

**Premier Chou En-lai's Political Report to the Third Session
Of the First National Committee of the Chinese
People's Political Consultative Conference**

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Premier Chow En-lai's Political Report

Mr. Chairman, Committee Members and Comrades:

It is 16 months since the second session of the First National Committee of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference in June 1950. Under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party and the Central People's Government, headed by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the cause of the people of our great Motherland has gained new victories and achievements in various fields. In this report I shall not dwell on such subjects as the activities in connection with the movement for resisting American aggression and aiding Korea, economic and public finance work, and cultural and educational work during this period, and the future direction of these activities. Separate reports will be made on these by Peng Chen, Vice-Chairman of the Chinese People's Committee for World Peace and Against American Aggression, and by Chen Yun and Kuo Mo-jo, Vice-Premiers of the Government Administration Council. My report will deal with the following seven questions: The present situation, foreign affairs and national defence, land reform, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, the work of government organs, relations between the various nationalities and the United Front.

1. The Present Situation

With the peaceful liberation of Tibet, an unprecedented unity of the people has been achieved throughout the whole mainland of China. Our People's Democratic Dictatorship has been strengthened in the course of the victorious development of the three big movements: Resistance to American aggression and aid for Korea, land reform and the movement to suppress the counter-revolutionaries. Our national defences, in terms of army organisation, equipment, technique, training, etc., are on their way to modernisation. Our economy is on the road to swift recovery: Agricultural and industrial production, in the main, has nearly been restored to the highest level of production in Chinese history, while in some fields the highest level has been surpassed, in some cases by a wide margin; only in some cases it will take a few more years' efforts to bring it up to the record level. There has been further development of our commerce compared with last year. Commodity prices, in the main, have remained stable throughout the country. Our foreign trade in the very first year registered a favourable balance, a radical change from the situation of the past 73 years when an unfavourable trade balance was one of the characteristics of semi-colonial China. Our cultural and educational endeavours have made remarkable progress everywhere. The friendly co-operation among our fraternal nationalities is becoming ever closer.

In the past year, the greatest and most glorious struggle of our country has been that of the heroic Chinese people's volunteers in Korea who, fighting shoulder to shoulder with the heroic Korean People's Army against the blood-thirsty aggression of the American imperialists, have won great victories. These victories have safeguarded China and Korea and peace in the Far East; upset the time-table of the

American imperialists for their war of world aggression; given encouragement to all people of the colonial and semi-colonial countries in their struggle for freedom and independence; strengthened and augmented the confidence of the people the world over in fighting for lasting peace and against aggressive war. The patriotic movement of the Chinese people has reached unprecedented heights such as could hardly be scaled in ordinary times in scores or even hundreds of years. This upsurge has infinitely strengthened the moral and political unity of our country.

Internationally, the great Sino-Soviet alliance of friendship is becoming ever more firmly consolidated. Our country's truly friendly relations with the People's Democracies are developing successfully. Our country has established diplomatic and trade relations with Southeast Asian countries and with some of the Western European countries on the basis of equality and reciprocity.

These enormous achievements of the Chinese people during the past two years since the founding of their Republic, bear testimony to the great vitality of the system of People's Democratic Dictatorship. Every success of the Chinese people on all fronts strengthens the world camp of peace and democracy. Standing in the forefront of the struggle against imperialism, China has today become the pillar of the world camp of peace and democracy in the East.

Our remarkable success have been won under favourable international conditions. The camp of peace and democracy, headed by the Soviet Union, is becoming ever stronger and more consolidated, while the imperialist camp, headed by the United States, is being more and more shaken to its foundations.

Our great ally, the Soviet Union, has succeeded in greatly over-fulfilling its post-war Five-Year Plan. With full confidence, the people of the Soviet Union are striding forward towards the great construction of communism. The Soviet Union's peace policy, its brilliant accomplishments in the peaceful utilisation of atomic energy and in the production of atomic bombs, as well as its peaceful proposal for international control of atomic weapons, have totally defeated the policy of atomic blackmail with which the American and British aggressive blocs have been threatening the peoples of the world for the past six post-war years; and has greatly increased the confidence of the people all over the world in defending peace. With the mighty assistance and close co-operation of the Soviet Union, the labouring people of all the European People's Democracies have successfully taken the road towards the building of socialism. The unity between the nations and peoples of the camp of peace and democracy is based on the democratic principle of equality, mutual assistance, sincerity and mutual confidence. Therefore, it is firm, dependable and invincible. The alliance of the two great countries of China and the Soviet Union, comprising one third of the world's population, is a mighty force unequalled in history, and is the surest guarantee for the victory of peace over war.

Imperialism, rotten to the core and shaken to its foundations, is making a desperate struggle. The

United States, heading the imperialist camp, has rallied the reactionary elements of various countries, who have been contemptuously rejected by their own peoples, to organise aggressive blocs in both the East and the West. It has begun and is continuing its war of intervention in Korea; it is expanding its military budget, arming Japan and Western Germany, setting up military bases abroad and intensifying preparations for aggressive war. In this way, it is attempting to create prolonged tension throughout the world in its aims to bring the world under its sway. Moreover, it dreams of defeating the forces of peace and democracy by unleashing a third world war. However, these longterm, intense war preparations in the imperialist camp will inevitably further enlarge and aggravate its internal contradictions and difficulties. The criminal acts of American imperialism in frantically and ferociously trampling on the independence and sovereignty of other countries, in undermining the peoples' standard of living in these countries and turning them into American colonies—all of which is being done in the name of war preparations—have aroused bitter hatred and active resistance to American imperialism on the part of all peoples, especially the peoples of Asia and Western Europe. Attempting to dominate the whole world, American imperialism forces its satellite countries into shameless compliance with its policy of war preparation but, at the same time, it greatly adds to the daily sharpening quarrels between American ruling circles and ruling circles of other countries—especially the British—and sharpens the conflicts within the ruling circles in each of these countries. In order to push forward their frenzied war preparations, the countries of the imperialist camp cannot but expand war production at the expense of peaceful production and fatten the monopoly capitalists, in the first place the capitalists in the munitions industries, at the expense of the working people. These prolonged, intensive and desperate war preparations are driving their entire economies into even greater unbalance and confusion than before. As a result, the entire economy of the capitalist world is certainly heading for a greater and deeper economic crisis.

