SECTION: PEOPLE'S DEMOCRACY IN CHINA

THE HISTORIC VICTORY OF THE CHINESE PEOPLE

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A new shattering blow has been dealt to the world system of imperialism. China, the country with the largest population in the world, has cast off the yoke of imperialist oppression and gone over into the camp of democracy and Socialism. On October 1, 1949, the triumphant people proclaimed the People's Republic of China. The People's Political Consultative Conference, expressing the will of the entire Chinese people, confirmed the Fundamental Law of the Republic and elected a Central People's Government headed by the leader of the Communist Party of China, Mao Tse-tung.

The creation of the People's Republic of China is an outstanding historic event. The formation of a new regime in China, increases the might of the camp of Peace and Democracy and undermine the deep rear of imperialism. It significance not merely the defeat of one of the largest reactionary detachments – the Kuomintang – but also the collapse of the American plans to convert China into a colony of the USA and the failure of the imperialist attempt to convert the Chinese people into cannon-fodder and the territory of China into a jumping-off ground for Anglo-American adventurers.

The great victory of the Chinese people is of tremendous international significance. It has a bearing on the historic destinies of all the other colonial and semi-colonial peoples of the East.

The victory of the Chinese revolution marks the further accentuation of the general crisis of capitalism and a new and big stride forward in the development of the crisis of the colonial system of imperialism; this system is crumbling, its big links are breaking away from the general chain of imperialism.

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The creation of the People's Republic of China is the result of the several years' struggle of the multi-million people for freedom and for independence and opens a new era in their history. During the course of the last hundred years' struggle of the multi-million people for freedom and for independence and opens a new era in their history. During the course of the last hundred years, the Chinese people have more than once risen in fight against the mediaeval feudal regime and foreign oppression. From 1850 to 1864, China was enveloped in the flames of the popular uprisings of the Taipens; who were fighting against the old feudal order and for the liberation of the country from the rule of the foreigners. This uprising was crushed with the assistance of British and French troops. World imperialism also suppressed savagely the popular uprising in China in 1900 (the Boxer Rebellion). The characteristic feature of these popular demonstrations was their spontaneity. At that time, the Chinese working class was still weak and could not become a loading force in the revolution. The Chinese revolution of 1911-12 bore a more organized character. But even here the main motivating force was the peasantry, which came out in alliance with the liberal bourgeoisie. The directing principles of the revolution were set forth in the programme, elaborated by Sun Yat-Sen. Sun Yat-Sen's programme demanded:

- 1. The liberation of China from foreign enslavement;
- 2. Overthrow of the monarchy and the establishment of people's power;
- 3. The creation of a social and economic structure which would ensure the welfare of the people.

The Kuomintang Party, formed in 1912, formally placed these three principles of Sun Yat-Sen's as the basis of its programme but it excluded the most important point of his programme – on the equalisation of land-holdings, which was directed against feudalism. By repudiating the demand for agrarian transformations, the Kuomintang repelled the peasant masses and defended the interests of big land-ownership in the country.

Summing up the activities of the Kuomintang, the leader of the Chinese people, Mao Tsetung wrote:

"Sun-Yat-Sen's revolutionary work of forty years ended in failure. Why? Because, in the epoch of imperialism, the petty-bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie cannot successfully lead any real Revolution."

Mao Tse-tung's "Dictatorship of People's Democracy".
For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, July 15, 1949

The Great October Socialist Revolution opened a new epoch – the epoch of colonial Revolutions and gave rise to a new wave of the national-liberation and working class movement in China. "The salvoes of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The October Revolution helped the progressive elements of the world and of China as well, to apply the proletarian world outlook in determining the fate of the country and in reviewing their own problems. The conclusion reached was that we must advance along the path taken by the Russians." (Mao Tse-tung, Ibid).

The Chinese Communists imbibed the great ideas of Lenin and Stalin, the teachings of Lenin and Stalin on the national and colonial Revolution in the epoch of imperialism; they became the advance detachment of the Chinese people, who had risen in struggle against reaction and imperialism.

In the twenties of the twentieth country, the internal political situation in China changed sharply. Based on the growth of a manufacturing industry and of factories, a working class was consolidated which more and more actively came forth against the bourgeoisie and became tempered in the strike battles. In 1921, the Chinese Communist Party was organised.

The Chinese Revolution of 1925-27 took place under complicated conditions. The young Communist Party of China did not yet possess great experience. As Comrade Stalin had brilliantly pointed out, the Chinese Revolution had three peculiarities – <u>Firstly</u>, its edge was directed not only against the internal forces of reaction but also against the domination of alien imperialism in China; <u>Secondly</u>, the national big bourgeoisie in China was weak to the last degree; and, <u>Thirdly</u>, side by side with China, there exists and develops the Soviet Union, where

revolutionary experience cannot but facilitate the struggle of the Chinese proletariat against imperialism and the feudal, mediaeval survivals in China.

Comrade Stalin gave the most profound analysis of the character, the distinctive features and the conditions of victory for the Chinese anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution. His leading directives on the role and tasks of the proletariat, on the allies of the proletariat, on the peasantry were of invaluable help to the Chinese people in their revolutionary struggle.

