

Mao Tze-Tung:

Production For Victory

This is a full text of an important address by Mao Tze-tung, chairman of the Central Committee, Chinese Communist Party, delivered at a meeting of Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area cadres on-April first. The title and subcaptions are our own—Editor.

COMRADES! To-day I want to talk mainly about some questions connected with the work in the Shansi-Suiyuan Region, and next I will speak about some questions connected with the work throughout the nation.

I

AGRARIAN REFORM—A SUCCESS

I consider the agrarian reform work and the work of purification and reorganization of the Party in the areas under the leadership of the Shansi-Suiyuan Sub-Bureau in the past year to be successful.

This is viewing the matter from two aspects. On the one hand, the Party in Shansi-Suiyuan opposed rightist tendencies, set in motion mass struggles and completed, or is now completing, the work of agrarian reform and purifying and reorganizing the Party among a population of two million and several hundred thousand out of the total area population of over three million. On the other hand, the Party in Shansi-Suiyuan also corrected several “leftist” tendencies that occurred in the course of the movement, thus enabling the whole work to take the path of sound development. Viewing the matter from these two aspects, I consider the agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the Party in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area to be successful.

“After this, no *one*, will ever again dare to be feudalistic, tough and corrupt”—this is what the people of Shansi-Suiyuan are saying. This is the conclusion they have arrived at about our agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the Party. In saying “no one will ever again dare to be feudalistic,” they mean that we have led them in arousing the struggle which eliminated, or is now eliminating the feudal exploitation system in the new liberated areas and the remnants of this system in the old or semi-old liberated areas. In saying “no one will ever again dare to be tough and corrupt,” they mean that within our Party and government organization in the past existed such serious phenomena as the fact that there was a certain degree of impurity in composition or in style of work, that many bad elements had slipped into the Party and government organizations, many people had developed a bureaucratic style of work, using their power to bully the people, employing methods of compulsion to perform their tasks, and thus displeasing the masses or were guilty of corruption, or encroached on the interests of the masses. These conditions have been fundamentally changed after the past

year of agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the Party.

Or, “what used to be deadly to us has been removed, and what used to be lacking now exists”—this is what one of the comrades present told me. By deadly, he meant the serious phenomena of impure composition or style of work within Party and government organizations and the ensuing displeasure among the masses. These phenomena have now been fundamentally removed. By that which used to be lacking but which now exists, he meant the poor peasants league, the new peasants union, ‘chue’ and village people’s representative councils and the new complexion of the country-side created by the agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the Party.

I consider these opinions to be in accordance with reality.

This is the great success of the agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the Party in the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area. This is the first aspect of the success. Based on this, the Shansi-Suiyuan Party was able to fulfill huge war service tasks and support the great People’s Revolutionary War during the past years. If there had been no such successful agrarian reform work and work of purifying and reorganizing the Party, it would have been difficult to fulfill such great military tasks.

"LEFTIST" TENDENCIES

On the other hand, the Shansi-Suiyuan Party corrected several “leftist” tendencies which occurred in the course of the work. In the main, there were three tendencies: firstly, in the demarcation of class standing, in many places many labouring people who did not engage in feudal exploitation or only engaged in slight feudal exploitation were erroneously placed in the landlord or rich peasant category, thus the area of attack was erroneously expanded, and forgotten was such an extremely important strategic principle as the fact that it is possible and necessary for us in the agrarian reform work to unite around 92 percent of rural households or 90 percent of the rural population—the entire body of rural labouring people to establish a united front against the feudal system. At the present this tendency has already been corrected, thus setting the people’s minds at ease and consolidating the revolutionary united front. The second tendency was encroaching on industry and commerce owned by landlords and rich peasants in the agrarian reform work, overdoing the investigation of economic counter revolution and hitting at industry and commerce in the field of tax policy. These are all “leftist” tendencies in dealing with industry and commerce and they have also been corrected at the present, providing industry and commerce with possibilities for recovery and development. Thirdly, in the course of the past years intensive agrarian reform struggles, the party in Shansi- Suiyuan was not able to stick clearly to our party’s principle of strictly forbidding indiscriminate violence so that in some places some landlord and rich peasant elements were unnecessarily put to death in the agrarian reform and bad elements in the villages were able to seize this opportunity for vengeance, criminally murdering some labouring people. We consider that it is entirely necessary and proper for the people’s courts and the democratic governments to sentence to death some important criminal elements who actively and seriously