A serious war menace, created by the imperialist camp, exists. But all over the world the forces fighting to check the war danger have developed greater strength than ever before. The strength of the world camp of peace and democracy has already surpassed that of the imperialist war camp. Over 500 million people in various countries of the world signed the Stockholm Appeal and, up to now, the number of those who have signed the appeal for a world peace pact has reached over 540 million and is still increasing from day to day. From Asia to Africa, the people's liberation movement in colonies and semi-colonies, which were regarded as life lines of imperialism, has reached new heights. The movement of the people within the various capitalist countries for the defence of peace and against war is also developing extensively. The new world war can be stopped if the people all over the world are still more vigilant, if they continue to unite all the peaceful and democratic forces which are capable of being united and bring about a still greater development of these forces. Today, the imperialists' limited war of aggression in Korea has already met with serious blows. If the imperialists desperately unleash a third

world war, they will certainly meet with complete failure.

2. Foreign Affairs and National Defence

The people and Government of our country love peace and pursue a consistent policy of peace. Over 230 million people of our country signed the Stockholm Appeal and 344 million have signed the appeal for a world peace pact. Everyone knows that our people, after liberating our entire territory, need to restore and develop our industrial and agricultural production and our cultural and educational work in peaceful surroundings free from menace. Everyone is aware that the people of our country consider that countries of diverse social systems all over the world can exist peacefully side by side. The people of our country have never harboured thoughts of threatening or invading any one. But we cannot for a moment tolerate other peoples' threats and aggression against us. All those countries which are willing to establish diplomatic and trade relations with us, on the basis of the principle of equality, mutual benefit and mutual respect for territorial sovereignty, will certainly be welcomed by us; while the imperialists who dream of threatening our people with the policy of aggression and war will certainly meet with our resolute counter-blows. This is the foreign policy we are pursuing and will continue to pursue in the future.

The United States government could not face up to the utter failure which resulted from its intervention in China's civil war. So on June 25, 1950, it started the war of intervention in Korea and simultaneously invaded Taiwan Island which is part of our country. Thus the American government has thoroughly exposed its war policy of consistently threatening China's independence and destroying peace in the Far East. Repeatedly the Chinese people and the Chinese government have made proposals and issued warnings to the United States government, demanding that the United States armed forces withdraw from Taiwan, that the aggressive war in Korea be brought to an early end and that the problems concerning Korea and the Far East be settled by peaceful means. However, the United States government unscrupulously rejected such proposals and warnings and ordered its armed forces to cross the 38th Parallel in strength and to approach the Yalu River. At the same time, its air force repeatedly bombed and strafed cities and villages of our North-east frontier and its naval forces attacked our vessels on the seas. This was beyond the forbearance of the Chinese people so they organised volunteer forces to resist American aggression, aid Korea, protect their homes and defend their country. They went to Korea and resisted the aggression of American imperialism. The democratic parties of China issued a Joint Declaration on November 4, 1950 in support of this righteous action.

So far as military equipment is concerned, the Chinese people's volunteers are still inferior to the American aggressive forces. However, they possess a high level of political consciousness and have confidence in victory; they have mastered the laws of righteous war and possess the experience of protracted warfare against an enemy, and have won the full support of the Chinese and Korean peoples and the

sympathy of progressive peoples of the whole world. As a result of a year's fighting, the Chinese people's volunteers have, side by side with the Korean People's Army, dealt heavy blows to the arrogant and ruthless American aggressive forces and driven them from the banks of the Yalu River back to the vicinity of the 38th Parallel. During the eleven and a half months from October 25, 1950 to October 10, 1951, over 387,000 enemy troops have been killed, wounded or captured (including more than 176,000 American troops) and 2,310 enemy planes have been shot down, damaged or captured.

In this righteous war to resist American aggression and aid Korea, the Chinese people have strengthened and consolidated themselves in all fields. But the state of attrition of the aggressive war in Korea is so colossal and the main forces which are bogged down there are so large that the American government and its vassals cannot help worrying about the consequences of the military adventure which they embarked upon in Korea.

Despite all this, the objective of the righteous action taken by the Chinese people's volunteers is still the same; to defend the frontiers of our country and to settle the Korean question through peaceful means. Therefore, when Mr. Malik, the Soviet delegate to the United Nations, proposed on June 23, 1951 that the first step for the realisation of a peaceful settlement of the Korean question was for the two belligerents to negotiate for an armistice and to withdraw their respective troops from the 38th Parallel, the Chinese and Korean peoples promptly responded and showed their willingness quickly to achieve an armistice on an equal and just basis so that a further step could be taken to seek a peaceful settlement of the Korean question and other Far Eastern questions.