As a result of the revolution of 1925-27, the Chinese proletariat, led by the Communist Party became a leading force in the struggle of the Chinese people, its influence and authority among the people grow. This was made possible by the policy of a United Revolutionary Front, put forward by the Communist Party. In 1925, when a re-organisation took place in the Kuomintang, with the approval of Sun Yat-Sen cooperation was established between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party. This did not signify in the least that the Communist Party had repudiated independent work among the workers and peasants; it raised in fight the Chinese people in the struggle against the reactionary forces within the country against the domination inside the country of foreign imperialism, which depended upon the internal forces of reaction.

In 1927, the Chinese bourgeoisie came to an agreement with the imperialists. The Kuomintang, led by Chiang Kai-shek, broke off with the United Front and began to prosecute the Communists and other revolutionaries. By expelling the representatives of the workers and peasants from their ranks, the Kuomintang became transferred into a counter-revolutionary party of the big bourgeoisie and the landlords. A period of creation set in China. In this period, the Chinese Communist Party continued to fight for the creation of a United People's Anti-Imperialist and anti-Feudal front, rallying the peasantry and the progressive section of the national bourgeoisie around the proletariat.

In 1931, under the leadership of the Communist Party, a People's Democratic Power, uniting a population of 60 million people was created in the South of China. This was, as Comrade Stalin brilliantly foresaw "a transitional power towards a non-capitalist or to be mere precise, towards the Socialist development of China." (J. V. Stalin: Collected Works, Russian

Ed. Vol. VIII, p. 366). From that time the Communist Party embarked on the long path of a difficult and stubborn struggle against the forces of reaction and imperialism. Speaking of the factors, which ensured the victory of the Chinese people in 1949, Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"We have acquired invaluable experience and the essence of this experience consists of the following three factors: a disciplined Party equipped with the theory of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin, using the method of self-criticism and closely linked with the masses, an army led by this Party; a United Front of different revolutionary sections of society and groups led by this Party." (Mao Tse-tung: "On the Dictatorship of People's Democracy" – from "For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy." July 15, 1949).

In 1937, when Japan started the war against China, the Communists became the vanguard of the struggle against Japanese imperialism as well as champions of a United anti-Japanese Front. In opposition to the Communists, the Kuomintang reactionaries, instigated by the Anglo-American imperialists, came forth against the United Front. The agreement between the Communist Party and the Kuomintang on unity of action, that had been established for a time, was immediately broken by the Kuomintang who perpetrated an attack on units of the 8th People's Revolutionary Army, blockaded the border regions and impeded in every way the military operations against the Japanese occupationist forces. In the final analysis, the Kuomintang policy corresponded to the interests of Japanese imperialism. The Kuomintang Generals indulged in speculation and their military units were inactive.

The Chinese Communist Party set an example to millions of masses of a heroic struggle against the Japanese imperialism. The true sons of the Party fought in the first ranks of the 8th People's Revolutionary Army and in the ranks of the partisans. The Japanese are forced to hurl more than half their occupation forces against the army and partisan units, led by the Communist Party. It was precisely the troops led by the Communists who dealt heavy blows to the Japanese army.

In the period of the war against Japan, the number of members of the Communist Party rose from 500,000 to 1,250,000. While in the beginning of the war the People's Liberation Army, led by the Chinese Communist Party comprised of a total of nearly 45,000, at the moment of the capitulation of Japan, its ranks comprised more than one and half million soldiers and officers. Besides this, nearly two million people participated in the partisan struggle. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, a territory of more than 2 million sq. kilometers with a population of nearly 100 million was liberated from the Japanese usurpers. A democratic regime was created on this territory and radical democratic, political, economic and cultural transformations were carried out. The Communist Party of China defeated the numerous attempts of the Kuomintang capitulators and treacherous elements to conclude a dishonourable peace with Japan.

In the course of the anti-Japanese population liberation war in China, the United Front led by the Communist Party was consolidated; it embraced more and more the broad masses of workers and peasants, the artisans and the tradesmen, the progressive strata of the intelligentsia, the petty and the middle bourgeoisie. The successes of the People's Liberation Army and the influence of the Communists in the people were so strong that after the defeat of the Japanese troops by the Soviet Army, the Kuomintang was forced to come to an agreement with the Communist Party. However, immediately at the order of the American imperialists, the Kuomintang reactionaries once again went over into the attack. They trampled underfoot the agreement on the United Front, violated the decisions of the Political Consultative Council and unleashed a new civil war on a nation-wide scale. Chiang Kai-shek relied upon the numerical and technical superiority of his army, which was rigged out by the imperialists of the USA. In July 1946, the armed forces of the Kuomintang comprised of four-and-a-half million people, while the People's Liberation Army was only 1,200,000 in number. The Kuomintang troops were well-equipped and armed with American guns, tanks and aeroplanes. The American gave the Kuomintang Government huge loans and credits amounting to six milliard American dollars and gave away free of charge or for a more song hundreds of planes and tanks, a large amount of artillery and tons of thousands of automobiles and a Navy consisting of 271 warships. American Military Advisers and instructors trained and fully supplied with American weapons 22 Kuomintang Divisions with a total number of more than 750,000 men. They took a direct part in

the working out of plans for an armed onslaught against the democratic forces. The main forces of the Kuomintang Army were transferred from South China to the Northern Regions in American planes and sea transport. Here they occupied initial positions for an attack against the democratic forces of China. By disembarking their troops in the biggest centres of the country (Shanghai, Nanking, Tientsin, Peking, Tsingtao), the imperialists of the USA helped the Kuomintang Government to seize them.