oppose the people's democratic revolution and sabotage the agrarian reform work, namely, those counter revolutionary elements and tyrannical elements whose crimes are enormous. Otherwise democratic order cannot be established. But in general, with regard to all ordinary personnel on the KMT side, landlord and rich peasant elements or elements whose crimes are comparatively less heinous, execution must be forbidden. At the same time corporal punishment must be forbidden in the carrying out of the work of examining and questioning criminal elements by the people's courts and the democratic governments. The above mentioned tendency which occurred in this respect during the past year in Shansi-Suiyuan has also now been corrected.

After earnestly correcting all of the above tendencies, we have grounds for saying that all of the work under the leadership of the Shansi-Suiyuan Sub-Bureau has already taken the path of sound development.

CONCRETE POLICY

Determining all concrete policies in accordance with the concrete situation is the most basic working method which must be borne well in mind by all communists. A study of the reason for the occurrence of all the mistakes which we have committed shows that it is all because we departed from the concrete situation of the particular time and place and subjectively determined our concrete policy. This should be taken as a lesson for all comrades.

In accordance with the instructions of the Central Committee concerning the carrying out of agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the party in old and semi-old liberated areas, you have, in the work of remodeling the basic levels of party organization, already adopted the experience of Pingshan county in purifying and reorganizing the party in the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Liberated Area, that is, inviting non-party masses to participate in the Party Branch meetings, conducting criticism and self-criticism to change the impure composition and style of work of party organizations, so that the party is closely linked up with the masses. Your doing this will enable you soundly to accomplish the whole work of purifying and reorganizing the party organizations.

Those party members or cadres who have made mistakes but can still be educated, and differ from incorrigible elements, should be given education regardless of their origin and should not be abandoned. You have already carried out or are now carrying out this principle and that is also correct.

North China Liberated Area Emerges

Forming one vast lying democratic administrative region with a population about that of France, the North China Liberated Area has come into being as a result of the merging of two liberated areas—the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei and the Shansi-Hopei-Shantung-Honan Border Regions.

The Democratic Governments of these two areas have decided to merge together to form the North China Joint Administrative Council, administering 184 county towns and cities.

The two armies of these two liberated areas have now become the two field army

groups of the North China People's Liberation Army. The Central Bureaus of the Chinese Communist Party in these two liberated areas have also merged to form the North China Central Bureau.

Comprising the major part of Hopei and Shansi provinces and part of Suiyuan, Chahar, Jehol, Honan and Shantung provinces, the North China Liberated Area contains China's fertile agricultural plains and rich coal regions. This North China Liberated Area became integrated into one vast liberated area with the liberation of the strategic north China railway junction Shihchiachuang half a year ago.

Its northern boundary runs from Shangtu, northwest of Kalgan, eastwards through Tolun and Chengteh to Weichang north of the Great Wall, while the Hsueh-Tungkwan section of the Lunghai Railway bounds it on the south. It stretches from the Tatung-Puchow Railway in the west across mountains and plains to the Tientsin-Pukow Railway in the east. Other liberated areas flank it on all sides.—New China News Agency, North Shensi, May 25.

The second installment of Jen Pi-shih's Chinese Communist Agrarian Reform and Methods will appear in the next issue of The Digest instead of the present one, owing to the limitation of space. We apologise.—Editor.

PEOPLE'S REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL

The establishment of people's representative councils of the 'chue' and village (hsiang) levels on the basis of the poor peasants leagues and the peasants unions, during the struggles against the feudal system, is an extremely precious experience. Only the people's representative council based on the will of the really broad masses of the people is a real people's representative council. At present it is already possible for this kind of people's representative council to appear in all liberated areas. As soon as this kind of people's representative council is established, it should become the organ of supreme authority in that locality, all power should belong to the representative council and government committee elected by it. The poor peasants league and peasant union will then become their assistants. We had planned to establish the people's representative council in the village of various areas only after their agrarian reform tasks had been substantially completed. Now inasmuch as your experience and the experience of certain North China liberated area have already proved that it is possible and necessary to establish 'chue' and village levels of the people's representative council and the government committees elected by them during the very period of the agrarian reform struggles, then you should do so, and this should be done in all liberated areas. When the "chue" and village levels of the people's representative council have been universally established, the county level of people's representative council can be established. With the county and lower levels of people's representative councils established, it is an easy matter to establish the various levels of people's representative council above the county level. In the various levels of people's representative councils it is necessary to enable all democratic strata, including workers, peasants, independent labourers, professional people, intelligentsia, liberal industrial and commercial bourgeoisie, and enlightened gentry to have their' representatives take part as far as possible. Of course, this does not mean straining a point to make up this