In spite of the fact that the United States government was forced to accept Mr. Malik's proposal, due to the difficulties caused by the aggressive war in Korea and the pressure of world public opinion, and began initial talks for an armistice in Korea on July 10, it has been unwilling, for diplomatic and domestic reasons, to reach rapid agreement in the cease-fire negotiations. Consequently, the United Nations command did not scruple to create all kinds of provocative incidents, complicating and delaying the negotiations. In these conditions, in order to comply with the peaceful will of the peoples of the world, the Chinese people have maintained throughout a very firm yet very patient attitude and, together with the Korean people, have been making continuous efforts to fight for the success of the armistice negotiations in Korea. But, at the same time, the Chinese people must be prepared in every way against the possibilities of failure in the negotiations resulting from obstructions on the part of the United States. With a view to defending peace and security in China and Korea as well as in the whole Far East, the Chinese people must continue to raise their vigilance and support with all their efforts the long-term struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea. The Chinese people are determined to liberate Taiwan from the grip of the American aggressors and will never relax until they have achieved that end.

For a year now the United States government has also been conducting in various other ways hostile activities against the Chinese people. It has prevented the People's Republic of China from enjoying

the legitimate status in the United Nations that she is entitled to. In the meetings of the United Nations it has torn to pieces the Cairo Declaration and the Potsdam Declaration and refused to withdraw its armed forces from Taiwan. With the majority of the United Nations under its control, the extremely preposterous and shameful resolution labelling China an "aggressor" was passed on February 1, 1951. Following this, the majority of the United Nations, under United States' coercion, also passed the resolution to place an embargo on China. All this has thoroughly exposed the fact that the United Nations has gradually become a tool of American imperialism in its plans to prepare war and extend aggression.

The stupid and short-sighted American imperialists fancied that the "blockade" and "embargo" would certainly deal a heavy blow to our country, but they are entirely mistaken. Actually this very "blockade" and "embargo" were utilised by us to help to eliminate the semi-colonial, dependent character of our economy and to shorten the road for reaching complete independence and self-reliance in our economy. Far from hurting us, the blow has rebounded upon the imperialists themselves. The "economic blockade" imposed by the United States has even served to hasten our progress in eliminating the economic privileges in China enjoyed by the American imperialists. In the course of the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea, the Chinese people have successfully and without a hitch put an end to the aggressive cultural activities which the American imperialists conducted in our country for so many years, and have gradually eliminated the pro-American outlook, which worships everything American, as well as the fear of America. All this is very beneficial to our country and people.

Utilising the tense situation created by the Korean war, the American government compelled a group of satellite countries to attend the San Francisco conference (September 4 to 8, 1951) and to sign the separate "peace treaty" with Japan. Moreover, the United States signed with Japan the so-called "Bilateral United States-Japan Security Pact" which permits the indefinite occupation of Japan by American troops. This so-called "peace treaty" and "Security Pact," which are hostile to the Soviet Union and China, threaten the Asian people, and aim to revive Japanese militarism and establish Japan as a colony of America, and the "United States-Philippines Mutual Defence Treaty" and the "Tripartite Security Treaty between the United States, Australia and New Zealand," signed on the eve of the San Francisco conference, are instruments with which the United States aims to oppress and enslave the Asian people and to prepare for unleashing another aggressive war in Asia. We must further expose the American imperialist plots of frenzied war preparations in the Far East and call on all the peoples of Asia and of the world to unite and defeat the war plans of the United States.

It is entirely unreasonable that the American government should more and more interfere in the internal affairs of Viet-Nam and other Asian countries. As early as June 28 last year, Chairman Mao Tse-tung said, "The affairs of the various countries throughout the world should be run by the peoples of the respective countries themselves, and the affairs

of Asia should be run by the peoples of Asia themselves, and not by the United States. United States aggression in Asia will only arouse the extensive and resolute resistance of the peoples of Asia." The situation in Asia has undergone a fundamental change. Under the influence of the success of the Chinese revolution, the level of consciousness of the Asian people has been raised to an unprecedented degree and liberation movements are developing more and more strongly with each passing day. The unity of the Chinese people and the peoples of Asia will certainly create a powerful and matchless force in the Far East which will rapidly push forward the great wheel of history in the movement for the independence and liberation of the peoples of the Asian countries.

After the United States government launched the aggressive war in Korea, some countries followed it and obeyed its directive in adopting extremely unfriendly and even hostile measures towards the people of our country. We particularly warn the governments of these countries to put an end to these measures; otherwise, they will be responsible not only for their unreasonable actions but also for the consequences.

There are about 10 million Chinese nationals living overseas. The lawful rights and interests of these peoples, as a result of unreasonable discrimination and even persecution on the part of certain countries, have been seriously infringed. This cannot but arouse the serious attention and deep concern of the Chinese people and government.

As already mentioned, in order to defend our Motherland and peace in the Far East we must further consolidate and strengthen our national defence forces. On the basis of its glorious, victorious traditions, the Chinese People's Liberation Army must study hard, strengthen the building up of all the various armed forces, increase its modern equipment, improve its organisation, introduce a unified system, intensify training, raise the level of discipline, and struggle for the establishment and building up of a strong and modernised national defence force. Production in our country must serve the purpose of strengthening our national defence forces. The people of the whole nation must be mobilised, in response to Chairman Mao Tse-tung's call, to practise economy, increase production and intensify their work in support of the great movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea.

On the ideological front, we must continue to sweep away all remaining imperialist influences throughout the nation. We must educate our people in the spirit of fervent love for our country and bitter hatred of imperialist aggression. So long as we strive together, we shall certainly succeed in defending our sacred Motherland and peace in the Far East and the world.