The American imperialists pursued the aim of enslaving the Chinese people. They forced enslaving agreements on China and obtained wide opportunities for converting it into an American colony, into a military jumping-off ground for a struggle against the Soviet Union and the national-liberation movement in the countries of S.E. Asia. The USA has secured at its disposal on the territory of China and Formosa, military, naval and aviation bases and control over the aerodromes built by the Japanese on Chinese territory during the war. American planes have accomplished flights over China without any hindrance and American vessels sail freely in the territorial waters of China. The armed forces of the Kuomintang, the secret and open police, State finances and the budget, have passed over under the control of the Americans. The foreign imperialists began dictating to China her foreign policy and made it subservient to their aims – the preparation of a new war in the Far East.

The Kuomintang Government signed an agreement with the American staff in China, by which American soldiers and officers, who commit a crime are to be under the jurisdiction not of a Chinese but an American Court. The Chinese-American Arbitration Commission, in which the American dominated in practice, was given the right of deciding all controversial question in the sphere of trade.

The Kuomintang Government permitted the American capitalists to develop unrestrictedly their industrial and commercial activities over the entire territory of China, i.e. to exploit without restriction on the Chinese people and conduct a survey of the profitable mineral resources. Together with the Americans, the Kuomintang had even worked out a "plan" of Chinese-American technical "co-operation" in agriculture. The Canton-Hankow and Szechwan-

Yunnan Railways were turned over from the Kuomintang to exploitation by a joint American-Chinese company.

In the course of 1946-48, American firms opened more than 500 offices (branches) in the regions controlled by the Kuomintang. On the basis of an agreement with the Kuomintang authorities, they began the utilisation of the natural riches of China and the building and exploitation of gasolene, cement, glass and other factories in a number of regions in the country. American firms concluded agreements for the exploitation of the natural riches of the islands of Hainan and Formosa and for capital investment in the aluminium, paper, chemical, foodstuffs and other branches of industry. Thousands of representatives of American firms settled themselves as official "advisers" and "experts" in the central apparatus of the Kuomintang Government or in the local Provincial Governments. These "advisers" were protected by their firms and they obstructed in every way the commercial activity of the firms of other countries and in particular those of British firms.

The ruling Kuomintang clique became an open agent of the USA imperialists, who developed wide expansion in China. But the designs of the American plunderers to convert China into their own colony were defeated by the heroic Chinese people.

Already during the first stage of the civil war (1946-47) the Kuomintang troops suffered a number of serious defeats. In one year of battles, they lost more than 1,200,000 soldiers and officers in dead, wounded and captured; more than 500,000 deserted. This compelled the Kuomintang army in the middle of 1947 to cease its offensive operations and to go over to the defensive in all the parts of the front. At a time when the forces of the Kuomintang army were swindling away, the forces of the People's Liberation Army grew uninterruptedly. Hundreds of thousands of Chinese patriots filled its ranks. In 1947, the number of regular troops grew to 2 million. In the battles against the enemy, the People's Liberation Army captured rich trophies and considerably improved its arms. It obtained the biggest assistance from the industry of liberated regions and particularly from Manchuria.

The consolidation and the growth of the People's Liberation Army, the tremendous support and sympathy of the people allowed it to pass over in August 1947 from an active defensive into the offensive. Its troops swiftly seized the initiative in their own hands and smashed the enemy in dogged battles.

The international situation after the Second World War contributed to the successes of the Chinese people. As a result of the victory of the Soviet Union in the Patriotic War, the forces of German Fascism and Japanese Imperialism were defeated, the camp of imperialism was weakened and the camp of democracy and Socialism became stronger. Of tremendous significance for the historic victory of the Chinese people was the defeat of Imperialist Japan by the Soviet Army and the liberation of Manchuria, which was transformed into a stronghold of the democratic forces of revolutionary China. Mao Tse-tung wrote:

"Had there been no Soviet Union, had there been no victory in the anti-Fascist Second World War, had Japanese imperialism not been defeated (which is particularly important for us), had there been no People's Democracies in Europethe pressure of the international reactionary forces would, of course, have been much stronger than it is to-day. Would we have been able to achieve victory in these circumstances? Of course not." (Mao Tse-tung, Ibid.)

Already in the period of the birth of the Chinese revolutionary army, Comrade Stalin had pointed to the tremendous role of a genuinely revolutionary army in the Chinese Revolution.

"Firstly," said Comrade Stalin, "the Chinese Communists must intensify political work of every kind in the army and succeed in making the army into an effective and exemplary bearer of the idea of the Chinese Revolution." (J.V. Stalin: Collected Works, Vol. VIII, Russian Ed., Moscow, p. 363).

The Chinese Communists mastered this task successfully. The People's Liberation Army of China became a school of revolutionary training of millions of men; it enjoyed the immense love and respect of the Chinese people.

"Secondly," Comrade Stalin pointed out, "the Chinese revolutionaries and among them also the Communists must take to a close study of military affairs. They must not regard military affairs as of minor importance because in China military work is at present the most important factor of the Chinese Revolution." (J.V. Stalin: Ibid., p. 364).