composition, but rather means differentiating between villages with and without a market center; between various sizes of market centers; and between cities and villages, fulfilling this task of uniting all democratic strata naturally and not artificially.

Tens of thousands of active elements and working cadres were educated and produced in the great mass struggles of the agrarian reform and the purification and reorganization of the party. They are connected with the masses, they are the extremely precious wealth of the Chinese People's Republic. Hereafter, we should strengthen our education of them to enable them to make uninterrupted progress in their work. At the same time, we should warn them that they must absolutely not become smug and complacent because of successes and rewards.

In view of all this, and in view of the above mentioned successes in various spheres, it should be said that the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area is now more consolidated than at any time in the past. As for other liberated areas, all those which have done in this manner are likewise consolidated.

II

The reasons for the above mentioned successes of the Shansi-Suiyuan Liberated Area, as far as leadership is concerned, are mainly: A. The Shansi-Suiyuan Central Sub-Bureau convened a meeting of sub-district party secretaries in June of last year on instructions from Comrade Liu Shao-chi in person and with the help of the work of Comrade Kang Sheng last Spring and Summer in Linhsien county's Haochiapo administrative village. At this meeting, a critique of rightist tendencies existing in the past work was made, the various serious phenomena deviating from the party's line were thoroughly exposed and the principle of seriously setting in motion the agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the party was decided upon. This meeting was basically a success. If it had not been for this meeting, the success of such a large agrarian reform work and work of purifying and reorganizing the party would have been impossible. The shortcomings of this meeting were: failure to work out different working principles in accordance with the different conditions of the old, semi-old and new liberated areas; the adoption of ultra-leftist principles on the question of demarcating class standing; placing too much emphasis on investigating the landlord's hidden wealth in relation to the question of how to eliminate the feudal system; and lack of sobrieties on the question of dealing with the demands of the masses, raising indiscriminately the slogan "do things anyway the masses want." With regard to the latter question, that is the question of the party's relations with the masses, what should be done is: all correct opinions of the masses of the people, the party must lead them to carry out, in accordance with the situation; and all incorrect opinions which occur among the masses of the people, the party must educate them to correct. The conference of sub-district party secretaries merely one sidedly emphasized, that the party should carry out the opinions of the masses, while neglecting the other side, that the party should educate and lead the masses, thus exerting an incorrect influence over comrades in certain places who consequently committed the error of tailism.

B. The Shansi-Suiyuan Central Sub-Bureau this January took appropriate steps

to correct “leftist” tendencies. These steps were carried out after the comrades of the sub-bureau returned from participating- in the Central Committee’s December meeting. The sub-bureau issued 5 directives to this end. These steps to correct tendencies were so suitable to the demands of the masses, and so swift and consistent, that within a short period of time, nearly all “leftist” tendencies have been corrected.

III

The leading line of the Party in Shansi-Suiyuan during the period of the anti-Japanese war was basically correct. This has manifested in the carrying out of reduction of rents and interests, considerably restoring and developing agricultural production, the home textile industry, military industry and a part of light industry, establishing a foundation for the Party, establishing a democratic government, establishing a people’s army of nearly a hundred thousand, and consequently being able, on the basis of this work, to wage victorious anti-Japanese war as well as beat back the attacks of Yen Hsi-shan, Fu Tso-yi and other reactionaries. Of course the party and government in this period had shortcomings which we are already completely clear about—a certain degree of impurity in their composition or style of work and many resultant undesirable phenomena in the work. As far as the situation as a whole is concerned, however, the work of the anti-Japanese war period produced good results. It provided us with favourable conditions to rely on in defeating the counter revolutionary attacks of Chiang Kai-shek after the Japanese surrender. The shortcomings and mistakes of the leadership of the party in Shansi-Suiyuan during the anti- Japanese war period were mainly that they were unable relying on the broadest masses to overcome the certain degree of impure composition or style of work existing within the party and the government, .and the resultant undesirable phenomena in the work. Thus they left this task for you to fulfil at the present time. Lack of understanding of many actual conditions concerning the party and the masses on the part of certain leading comrades in the party in Shansi- Suiyuan at that time was one of the reasons for bringing about the above mentioned phenomena. This should also be taken as a lesson by the comrades.