3. Land Reform

Land reform movement has been developed in the newly liberated areas during the past period of over one year in accordance with the Agrarian Reform Law of the People's Republic of China and other decisions. Its foundation is the victory of the Chinese revolutionary war and the successes in the struggles to exterminate bandits, suppress despots and apply rent reduction and refund of deposits in the villages.

The land reform movement has developed in a planned, orderly way by stages. It is the broadest and most healthy land reform movement in the history of China's revolution.

By the end of this August, land reform was completed in areas containing a rural population of over 150 million in the four administrative areas of East, Central-South, Southwest and Northwest China. Over 180 million *mou* of land were distributed among more than 90 million landless and land-poor peasants. In the country as a whole, including the old liberated areas, land reform has been completed in areas with a total rural population of over 310 million and it still remains to be carried out in areas with a rural population of over 90 million. With another year's effort, it is estimated that land reform can, in the main, be completed throughout the country by the end of next year except for areas populated by the national minorities.

In areas where land reform has been completed, a fundamental change has taken place in the villages.

In the first place, the land ownership system of feudal exploitation by the landlord class has been abolished, and the system of peasant land ownership instituted. The series of struggles of the peasant masses have gone hand in hand with the movement for suppression of counter-revolutionaries. These struggles carried out in accordance with the provisional regulations of the various areas for the punishment of law-breaking landlords and the decisions pronounced by the people's tribunals have thoroughly crushed the reactionary forces of the landlord class and enabled the oppressed peasants to emancipate themselves and become the masters in the villages. They have completely taken over power and consolidated the People's Democratic Dictatorship in the villages. As the peasants themselves say: "In the past, the sky above and the earth below all belonged to the landlord. Now they have become ours."

In the second place, with the release of the productive forces in the countryside, the peasants' enthusiasm for production has risen immensely. They invest in production 70 to 80 per cent of what they gain (apart from the land) from the land reform and also receive help from the various levels of the people's government. Thus agriculture has been restored to a marked degree and has in some places developed. It is expected that this year's total agricultural output will be 5 per cent above last year's. Since land reform, the purchasing power of the peasants in the new areas has risen by an average of 50 per cent. There is an increasingly brisk market for the industrial products of the urban districts and supplies of consumer's goods of daily use find it hard to meet the demand. This shows that land reform has opened a wide road for industrial development.

In the third place, there has taken place an exceptional sharpening in the political consciousness of the peasants. Responding to the call of "safeguard the fruits of emancipation," the peasants have built a mighty Movement to Resist American Aggression, Aid Korea, Safeguard Our Homes and Defend Our Motherland. They have drawn up and signed patriotic pacts on a large scale, have volunteered for the Army, have eagerly thrown themselves into the work of increasing production so as to raise donations and

made their patriotic public grain deliveries. Everywhere, the peasants have manifested their boundless patriotic enthusiasm and their heartfelt love and respect for the Communist Party and Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

In the fourth place, the peasants have been organised and armed. In the four major administrative areas of East, Central-South, Southwest and Northwest China, the membership of the peasant associations has grown to over 88 million, of whom approximately 30 per cent are women. Large numbers of peasant activists have emerged. Militia forces in these four areas have reached a strength of 7,500,000. With other areas added in, the total militia strength in the whole country has grown to more than 12,800,000. This is an important force for consolidating the People's Democratic Dictatorship and safeguarding the "fruits of emancipation."

In the fifth place, cultural work has been gradually developed in the rural areas. The number of peasants attending winter school rose to over 25 million throughout the country last winter and this year attendances at regular night schools have exceeded 11 million. The spreading of new scientific knowledge has begun and respect for labour is steadily becoming universal.

Contributing to the great successes during the past year in the land reform movement in the new areas are the following principal factors:

Firstly, the general line put forward by Comrade Liu Shao-chi at the second session of this Committee in his report on land reform that "reliance should be placed on the poor peasants and farm labourers, while uniting with the middle peasants, neutralising the rich peasants eliminating the feudal exploitation system step by step and with discrimination and developing agricultural production." Where reliance has been placed on the poor peasants and the hired farm labourers and their demand for land in the main, satisfied, the struggle to uproot the feudal system has been effective and thorough. In other cases, deviations have occurred of a "peaceful" land reform character and of land reform being done superficially and not genuinely and of landlords fighting back to seize the land again shortly after land reform. Where the large majority of middle peasants have taken part in the peasants' associations and their leadership and those of them who lacked land were allotted land to make up their holdings, the relationship between the middle peasants and the poor peasants and farm labourers has become closer and the ranks of the peasants broadened and consolidated. It has thus been proved incorrect to encroach on or cold-shoulder the middle peasants, no matter on what grounds. As for the rich peasants, except that a part or the whole of the land which they leased to others has been requisitioned in most areas, their land which they themselves till, or hire others to till, and their other property has everywhere been strictly protected. The average holdings of the rich peasants in new areas after land reform are approximately one and a half times that of the other peasants in the same district. Thus, the rich peasants are neutralised and this has had the extremely important effect of isolating the landlords and re-assuring the middle peasants, so encouraging their fervour for produc-

tion. The policy of different treatment given to different elements of the landlord class has been adopted in various places. As land reform is designed to uproot thoroughly the feudal exploitation system and to eliminate the feudal exploiting class, the ordinary landlords who obeyed the land reform laws and decrees have been given a share of land, similar to that given to the local peasants, and other means of production, so as to enable them to reform themselves through labour. Punishment has been meted out only to the despotic landlords and those who undermined the laws and decrees.