The Chinese Communists also implemented successfully this task put forward by Comrade Stalin. After 22 years of an almost uninterrupted armed struggle against external and internal enemies, the heroic People's Liberation Army from a 45,000 strong armed group into a mighty army of four million. The Communist Party of China directed its best people to the military section and trained for war engagements hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers, who comprised the skeleton of the fighting revolutionary army. Many Communists received special military instruction in the officers' schools and military academies, organised by the Communist Party. The talented Generals and outstanding strategists of the People's Liberation Army (Chu-Teh, Peng Te-hwai, Lin Piao, Hu Lun, Chen Yi, Liu Po-cheng and others) were wrought out from the commanding staff of the army. The operations of the People's Liberation Army showed that its commanders had mastered excellently the art of war and that its ranks and file combatants had gone through the school of political education in a revolutionary patriotic spirit.

The last year's offensive battles of the People's Liberation Army were particularly significant. Only from the middle of 1948 till the middle of 1949, the People's Liberation Army in the course of attack smashed more than 50 Kuomintang armies, consisting of more than 3 million soldiers and officers, made captive more than 30 armies with all their equipment and made more than 20 armies of the enemy revolt and come over to its side. During this year, the People's Liberation Army completed the liberation of Manchuria, freed Inner Mongolia and 15 Provinces of North, Central and North-West and South China, occupied one thousand and two hundred and seventy towns, the most important centres of the country, the ports, the railway junctions and communications.

The People's Liberation Army has smashed the superior forces of the Kuomintang and is destroying the remains of its armed forces. It is moving forward steadily in the South East, South, South-west, and North-west. The People's Liberation troops occupied the important sea port of Amoy on October 17, 1949 and are less than 150 miles by sea from Formosa; they have centered the Provinces of Kwantung and Sinkiang and reached the borders of the Provinces of Kwangsi, Kweichow, Szechwan. The overwhelming majority out of the 475 million Chinese people have already been liberated from the imperialist rule.

The Kuomintang top strata, after expulsion out of Canton, fled to Chunking and to Formosa and is feverishly rallying together the remains of its forces in order to continue the armed struggle in the South and South-west of China. Being unable to render any serious resistance to the People's Liberation Army, the demoralised units of the Kuomintang army are beating a retreat. The final liberation of China from Kuomintang reaction is a matter of the shortest time (a question of the nearest future).

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The great victories achieved by the Chinese people are above all due to the correct policy of the Chinese Communist Party which consistently defends the interests of the workers and exposes the reactionary, anti-national policy of the Kuomintang. Now it is clear to the entire Chinese people that the Kuomintang defended the interests of the reactionary bloc of big Chinese bourgeoisie, the landlords and American imperialism. The Chinese people are completely convinced that the leadership of the Kuomintang is sacrificing the independence of China for the sake of its personal mercenary ends and the preservation of its power, that it has sold the country to the American imperialists and at their behest hurled China in the fire of a civil war and doomed the people to starvation.

At the same time, the Chinese Communist Party, uniting more than 3 million in its ranks, has earned the respect, recognition and love of all the people. A United Revolutionary Front, unprecedented in breadth and depth was formed inside the country:

"We have a broad and strong revolutionary front – so broad that it includes the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie; so strong that it possesses the resolute will and boundless possibility of vanquishing any enemy and overcoming any difficulty," said Mao Tse-tung at a session of the Preparatory Committee for the convocation of the new Political Consultative Council. (For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy – July 1, 1949).

The alliance of the working class with the toiling peasantry under the leading role of the working class is the basis of this United Front. The policy of the Communist Party which is being carried out in recent years in the Liberated Areas of China and directed towards the consolidation of democracy and improvement of the well-being of the people has contributed to the strengthening of this alliance.

Thanks to the policy of the Communist Party and the radical democratic transformation carried out in the Liberated Areas, the programme of the Central People's Government of China, adopted by the Political Consultative Conference stands forth as a clear example of the already existing revolutionary reality over parts of the territory of China.

In the areas liberated earlier, village, regional, district and provincial organs of power based on general direct and equal elections, with secret ballot were elected. In a number of completely liberated Provinces of China, the highest Provincial organs of power, the People's Congresses were created.

Democratic liberties – freedom of speech, assembly, press and organisation etc., were ensured for the Chinese people. In the Liberated Areas of China women began to enjoy complete equality in political, social and economic life; they are participating actively in the work of the local organs of power and hold responsible administrative posts.

In the democratic areas, national oppression was abolished, the property and capital of the Kuomintang top strata was confiscated and the system of feudal and semi-feudal relationships in agriculture was abolished by the confiscation of landlords' land. The confiscated land was distributed among the poor peasants and the farm labourers and the forest areas (massifs), the big irrigation constructions, the large pastures and the tracts of waste land were handed over to the keeping of the People's Government. The main resources and the sources of economic development of the country became the property of the people.

Nevertheless, the policy of the Communist Party and of the People's Democratic powers did not set before itself the aim of liquidating the enterprises belonging to the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China condemned the ultra-Left policy of excessively high imposition of taxes on income which had been pursued from 1929 to 1934 and had hampered the activities of private industrial and commercial enterprises. The discontinuation of the work of private enterprises is opposed to the interests of the working class and the peasantry of the Liberated Areas. The owners of private-owning enterprises who were loyal in their attitude to the people's power guaranteed the preservation of private property and the security of profits.