IV

The tasks of the party in Shansi-Suiyuan in the future are to exert mighty efforts to continue the fulfillment of the agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the party, continue the development and support of the people’s revolutionary war, not increasing the people’s burden but appropriately lightening it, and restoring and developing production. You are now holding a production conference. Restoring and developing production is the ultimate goal of all our revolutionary work. Within these several years, the objective of restoring and developing production is on the one hand to better the people’s livelihood and at the same time to support the people’s revolutionary war. You have a broad agriculture and handicraft industry, as well as some mechanized light and heavy industry. I hope that you will do a good job of leading these production

undertakings. Otherwise you cannot be considered good Marxists. In the field of agriculture, those labour-mutual aid teams and cooperatives which were controlled by bureaucratic elements in the past and were only detrimental to the people have collapsed; this is entirely understandable and not at all to be regretted. Your duty lies in painstakingly preserving and developing those labour-mutual aid teams, cooperatives and other necessary economic organizations supported by the masses of people, and spreading such organizations to the various districts.

V

RETRAINING CAMPAIGN

The nationwide situation is a matter which the comrades are interested. Since the party's national agrarian conference last year decided to adopt a new orientation, opening up agrarian reform work and the work of purifying and reorganizing the party, in practically all liberated areas, large cadre meetings have been convened dealing with the agrarian reform and purifying and reorganizing the party, at which critiques were made of the rightist thought existing in the party, and serious phenomena of a certain degree of impurity in composition or style of work existing within the party were exposed. Afterwards in many areas, steps were taken to correct, or are now correcting, "leftist" tendencies. This enabled the nationwide work of our party to take the path of forward development under the new political situation and new political tasks. Practically all of the people's Liberation Army within the past few months has utilized intervals between battles to carry out large scale retraining. This retraining is conducted through democratic methods, with full leadership and order. Through this, the revolutionary enthusiasm of the broad masses of commanders and fighters was aroused, the war aims were clearly recognized, certain incorrect ideological tendencies and undesirable phenomena existing within the army were cleared out, the cadres and fighters were educated and combat power was greatly increased. This sort of democratic, mass, new type army retraining campaign must be continued in the future. You can plainly see that our enemy, the Kuomintang, cannot carry out a single item of such party purification and reorganization, army retraining and agrarian reform work as we have performed, which are of profound historic significance.

On our part, we correct our own errors so earnestly that our whole party and army are united practically as one man, the whole party, whole army and the masses of the people are closely linked up together, effectively carrying out all policies and tactics stipulated by the Central Committee of our party and victoriously carrying out the people's revolutionary war. On the part of our enemy, everything is just to the contrary. They are so corrupt and so full of daily increasing insoluble internal squabbles, so cast-aside by the people and fallen into utter isolation, and they have lost so many battles, that they are inevitably moving towards extinction. This is the overall situation with regard to the contrast between the two parties and two armies of the Chinese revolution and counter-revolution.

UNITED FRONT BROAD

Under this situation, comrades of the whole party must firmly grasp the general line of the Party, which is the line of the new democratic revolution. The new democratic revolution can be and must be no other revolution than the revolution of the great masses of the people, led by the proletariat, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. That is to say that this revolution can have no other class and political party act as the leader, but can only and must have the proletariat and the Chinese Communist Party acting as the leader. That is to say that the united front made up of the people taking part in this revolution is very broad, comprising workers, peasants, independent labourers, professional people, intelligentsia, liberal bourgeoisie, and enlightened gentry split off from the landlord class: This is what we call the great masses of the people. The state and government established by these great masses of the people are the Chinese People's Democratic Republic and the democratic coalition government which represent the joint rule of all democratic classes. The enemies which this revolution is to overthrow are only and must be imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism. The concentrated expression of these enemies is the reactionary rule of Chiang Kai-shek Kuomintang.