The policy of giving due consideration to small lease-holders and overseas Chinese and the policy of extending firm protection to urban industrial and commercial enterprises have been implemented in all places. Urban-rural liaison committees were set up in various places and these helped both to solve problems as between different sections of people in the towns and the peasants and to build still closer relations between people of the town and country. Because of all this, the land reform movement has been thorough and orderly throughout the country.

Secondly, the conducting of widespread propaganda on policy and free mobilisation of the masses. The Chinese landlord class, which had subjected the peasants to political oppression, land monopoly and exploitation through usury for centuries, was reluctant to accept its extinction lying down. Investigations in new areas showed that landlords made up 5 per cent of the population but held 40 to 80 per cent of the land, whereas poor peasants and hired farm labourers made up 50 to 60 per cent of the population but only held 4 to 15 per cent of the land generally, rent in all places took more than 50 per cent of output, in some cases reaching as high as over 90 per cent. There were cases in which landlords fought back to seize the land, sabotaged production, felled trees, murdered peasants and cadres and many even worked in league with bandits or organised bandits for rioting. Consequently, any idea of "peaceful land reform" carried out merely by "issuing of laws and decrees by the Government without mobilising the popular masses for struggle" is incorrect. Only by conducting intensive and widespread propaganda on land reform policy, freely mobilising the peasant masses, and through meetings, giving vent to grievances and differentiating class status, so uniting over 90 per cent of the rural population for the waging of the necessary and appropriate struggles and the distributing of the fruits of land reform impartially and reasonably, could the sabotage and counter-attacks by the landlord class be checked and crushed. In places where land reform has been carried out in this way it has been possible to do away with the landlord class thoroughly and fulfill the tasks of land reform.

Thirdly, the strengthening of the leadership and mobilising large numbers of cadres to go to the rural areas. In new areas, a land reform working corps numbering 360,000 was trained in advance and the guiding principle adopted of making typical experiments, taking key points first and then spreading out from these to wider areas, and linking the key points up with the areas, thus developing the work steadily. The various levels of leadership have employed a variety of methods for developing close contact

between the upper and lower levels, keeping a grip on the actual situation of the movement and unearthing and solving problems, correcting deviations and errors and drawing conclusions from and exchanging experiences in good time so as to give healthy impetus to the movement. At the same time, large numbers of cadres, democrats, intellectuals, industrialists and merchants were rallied to go to the rural districts to take part in or observe the land reform. This not only gave direct support to the peasants and dealt the feudal influences a powerful blow, but also provided outstanding education and a shaking up in ideas for those who went.

Some deviations and defects occurred in certain places in the course of the great land reform movement. However, the leadership in the various areas corrected these in time. That is why we say that land reform this time is healthy.

In order to complete the land reform in the main throughout the country, the following tasks must be well done in the coming year:

A. Apply the valuable experiences gained during the past year or more to complete the land reform in areas covering a further 90 million rural population.

B. In those areas where land reform has been carried through the work should be rounded off seriously so that land reform can be carried out thoroughly in places where it has not been carried out thoroughly, by means of intensive examination so that outstanding problems can be solved properly.

C. In rural areas, whether in the new or the old areas, where land reform has been completed, great efforts should be made to develop production. Agriculture and subsidiary production must be restored and developed in villages in a planned way and peasants should be given guidance on the organising of both temporary and all-year-round mutual-aid teams on a voluntary basis to the advantage of all concerned. Agricultural productive co-operatives should be established at key points step by step, and supply and marketing co-operatives developed to promote the exchange of goods, so that the masses of the peasants can be organised not only politically but also on an economic basis, for the increasing of production and development of the economy, leading them on to the great, bright road whereby they may feed and clothe themselves well and furnish the state with resources.

4. Suppression of Counter-Revolutionaries

In the past year, the various levels of the people's governments, on the basis of Article 7 of the *Common Programme* and the "Regulations for the Punishment of Counter-Revolutionaries," issued by the Central People's Government, stimulated and placed their reliance on the revolutionary initiative of the mass of the people and achieved great nation-wide successes in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries.

At the present time, in the overwhelming majority of areas in the country, the remaining counter-revolutionary forces have been dealt very serious blows with the arrest, execution and imprisonment of large numbers of the major vicious elements who fall into the five categories of bandits, despots, secret agents, members of reactionary parties and organisations and

reactionary secret societies. Bandits have already, in the main, been exterminated throughout the country. The impressive force with which the counter-revolutionaries have been suppressed has caused great panic, vacillation and confusion among the counter-revolutionaries. Many such elements have been compelled to come forward to repent, giving themselves up voluntarily and disclosing their organisations, documentary evidence and weapons and admitting their guilt to the people. With the elimination of large numbers of counter-revolutionaries, social order has gained a stability throughout the country unknown in our history.

As a result of organisation and mobilisation by the various levels of the people's government, by the democratic parties and people's organisations, the people throughout the country have enthusiastically supported and taken part in the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries. There have been many outstanding instances in various parts of the country of the masses coming forward with accusations against counter-revolutionary elements, exposing them and assisting the People's Government to apprehend those who remained at large. Thus wherever the masses have been called upon effectively, the movement for suppressing counter-revolutionaries has gone right ahead. In these places, the public has straightened out its grievances, the people's power has grown firmer and there has been more active participation of the masses in political life and productive activity.

The rooting out of large numbers of counter-revolutionary elements and the stimulated revolutionary initiative of the masses are most valuable achievements in the great movement for the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries.