Private industrial and commercial enterprises have remained and continue to remain side by side with State and co-operative enterprises. The agrarian reform which was carried out in a number of districts by the democratic authorities played a tremendous role in the democratic and national-liberation movement in China. Formerly, feudal and semi-feudal relationships in their most crude form had dominated in the Chinese countryside. In the old China, from 40 to 80 per cent of the entire land was in the hand of landlords and kulaks who comprised less than 20 percent of the entire peasant economy. Nearly 30 per cent of the peasants had no land at all and the overwhelming majority had insufficient land. It was, therefore, that the peasants were compelled to either rent out land from the landlords and kulaks or hire themselves out to them as farm labourers. The Chinese peasant used to pay 50-70 per cent of the harvest to the landowner as rent for the land. Out of the remaining part of the harvest he paid State taxes and debts to the money-lenders. The feudal relationships doomed the Chinese peasantry to starvation and poverty. The big capital of the Kuomintang top strata was amassed through the starvation and misery of the peasants. More than 50 per cent of the debt obligations of the peasant farm-steads on the loans given to them is in the hands of the "Four Families". American imperialism supported in every way the feudal and moneylenders' exploitation of peasants and attempted to

convert the agriculture of China into a raw material appendage of American industry. Therefore, the agrarian problem is the most important among the internal political and economic problems of China and the peasantry, led by the working class has played the role of one of the basic motivating forces of the national liberation struggle of the Chinese people. The Chinese Revolution in rising its hand against imperialism, cannot but at the same time deal blows at feudalism and at the big compradore capital as the main agent of imperialism.

In the period from 1931-1934 the Communist Party in the areas liberated from the Kuomintang pursued a policy of confiscating the lands of the landlords and distributing it among the peasants. In the period of the war against Japan, the Communist Party changed the policy and began to pursue the policy of lowering rent payments and interests on lease. The landowners were forbidden from evicting the peasants from the land till the termination of the term of lease. Thus the exploitation of the peasant by the landlords and the kulaks was only restricted by not abolished.

After the termination of the war against Japan, the democratic authorities of the Liberated Areas under the leadership of the Communist Party carried out a number of supplementary measures which weakened still further the feudal oppression and the land hunger in the countryside. The democratic authorities confiscated all the land of the Japanese and their myrmidons where confiscation had not been carried out and distributed it amongst the landless peasants and amongst peasants who did not have sufficient land. Suffice it to any that in Manchuria, for example, nearly 50 per cent of the entire land was in the hands of the Japanese and their puppets.

Side by side with the confiscation of land, the so-called "campaign of setting accounts" was conducted in the Liberated Areas. The landlords and kulaks who had not reduced the rent and the interest in the period of the war and had continued to exploit the peasants savagely had to pay them corresponding compensation. In practice, the "campaign of setting accounts" came to taking away from a considerable number of big landlords a part of the land, which was handed over to the peasants.

After the Kuomintang along with the reactionary circles of the USA had instigated a civil war, the Chinese Communist Party passed over to a policy of a developing offensive against the landlord and kulak elements in the Liberated Areas. Under the banner of the Agrarian Revolution, it began to raise the broad masses of the peasant population in a fight for a complete and final abolition of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation. A nationwide agrarian conference convened by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party took place in September 1947. On October 10, 1947, the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party adopted "The State of the Land Law in China" which was transmitted for the consideration of the local democratic Governments, the peasant congresses and executive committees. These organs were changed with the working out of concrete ways and means of carrying out into practice the Land Law and implementing radical democratic transformations in agrarian relationships.

The Agrarian Law provided for the abolition of the feudal system of land tenure and the annulment of the landed rights of the landlords, the monasteries, the temples, the schools and various organisations, the liquidation of all debts incurred by the peasants till the carrying out of the reforms. In accordance with this law, the confiscated land was to be transferred to the peasants and it provided for the complete re-allotment of land and tax assignment, irrespective of sex or age. The big forests massifs, the irrigation constructions, the common pasture lands, the lakes and big plots of wasteland passed over into the hands of the State and became public property. Cattle, livestock, agricultural implements, buildings, the provisions and other property of the landlords and kulaks was confiscated and divided among the peasants. The soldiers and officers of the People's Liberation Army and also the workers of the State, the Party and other public organisations whose families lived in the countryside received land and property on a par with the peasants. Similar rights were granted to the families of the former soldiers and officers of the Kuomintang army and Kuomintang officers, who had come over to the side of the democratic power and were living in villages. Only those persons who had actively collaborated with the Japanese occupationists and with the puppet Governments set up by them, the reactionary landlords and representatives of monopoly compradore capital as well as those who had participated actively in the civil war on the side of reaction did not receive any land.

In carrying out the agrarian reform, the Chinese Communist Party asserted the necessity of adhering strictly to the principle of equal distribution of land and property among all peasants. The implementation of the principle of equal land holding was a radical measure of land reform for the liquidation of feudalism and its survivals in China. Being a bourgeois democratic measure, the equalisation of landholding cannot bar the way to differentiation of the peasantry and the enrichment of the bourgeois-kulak sections. In his report to a meeting of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on 25th December, 1947, Mao Tse-tung defined the agrarian policy of the Communist Party as:

"Our line is one of relying on the poor peasantry and supporting a firm alliance with the middle peasantry in order to destroy the system of feudal and semi-feudal exploitation, created by the class of landlords and rich peasants of the old type."

In the course of two years more than 100 million Chinese peasants received land. In these regions where agrarian reform has still not been carried out and the landlord land-ownership has not been abolished (the Provinces of Central and South China), the democratic organ of power have prohibited the levy of more than 33 per cent of the total yield of crop as rent as well as the charging of more than 10 per cent interest annually on peasant loans.