FEUDAL EXPLOITATION IS TARGET

Feudalism is the ally of imperialism and * bureaucratic capitalism and the foundation of their rule. Therefore the reform of the agrarian system is the main content of China's new democratic revolution. The general line of the agrarian reform *is to rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, to eliminate systematically and discriminately the feudal system of exploitation and develop agricultural production. The force on which the agrarian reform relies can only and must be the poor peasants. This poor peasant stratum together with the farm labourers make up around 70 percent of China's rural population. The main task of the agrarian reform is to satisfy the demands of the masses of poor peasants and farm labourers. In the agrarian reform, the middle peasants must be united with, the poor peasants and farm labourers must form a firm united front with the middle peasants, who comprise around 20 percent of the rural population. If this is not done, the poor peasants and farm labourers will be isolated and the agrarian reform will fail.

One of the tasks of the agrarian reform is to satisfy the demands of certain middle peasants. Part of the middle peasants must be permitted to maintain a portion of land more than the average land obtained by the poor peasants in general. Our support of the peasants demands for equal distribution of the land is to facilitate the arousing of the broad masses of peasants speedily to eliminate the system of land ownership of the feudal landlord class, and is not at all an advocacy of absolute equalitarianism. Whoever advocates absolute equalitarianism is wrong. The sort of ideology now prevalent in the villages which advocates the destruction of industry and commerce and advocates absolute equalitarianism in the matter of distributing the land is a kind of agrarian-socialist thought. This sort of ideology is reactionary, backward and retrograde in nature; we must criticize this ideology. The target of the agrarian reform is only and must be the feudal system of exploitation on the part of the landlord class and old type rich peasants, and neither the liberal

bourgeoisie nor the industry and commerce operated by landlords and rich peasants can be infringed upon; special attention must be given to non-encroachment on middle peasants, independent labourers, professional people and new type rich peasants, all of whom do not engage in exploitation or engage in only slight exploitation. The objective of the agrarian reform is to eliminate the feudal system of exploitation, . which means the elimination of the feudal landlords as a class and not the elimination of the person of the landlord. Therefore, the landlords must be distributed land and property equal to that of the peasants, and they must be enabled to learn to work and produce, and join the ranks of the national economic life. Aside from the fact that those counter-revolutionary ' elements and tyrannical elements with enormous crimes who are hated by the broad masses of the people and concerning whom investigation has established concrete evidence, may and should be punished, a policy of leniency towards all men must be carried out, prohibiting any indiscriminate violence.

The elimination of the feudal system of exploitation should be carried out systematically, that is to say, tactically. Tactics for arousing and carrying on struggles must be determined on the basis of conditions permitted by the environment, of the level of consciousness and organization of the masses of peasants; do not attempt to eliminate the whole feudal system of exploitation overnight. The whole sphere at which the agrarian reform strikes, in general, cannot exceed a figure of around 8 percent of the rural households or 10 percent of rural population, according to the actual conditions of the feudal system of exploitation in the rural areas of China.

Falling Trade

Under the exploitation of its government, the import and export trade in the KMT-controlled areas is notably declining. Statistics show a decrease of one-fourth in the volume of export trade during the first three months of this year: being US \$14,814,000 in January; US \$9,282,000 in February; and US\$ 10,742,000 in March. Imports, as seen from the amount of foreign exchange sold to import merchants, presents the same tendency: US \$17,165,000 in January; US \$14,373,000 in February; and US \$14,130,000 in March. Statistics for the next three months are not available, but financial sources in Shanghai pointed out not long ago that, "In the past, the official rate (of US dollars to CNC) was lower than the actual conditions by 80 to 100 per cent. But now the difference is raised to more than 200 per cent. This brought a stoppage of business

On the other hand, smuggling grows daily in KMT areas. Newspapers revealed that during January and February, 1948, 2,906 batches of smuggled goods, worth CNC \$104,583,000,000, were discovered by the Customs. Unrevealed smuggling was estimated at double this figure.—NCNA, North Shensi, May 24.