By the end of last spring, the movement for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries reached a high tide throughout the country. To consolidate our achievements and avoid possible errors, we adopted, on the basis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung's directive, the guiding principle of exercising appropriate restraint and more discretion and care. We have adopted the policy of pronouncing on those criminals, who have merited the death penalty, but who owe no blood debt, are not great objects of the people's anger, and whose crimes against the national interests, though serious, are not in the most serious category, a death sentence suspended for two years, and putting them to compulsory labour for that period so as to see how they turn out. In those cases of the principal counter-revolutionary elements who owed blood debts and those who injured the national interests in the highest degree, only the death penalty could satisfy the people's anger. Therefore, they had to be firmly sentenced to death and executed.

At the same time, we also decided to carry out by concentrated effort within the five-month period from June to October the three tasks of clearing off accumulated, unsettled cases in various parts of the country, of organising the reform of criminals by labour and clearing out counter-revolutionary elements in all government organs and institutions. The results of carrying out these tasks during the past few months have proved the correctness of the decisions and have still further consolidated and developed the successes achieved in the struggle for the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries.

However, as far as present conditions are concerned, the movement for the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries is uneven nationally. Although it has been carried out comparatively thoroughly in most areas, it has not been thorough enough in some. There are, even now, cases in a few areas of counter-revolutionary elements not yet brought to justice. There is unevenness, too, in the blows dealt to the five categories of counter-revolutionary elements—bandits, despots, secret agents, members of reactionary parties or organisations and members of reactionary superstitious secret societies. Apart from this, both in the old and new areas, in the villages and cities, there are still a number of counter-revolutionary elements at large. The crimes of an overwhelming majority of these counter-revolutionary elements who remain at large are of the most serious character and they have incurred the most profound anger of the people. There is a pressing demand from the masses for their apprehension and punishment in accordance with the law.

The mobilising of the masses in the movement for the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries has also been unbalanced. The masses have not been mobilised in those places where blows have not been dealt to the counter-revolutionaries; or even in the few places where some counter-revolutionary elements have been arrested and put to death, but no large-scale propaganda has been conducted, or the suppression of the counter-revolutionaries has been carried out without the participation of the masses.

For these reasons, the struggle for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries must continue on a nation-wide scale in order thoroughly to uproot the remaining counter-revolutionary forces. In every sphere where the struggle has not been carried out thoroughly, it should be carried out thoroughly; the masses should be mobilised more widely and intensively. And in every area where the work has been carried out comparatively thoroughly, the steady work of struggling against the counter-revolutionaries should be still further strengthened.

We have resolutely implemented the policy laid down in the *Common Programme* which "protects law-abiding foreign nationals." However, in the case of a few foreign nationals, who are espionage and sabotage elements and who dare to endanger our national security and people's interests, if the evidence of their crimes is found to be authentic, they will be punished in accordance with law on the merits of each case.

In general, the Central People's Government adopted shortly after its establishment resolute measures for the suppression of counter-revolutionaries. This has been absolutely necessary and perfectly correct. If we did not attach great importance to the uprooting of the remnant forces of the counter-revolutionaries, it would have been impossible to consolidate the People's Democratic Dictatorship and important measures for the people's cause, such as the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea, land reform and national construction would surely have met with serious obstruction and difficulties. Therefore, the application of the policy of determined suppression, thorough uprooting of the remnant counter-revolutionary forces and their sabo-

taging activities has been a necessary step in the direction of consolidating victory and carrying the revolution to its end. This is the basic reason why Chairman Mao Tse-tung has time and again reminded us not to relax our vigilance against the remnant counter-revolutionaries. Our *Common Programme* has also laid it down that stringent action must be taken against the counter-revolutionary elements.

5. The Work of Government Organs

From the time the Central People's Government was formed it has been one of our important political tasks to exert unremitting efforts in universally extending and constantly enriching and improving the work of the people's representative conferences of all levels. Up to the present, people's representative conferences have been called in the Northeast China Administrative Area, the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Area, in 28 provinces, eight sub-administrative areas corresponding to provinces, 146 municipalities and cities, 2,068 counties and 105 other administrative units corresponding to counties. Thirty cities each with a population upwards of 100,000 people have held people's representative conferences of a district level. In the rural areas, people's representative conferences or peasants' representative conferences have also been held, in general, in the sub-counties and *hsiang* (administrative villages). Except where special conditions exist, people's representative conferences have also been held in the main in areas where national minorities are concentrated and where different nationalities live together, these including 15 regions where people's representative conferences of various national minorities have been called.

By rallying the masses closely round the people's governments of all levels, the people's representative conferences can by their activities stir the people into a united and powerful force for shouldering the tasks of national construction and national defence. The truth of this has been sufficiently borne out during the past year in the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea, the land reform movement, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries movement and the movement for developing production. Where the people's representative conferences have been well linked with these movements, the political awakening, patriotism, revolutionary vigilance and enthusiasm in production among the masses of the people have been greatly stimulated and the state organs have also achieved considerable successes in their various spheres of work.

But this success of the people's representative conferences in the important work of building up of state power is only an initial success and their development is not even everywhere. There are quite a number of areas where the people's representative conferences have not yet been made a regular institution. Some people's representative conferences have been found to be not broad and representative enough in the character of their composition. Some of the provincial and municipal and most of the county or city people's representative conferences have not yet exercised the power of people's congresses. This is also true of a large

number of areas where land reform was completed long ago.