In those areas where the agrarian reform was carried out, the majority of the population of the countryside consists of middle peasants of whom a considerable part have received land lot so very long ago. The poor peasants and the farm labourers who have been apportioned land receive the means of production – seeds, agricultural implements, tractors, manure, etc., from the democratic authorities either at the expense of the distributed property of the landlords or in the form of loans in kind or money and without or with reduced interest.

Voluntary brigades of mutual assistance in about, which cultivate collectively the plots of every member of the brigade have begun to be organised in many villages. The army units render assistance to such brigades. The local organs of power also help the peasants in both building and restoring irrigation constructions, walls, etc.

Over considerable territory of the newly liberated areas, the land reform has not yet been accomplished still. According to the directives of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party, in order to accomplish it, it is necessary that:

- 1) People's power is created in those areas and the leading role of the working class and its Party is ensured;
- 2) War operations are not being conducted nearby;
- 3) The majority of the farm labourer and the peasant population of the given region should voluntarily declare for the accomplishment of the agrarian reform.

The agrarian reform is meeting with strong resistance from the feudal landlord and kulak elements who through the organisation of conspiracies and murders, through the sending of agents and provocateurs in the areas where the reform is being carried out, are attempting to hamper its implementation. In the struggle against the reactionary elements in the Chinese countryside now production relations are being formed – relations which ensure the swift advance of the country's agriculture and the improvement of the material conditions of the peasantry. It is specially importantly that the Chinese peasantry in liberated from enslaving rents which deprive it of 50 to 70 per cent of its crop and from the usurious interests on loans. It has, for the first time, begun to work for itself and is really enjoying the fruits of its labour.

The agrarian reform has strengthened the alliance of the working class and the peasantry and mobilised the peasantry in the fight for an increasing productivity, for a raising of virgin soil and extension of the area of irrigated land and increase of livestock animals. According to the figures in the Chinese press, the peasants of Manchuria reared nearly 500,000 hectares of virgin soil and increased the area of irrigated land by 130,000 hectares. The yield in food cultivation in Manchuria rose from 10,730,000 tons in 1947 to 11,870,000 tons in 1948. However, in 1948, the harvest was only 80 percent of the pre-war level. In their effort to increase the harvest, the peasants of Manchuria increased the sowing region in 1949 by 13 per cent. According to the estimate of the local authorities, the extra harvest of food cultivation comprises no less than 1,800,000 tons this year. The work of model stations, which employ agricultural machines and create experimental, model fields, is contributing to an increase in productivity. The democratic

authorities in Manchuria are paying great attention to extension of the area sown with cotton and also other types of technical cultivation.

In the Liberated Areas, industrial transport, agricultural and other enterprises belonging to the Kuomintang strata and the Chinese monopolies are confiscated in favour of the State. The workers are restoring the destroyed industrial enterprises and transport and are increasing the productivity of labour with enthusiasm. The democratic authorities are restoring industrial production after overcoming tremendous difficulties (shortage of equipment, scarcity of qualified technical and worker cadres). In the Liberated Areas the work of industry, transport and communications is being swiftly put into working order. The workers of Liberated China are performing marvels of labour. Thus in Changsha, the workers saved 32 locomotives, 240 wagons and 100 motor trucks from destruction and removal by Kuomintang troops. In the big coal mines of Bensikh, the workers concealed and later surrendered to the new administration 247,000 details of a machine and different valuable materials. In Tsinan, the capital of the Province of Shantung, as a result of the widely developing labour emulation, the workers achieved great successes within a short period. In the Mukden area, the production plan of seven State textile enterprises for the first quarter of 1949 was overfulfilled by 40 per cent. In the metallurgical factory in Bensikh in the first six months of 1949, the products manufactured were more than in 1945 and the production of rails exceeded the 1945 level by two times. The machine building and chemical factories of Mukden are working successfully. In Anshan, the metallurgical industry has been restored. The sugar refining factory in Achen, 100 kilometres from Harbin has in 1948 refined over 49,000 tons of sugar beet and also continues its work successfully in 1949. The Harbin sugar refining factory, which was destroyed by the Japanese ooccupationists is restored. By October 1, 1949, more than 17,000 kilometres out of 21,000 kilometres of rail road has already been restored. Post and Telegraph communication has been repaired.

The Communist Party of China is fighting to raise the material level of the workers and for a correct organisation of wages, and against leveling in the payment of workers and engineering and technical personnel. The trade unions are conducting big educational work amongst the workers. The Communist Party is succeeding in making the trade unions the political and industrial school of People's Democracy. The All-China Conference of Trade Unions conference

which was held from June 23 to August 16, 1949 in Peking directed all its attention to the tasks of the economic building of the new China.

The development of commerce is a clear testimony of the economic advance of China. In many towns, because of the growing demand of the peasants for industrial goods and the growth of large State, small private and domestic industry, there is a noticeable revival in trade. The democratic authorities are rendering assistance to the development of private and co-operative trade and are advancing loans to the traders; nevertheless, they are waging a determined struggle against speculators. The old Kuomintang money has been withdrawn from circulation over the entire territory of the liberated regions and substituted by now currency, issued by the People's Bank of China. The betterment of the material condition of the workers of democratic China is already having its effects on the way of life of the Chinese people. In particular, forced marriages, the purchase and sale of young girls is prohibited.