IN OLD AND NEW AREAS

In the old and semi-old liberated areas, this .figure must be reduced even further. Departing from actual conditions and erroneously enlarging the sphere to be struck at is dangerous. In new liberated areas it is necessary further to

differentiate between the various regions and stages. Differentiating between the regions means that strength should be concentrated in those regions that can be firmly occupied, to carry on appropriate agrarian reform work suitably to the demands of the masses of that region; while in those regions which it is still temporarily difficult firmly to occupy, do not be in too much of a hurry to carry on agrarian reform but rather do some practicable work beneficial to the masses in accordance with the existing conditions, pending a change in conditions. Differentiating between stages means that in areas which the People's Liberation Army has just occupied, the tactics of neutralizing the rich peasants and small and middle landlords should be set forth and carried out, reducing the sphere to be struck to only eliminating the Kuomintang's reactionary armed forces, hitting at big feudal tyrannical elements—concentrating all strength for the fulfillment of this task as the first stage in the work of new areas. Afterwards, according to the circumstances of the raised level of consciousness and organization of the masses, step by step develop to the stage of eliminating the whole feudal system.

In the new areas, the distribution of movable property and land must all be done after the environment is comparatively stable and the overwhelming majority of the masses have been fully aroused, otherwise it is adventuristic, unreliable, and wholly detrimental. In new areas the experience of the anti-Japanese war period must be fully utilized. So-called discriminately wiping out the feudal system means that it is necessary to discriminate between landlords and rich peasants, between big, medium and small landlords, between tyrannical and ordinary landlords and rich peasants; it means that under the large principle of equal distribution of the land and elimination of the feudal system, treatment is not decided on and meted out uniformly to those people whose cases are dissimilar, but rather treatment of varying degrees is decided on and afforded them discriminately. In doing so, the people will feel that our work is entirely reasonable.

DEVELOPMENT OF AGRICULTURE

The development of agricultural production is the direct aim of the agrarian reform. Only By wiping out the feudal system can the conditions for developing agricultural production be obtained. In any area, once the feudal system has been eliminated and the tasks of the agrarian reform have been completed, the party and the democratic government must immediately bring forward the tasks of restoring and developing agricultural production, transfer all possible forces in the countryside to the restoring and development of agricultural production, organize cooperative mutual aid, improve agricultural technique, improve seed, undertake irrigation process, securing the possibility of raising production. The bulk of the energies of the party in the villages must be used in the restoration and development of agricultural production and industrial production in the market towns. For the sake of speedily restoring and developing agricultural production and industrial production in the market towns, during the struggle to eliminate the feudal system, attention must be given to exerting every effort to preserve to the greatest possible extent all usable means of production or of livelihood, adopting methods to firmly oppose anyone destroying or wasting means of production or of

livelihood, opposing lavish banqueting, exercising frugality. For the sake of developing agricultural production it is necessary to advise the peasants to organize step by step under the voluntary principle various types of producers and consumers cooperative organizations which are permissible under existing economic conditions and based on the system of private property. The elimination of the feudal system and the development of agricultural production lays the foundation for the task of developing industrial production and transforming an agricultural country into an industrial country: this is the ultimate goal of the new democratic revolution.

You know, comrades, that our party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese revolution, and laid down various concrete lines of work and various concrete policies. Many comrades, however, sometimes remember our party's particular, concrete, individual lines of work and policies and forget our party's general line and general policy. But — if one really forgets the general line and general policy of our party, then one will be a blind, incomplete and not a sober revolutionist. In carrying out a concrete line of work and concrete policy, he will lose his bearings, swinging like a pendulum now to left now to right, and will do harm to our work.

Let me say once again: “the revolution of the great masses of the people, led by the proletariat, against imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism”—this is China's new democratic revolution. This is the general line and general policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the present stage of history.

“Rely on the poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, to eliminate systematically and discriminately the feudal system of exploitation, and develop agricultural production”—this is the general line and general policy of the Chinese Communist Party in the period of the new democratic revolution in the work of the agrarian reform.

NOTE: Two notes in regard to Mao Tze-tung's address: 1. The term “chue” used in the text refers to an administrative unit larger than hsiang or administrative village but smaller than county and lying between the two. 2. The term “old liberated areas” refers to areas liberated during the anti-Japanese war. “Semi-old liberated areas” refers to areas liberated after the Japanese surrender. The term “new liberated areas” refers to areas liberated after the People's Liberation Army went over to the counter offensive last summer.