The people's representative conferences of all levels should be held according to schedule and made into a regular institution. Those who consider themselves "too occupied with the central tasks to have time for the people's representative conferences," or that dealing with the local people's demands is incompatible with discussion of the tasks handed down to them by the higher organs or who consider the holding of people's representative conferences as being more inconvenient than the holding of a cadres' meeting and so attend to the latter instead of the former, are all mistaken. Leading organs at all levels should be skilled enough to distinguish between and make the best use of both the people's representative conferences and cadres' meetings, to call people's representative conferences that are truly broad based and representative in character, to integrate through the people's representative conferences, the central tasks at every stage with the keenly felt demands of the great majority of the masses. In this way the central tasks of the people's governments at every period will become the concern of the people themselves as well.

In the areas where land reform has been largely completed and where the campaign for suppressing counter-revolutionaries is being carried through well, the people's representative conferences above the county or city level should be quickly adapted to exercise the powers of a people's congress. In cities with a population of over 100,000—or under 100,000 where the needs are of a special nature—district people's representative conferences should be brought into being. In counties where land reform has been completed, people's representative conferences of district or *hsiang* levels should be organised on the basis of the peasants' representative conferences. Steps should be taken, when people's representative conferences of all levels are called, to ensure that women delegates are drawn in.

In the last two years the people's governments at all levels have done a great deal of work and have achieved certain successes. But to get greater efficiency in government work so as to serve the people better, it is imperative for the people's governments at all levels to make great efforts to improve their work. At present the following problems urgently await attention:

A. Owing to the multifarious and heavy tasks facing the country, the lack of experience in government organisations, which are of fairly recent formation, and the fact that various tasks have to be carried out within a given period, some government organisations are found to be too large and cumbersome, or suffer from too much work or from over-staffing. Yet in the realms of economic, cultural and educational construction there is a shortage of necessary personnel. The Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government is preparing to hold a national conference on government organisation. It has been decided that the first step will be to reduce the size of staffs, make necessary re-adjustments, reduce the intermediate organs and prune personnel in order to invigorate

the people's government organisations at all levels. It is hoped that by integrating these measures with the campaign for strict economy and greater production, and by pushing the campaign forward we shall fulfill our aim of increasing government efficiency and advancing the national tasks of construction.

B. While aiming at serving the people, the people's governments of all levels are overburdened with heavy responsibilities; and there are certain shortcomings among the cadres. Therefore, they are often found wanting in the matter of keeping close enough contact with the masses and in listening to their views. Hence, it is necessary to draw the attention of the people's governments of all levels to the following: Canvass and listen seriously to the views of the masses, especially the working people, in order both to enrich the government plans and to use these plans to educate and mobilise the masses, and to give these plans a mass character. This will greatly benefit the enforcement of decrees and the progress of work.

C. According to the *Common Programme*, the relations and the division of duties and powers between the Central People's Government and the local governments at all levels and among the local governments themselves should be so defined as "to satisfy the requirements of both national unity and local expediency." This is the starting point for settling the relationship between the higher and lower levels of government organisations. Since China is a vast country with a multitude of matters to attend to and is economically backward, it is necessary to maintain a central planning of all work under a unified policy while at the same time delegating certain powers to the local governments for local action and for the development of local initiative. So far there has been nothing untoward in this matter, but there is still room for improvement. It is therefore a duty primarily of the various government departments of the Central People's Government to pay very great attention to this question.

6. Relations Among the Nationalities

Regarding national minority affairs, it should be pointed out first of all that the agreement on measures for the peaceful liberation of Tibet is now beginning to be put into execution. Units of the People's Liberation Army which have entered the city of Lhasa have received a warm welcome from the Tibetan people. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao Tse-tung's policy towards nationalities.

In the course of the past year and more the Central People's Government dispatched missions to visit the regions populated by the national minorities, and delegates of the national minorities have also come to Peking for meetings and other purposes. These and other activities have established and strengthened the moral ties between the Central People's Government and the various nationalities and stimulated the understanding among the nationalities of their great Motherland. The growth of the movement to resist American aggression and aid

Korea has further strengthened education in patriotism among the national minorities. The overwhelming majority of the people of the national minorities deeply love and warmly support Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Central People's Government. Between and among the nationalities themselves, the long-standing disunity and antagonism of the past has now given way to unity and co-operation.

The establishment of national regional autonomy and national democratic coalition governments is now being carried out step by step. Excluding Inner Mongolia, altogether 30 national autonomous governments and 51 national democratic coalition governments have been established and range from regional to village level. The achievements of these governments have on the whole been excellent.

The state-operated trading enterprises are trying in various ways to extend their spheres of work in the national minority regions. In places where the state trading enterprises are in a position to do something, the policy of trading at parity prices or even at subsidised prices has been adopted to stimulate the interflow of goods. As a result, prices for local products have on the whole been raised three or four times and even as much as over 10 times.

The Ministry of Health of the Central People's Government and the various local people's governments concerned have dispatched many medical and anti-epidemic teams to work in minority regions, or have helped the national minorities to establish their own medical and health organisations. These teams have been enthusiastically welcomed by the national minorities.

At the moment, the cultural and educational work in the national minority regions can only be restored and developed within our capacity. Nevertheless, the Central People's Government and the various local people's governments concerned have all done their best to train cadres for the national minorities. We have now more than 50,000 full-time national minority cadres all over the country who have been withdrawn from production.

All this is only the beginning—though a good beginning—of a fundamental solution of the national question of our country.

At present, we should pay particular attention to the following points in our work:

A. In accordance with the basic principle of democratic centralism and the system of people's representative conferences, we should effectively and seriously carry out everywhere the policy of national regional autonomy and the establishment of national, democratic coalition governments. The extent of the autonomous powers of the national autonomous regions should be adequately stipulated. The organic form of national autonomy must suit the present development of the various nationalities, and we must not simply transfer the system adopted in areas populated by the Han people to areas populated by the national minorities.