The democratic power pays special attention to popular education. As is well-known the overwhelming majority of the population of China is illiterate. The problem of popular education is indissolubly linked with the preparation of cadres – political, administrative, technical and also qualified workers – with the enlightenment of the popular masses, their participation in political life and in the building of People's Democracy. In the Liberated Areas of China, there was developed a broad network of primary and middle schools and high educational institutions. In every village, primary schools were opened, in every district secondary middle schools and in every regions middle school. Simultaneously, there developed a broad network schools for the elimination of illiteracy and evening schools for the grown-ups and also various courses in enterprises for the training of qualified workers and employers.

Thus, already before the proclamation of the People's Republic of China, important democratic transformations, creating the basis for the regime of People's Democracy had already been carried out in the former Liberated Areas.

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The creation of the People's Republic of China and the ratification of its programme and of the organic law of the People's Political Consultative Conference open out further perspectives of the democratic development of China. The programme defined the character of the State structure, the principles of organisation of State power and also the economic, cultural, national and foreign policy of the Republic. In it is laid down that the People's Republic of China is implementing the dictatorship of People's Democracy, led by the working class and based upon an alliance of workers and peasants. The most important task of the new power of the Chinese Republic is the completion of the successful struggle against imperialism, feudalism and the finance-capital clique.

At the session of the Preparatory Committee for the convening of the new Political Consultative Council, Mao Tse-tung said:

"Here, I consider it necessary to draw the attention of the people to the fact that the imperialists and their watchdogs – the Chinese reactionaries – will not reconcile themselves to the defeat they have suffered in China. They will collaborate with each other and will try to use all possible means to fight the Chinese people." (For a Lasting Peace, For a People's Democracy, July 1, 1949).

Numerous facts have confirmed these words. Chiang-Kai-shek is attempting to rescue the reactionary bloc from final collapse. The ruling circles of the USA have decided to grant Chiang-Kai-shek another 75,000,000 dollars. MacArthur's staff is working out plans for a new intervention in Chinese affairs. The American imperialists are carrying out a blockade of the ports of the People's Republic of China. American spiritual missions, the espionage nests of the American Intelligence Service, are displaying great activity in a number of towns in China. The common programme of the People's Political Consultative Council of China lays it down that the Central People's Government must carry on the People's Liberation war to complete victory and liberate the entire territory of the country and finally unite China. The newspaper "Dunboizibao" dated October 3, 1949, wrote: "The Chinese People's Liberation Army must liberate the whole territory of China, including Tibet, Sinkiang – the Islands of Hainan and Formosa, without

allowing a single inch of Chinese territory to remain outside the sovereignty of the Chinese People's Republic.

In accordance with the common programme, all the privileges of the imperialist countries in China are being annulled, big capital is being confiscated, the feudal and semi-feudal system of land-ownership is being transformed into a system of peasant land-ownership. All democratic rights and liberties have been granted to the people. Only the people loyal to the dictatorship of people's democracy have the right of vote. The reactionaries – the landlords, the representatives of monopoly capital – the "Four Families" and in general the capitalists as a whole are deprived of the right of vote. The basis of the reactionary power of Chiang Kai-shek was the monopoly capital of the "Four Families" who, during the twenty years of their rule, had concentrated in their hands capital worth ten to twenty milliard American dollars, more than 80 per cent of the entire bank capital of the 15 Provinces of Kuomintang China, the forest massifs, the biggest enterprises of the manufacturing and mining industry, war industry, external and internal trade and insurance and State bank business. They had thus monopolised the most important economic levers of the country.

Monopoly capital, which was closely linked with forcing imperialists and with the landlord class strangled the petty and middle bourgeoisie. That is why, in the words of Mao tsetung, the petty and the middle bourgeoisie being a genuinely national bourgeoisie, can take part in the People's Democratic Revolution.

The general programme grants women equal rights with men in political, economic, cultural and social life and also in the sphere of education. The feudal system, which relegated women to the position and discrimination in all sphere of life is being ended.

The programme proclaims the equality of all the nationalities of China. The country comprises of nearly 50 million people of non-Chinese nationalities who in the main dwell on the borders of China. Among them are included the numerous peoples inhabiting Sinkiang, Tibet, Inner Mongolia, Manchuria and the Provinces of Sikang, Chinghai, Yunnan, Guichjey, etc. The

Kuomintang reactionary Government pursued a policy of chauvinistic, of dislodging of these people from their land and a policy of exploiting them mercilessly.

The common programme lays down that the People's Republic of China must become a bulwark of the brotherhood and friendship of all the nationalities inhabiting it and calls for a struggle against Great Power nationalism and chauvinism, against discrimination and the creation of discord between various nationalities. In those areas where national minorities predominate, local autonomy is granted to them; they enjoy the free development of their dialects and languages and the right of retention of change of their customs, traditions and religious convictions.

The supreme organ of the Legislative State Power is the All-Chinese People's Congress, elected through general elections. Till the convocation of the All-China People's Congress, the People's Political Consultative Council, formed from the representatives of these parties and groups of the Chinese people who have entered the United Front of China is carrying out its functions. The organs of State power in the local regions will be elected through general elections in the local People's Congresses. Elections will be held after the termination of military operations and after the completion of the agrarian reform. Till that time, in all the newly-liberated regions after the liquidation of the Kuomintang organs of power, military control of the People's Liberation Army is being accomplished.

