in accordance with the regulations stipulated in these articles.

Article 34

Worker and peasant criminals who are not leaders, or whose crimes are not serious, should be given lighter sentences than those of the landlord bourgeoisie, in accordance with the stipulations of these articles.

Article 35

For those who rendered meritorious service to the Soviet, sentences for their crimes should be lightened, in accordance with the stipulations carried in the articles.

Article 36

Those who confess the crimes they commit before being discovered, or who are detected but repent and honestly report the details of the crime to help organizations for the suppression of counterrevolutionaries and expose co-conspirators should have their sentences lightened in accordance with the stipulations of the articles.

Article 37

Lighter sentences should be given to those under the age of 16 who commit the crimes stipulated. Children under 14 years of age should be handed over to educational organizations or rehabilitation education.

Article 38

Counterrevolutionary crimes not included in these articles will be handled under those articles containing stipulations of crimes of a similar nature.

Article 39

Anyone committing one or more of the crimes listed under these articles shall have all or part of his assets confiscated, in addition to the sentence. All or part of his citizenship rights shall be stripped.

Article 40

The maximum term of imprisonment stipulated in these articles is set at 10 years.

Article 41

This law becomes effective as of the date of proclamation,

- ° Soviet Laws, Vol 2, The People's Committee for Judicial Affairs (Moscow), July 1934.
- * Compilation of Reactionary Documents of the Red Bandits, Vol 5, 1935.

8439

CSO: 4005

MARRIAGE LAW

8 April 1934

[Text] By Order of the Central Executive Committee of the Chinese Soviet Republic, No 7

This is a proclamation of the marriage laws. The marriage laws announced by the Chinese Soviet Republic on 1 December 1931 are hereby rescinded.

8 April 1934.

Mao Tse-tung, chairman

Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-t'ao, vice chairmen

Chapter 1. General Rules

Article 1

Marriage is based upon the principle of freedom. All systems such as contract marriages, forced marriages and the buying and selling of marriages are voided. Child wives are prohibited.

Article 2

The law will be based upon monogamy. Polygamy and polyandry are prohibited.

Chapter 2. Marriage

Article 3

Ages of men and women eligible for marriage will be 20 for the former and 18 for the latter.

Article 4

There should be mutual agreement between both parties in marriage. Coercion by one side or by a third party is not permitted.

Article 5

Marriage between people who are related within the third generation is prohibited.

Article 6

Marriage is prohibited for people with such dangerous, contagious diseases as venereal disease, leprosy and tuberculosis. But those who have been examined by a doctor and found marriageable are excepted.

Article 7

People who are insane or suffer from paralysis are prohibited from being married.

Article 8

In order to marry the man and woman must go together to the village or city ward soviet for registration and to obtain a marriage license. Betrothal fees, presents and dowaries are all prohibited.

Article 9

Regardless of whether there has been registration, cohabitation is considered as marriage.

Chapter 3. Divorce

Article 10

It is resolved that there should be freedom of divorce. Divorce may be granted when either the man or the woman is firm in requesting it.

Article 11

When the wife of a Red Army fighter requests a divorce, the husband must give his agreement. In areas where postal communication is feasible and there has been no correspondence from the husband for 2 years, the wife may request divorce from the local government. In areas where communications are difficult, the time required will be 4 years.

Article 12

Divorces must be registered with the township or city soviets.