A special section of the programme is devoted to military organisation; it provides for the consolidation of the national defence of the People's Republic of China, the political training of the Commanders and combatants in a revolutionary patriotic spirit and the preparation for introduction of compulsory military service.

The section on the economic policy of China occupies a big place in the programme. The main economic task of the People's Democratic Revolution is the liquidation of the economic foundations of the domination of the landlords and big capital, who constitute the prop and allies of foreign capital. The confiscation of all the property belonging to the Kuomintang top strata and big capital in general, represents an important revolutionary measure, which lays the basis of

Socialist construction. In the section on the economic policy of China, it is laid down that the main principle of economic construction of the Republic is the creation of an industrial, prosperous and independent China. It is emphasised that the fundamental and essential condition for the development of productive forces of the town and countryside the carrying out the agrarian reform in the country. The general principle of land reform is formulated in the programme "Land belongs to him who tills it." The reform is being carried out on the basis of a law worked out at a special Agrarian Conference in September 1948. The economic part of the common programme has in view the development of democratic China on the path to Socialism.

The main articles of the programme in the sphere of economic policy emerge from the existence of five fundamental economic sectors in contemporary China: (1) State-owned (Socialist); (2) Co-operative (semi-socialist); (3) Private peasant and artisan (small commodity); (4) Private capitalist; and (5) State-owned capitalist.

The foundation of social economy according to the common programme is the sector of State-owned economy which bears a Socialist character. The development of this sector is the most important task of the People's Republic. All the resources and enterprises belonging to the State "are the material base of the People's Republic, in the work of development of production and of the creation of a prosperous economy and is leading force in the whole social economy."

The small proprietary peasant and artisan sector embraces 80 per cent of the population of China. The private capitalist sector, even though weak economically, embraces, however, considerable masses of the petty and the middle bourgeoisie both in the towns as well as in villages of China. Thus, in Mukden the number of petty and medium merchants and industrialists is 22,000 in Peking, 50,000, in Shanghai 100,000. In Harbin there are 15,000 small private industrial and more than 1,000 commercial enterprises; in Kirin, nearly 4,000, etc.

The State-capital sector proposes the co-operation of private capital with State enterprises and the direction of the enterprises jointly with the State and the leasing of State enterprises and of resources belonging to the State to private owners.

At the present time, the industry of China is yet very weakly developed. Industrial production does not exceed even 10 per cent of the entire production of China. Therefore, the Chinese people are confronted with the problem of industrialisation of the country. The programme sets before the People's Government the task of contributing in every way to the development both of the State and the cooperative, as well as the private enterprises, which are of benefit to the work of national well being and the welfare of the people.

Without the industrialisation of the country, China cannot achieve economic independence and real sovereignty, cannot move forward on the path to Socialism. The common programme has in view the fact that the Central Government must in the shortest period of time work out a general plan for the restoration and development of the main branches of State and private economy, define the sphere of both its own activities and those of the local organs of power in the field of economic construction. The plan has in view the carrying out of big measures in the field of agriculture and in particular in the establishment of irrigation construction increase in productivity by fertilisers, the improvement of agricultural implements and also the introduction of preventive measures against flood drought. In the sphere of industry, attention is paid to the reconstruction and development of heavy industry — mining, metallurgical, energy, machine-building, electric industry and fundamental chemical industry. Further very important tasks in the sphere of transport and communications, trade and finance are planned. The article on the State finances says that "a balance in the budget will gradually be arrived at and capital amassed for the development of production in the country."

In all State enterprises, the system of workers' participation in the direction of enterprises is being introduced. In private enterprises the system of collective agreements, which are fulfilled under the control of the trade unions, is being established.

The policy of the People's Government in the sphere of culture and education and also on the national question is formulated in special sections of the programme. The basis of the foreign policy is the safeguarding of the independence and sovereignty, the freedom and integrity of the territory of the country, support to international peace and friendly cooperation between the peoples of all countries and above all with the Soviet Union, and irreconcilable struggle against

the imperialist policy of aggression and war.

Brotherly relations with the Soviet Union, which is heading the camp of democracy and

Socialism, have a specially important significance for China. The Soviet people cherish a warm

feeling of friendship towards the Chinese people. The USSR was the first Power in the world to

conclude a treaty of equality with China. The Soviet troops defeated the Japanese imperialists

and at the same time liberated the Chinese people from a most dangerous enemy.

"Truth and Justice," said Comrade Stalin, "are all on the side of the Chinese Revolution.

That is why we sympathise and will continue to sympathise with the Chinese Revolution in its

struggle for the liberation of the Chinese people from the yoke of imperialists and the unification

of China into one State. (J.V. Stalin: Collected Works, Moscow, Russian Ed., Vol. VII, p. 293-

94).

The U.S.S.R. was the first State to recognise the People's Republic of China.

The formation of the People's Republic of China and the decision of the Socialist

Government on its recognition were met with enthusiasm not only by the many million working

population of People's Democratic China, not only by all the democratic countries, but by

progressive people all over the world. It is not without reason that that big instigator of war,

Churchill, appraised the victory of the Chinese people as a catastrophe, as the biggest disaster

since the termination of the Second World War. The formation of the People's Republic of China

is a disaster for the imperialists, and a very big victory in the struggle for Peace, for Socialism

and for Democracy.

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