B. We should concentrate more energy on the work of extending trade and health facilities to the national minority regions.

C. We should spread and deepen education in patriotism and the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea; rehabilitate and develop stage by stage cultural and educational facilities, and especially establish and develop in a planned manner and at key points journalistic and publishing facilities in all regions populated by the national minorities.

D. We should continue to carry out the policy of training cadres for national minorities everywhere on a large scale, strengthen their political and ideological education, as well as teach them the policies of our Government, so that they can competently deal with day-to-day tasks and cope with the work of leadership.

E. Adequate reforms within the nationalities are a necessary stage through which the national minorities must pass in order to develop and progress and reach the level of the more advanced nationalities. But these reforms must suit the characteristics of the present stage of development of the nationalities concerned. They must accord with the will of the majority of the masses of the nationalities concerned. To carry them out, it is necessary to adopt suitable measures and depend on the cadres of the national minorities concerned.

F. We should continue to educate the Han people, especially the Han cadres, to respect effectively in every way the right of national equality of the national minorities and the opinions of the masses of the national minorities, and to eliminate the influence of various types of Greater Han chauvinism. At the same time, the national minorities themselves must overcome the various types of chauvinistic tendencies, secure the help of the Han and other more advanced nationalities in their work, study their experiences and get their cadres to work for the national minorities concerned.

7. The United Front

With the extension and deepening of the three great movements—to resist American aggression and aid Korea, land reform and suppression of counter-revolutionaries—during the past year or more, the Chinese People's Democratic United Front has developed all round and has reached new heights.

As these three great movements have spread they have drawn in the overwhelming majority of the people of the various nationalities and democratic classes. They have awakened a large proportion of those religious believers who had been deeply influenced by imperialism and feudalism. They have set in motion a great number of people who were hitherto politically indifferent or backward. All the Chinese people have drawn closer to one another and have become more widely organised than ever before. They are drawing lines of demarcation between friend and foe on the political, economic, cultural and other fronts, and taking a direct or indirect part in the struggle against the aggressive imperialist forces and to end internal feudal exploitation and wipe out the remnant forces of the counter-revolutionaries. In this way, the Chinese People's Democratic United Front has become a conscious, organised force, embracing hundreds of millions of people.

The deepening of these three great movements has stimulated the movement for self-education and self-remoulding among the people of various sections of society and all walks of life. First and foremost, the level of political consciousness, organisation and labour enthusiasm of the workers and peasants has to a great extent been raised.

The patriotic movements of the working class in increasing production has set an example to the people all over the country. They are undertaking democratic reforms in the factories and enterprises, which will undoubtedly lead to other democratic reforms in the cities. The movement of the peasant masses for increased production is tied up with their patriotism. The alliance between the workers and peasants and the co-operation between city and countryside have been consolidated on a broader basis than before.

A marked change has taken place in the character of the majority of intellectuals. Ideologically, they are throwing off imperialist influences which they had absorbed, whether consciously or unconsciously; they are wiping out the remains of feudalism in their thinking and are steadily divesting themselves of their erroneous old democratic, that is, bourgeois-democratic conceptions. Many of them are beginning to accept, in thinking and even in practice, the guidance of Marxist-Leninist theory and its crystallised expression in China, the teachings of Mao Tse-tung.

The majority of industrialists and merchants have also changed in character in varying degrees. They have taken an enthusiastic part in the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea and have given support to the financial and economic measures of the People's Government. Internal economic re-organisation of private industry and commerce is beginning to take place. The associations of industrialists and merchants will gradually become organisations of all industrial and commercial circles of every city, every stratum, and every guild organisation in which the middle and small industrialists and merchants also enjoy equal rights.

Religious circles too are beginning to change their character. The patriotic reformation movement of Chinese Protestants and Catholics is clearing away the reactionary influence of the imperialists, who over a long period made use of religion for aggressive purposes. Women and youth have been widely mobilised in these movements of various sections of society.

All this has enabled the most diverse sections of the people to come together voluntarily, through the various fronts of activity, in the patriotic pact movement and in the struggle to resist American aggression and aid Korea in which internationalism merges with patriotism. All this has assured effective support in manpower, resources and technique for our people's volunteers who are fighting victoriously on the Korean front.

We are proud of the Chinese people's volunteers, the forces organised from among the workers, peasants, soldiers and the best men and women of other sections of the people. They are the concentrated expression of the patriotic will and inter-

national spirit of the hundreds of millions of people of the People's Republic of China.

With all this, the People's Democratic Dictatorship has been able to consolidate itself further, and provide the various democratic parties and groups and people's organisations with the means for their further consolidation and development; and these have, in fact, already broken new ground in their consolidation and development.

Thus, not only has our great United Front developed in every way, but it has reached a new level all round and is continuing to go forward to a still higher level.

We should continue to extend and deepen this education in patriotism, so that every locality and every individual may receive such education. We should continue to increase production and donate heavy equipment in the movement to resist American aggression and aid Korea so as to achieve a victorious conclusion of the Korean war. We should continue to develop the movement for patriotic pacts, increased production and economy so as to develop production and strengthen our national defences.

We should continue to extend and deepen the understanding of democratic reforms so that all the people will firmly support the People's Government to complete the work of land reform and the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, and will voluntarily take part in the various democratic reforms in the cities and countryside.

We should, through the various democratic parties, people's organisations and people's consultative bodies, continue to inspire and guide the people of every section of society in the movement for self-education and self-remoulding, and help them learn the use of criticism and self-criticism. As Chairman Mao has said, this is "the only correct method for the whole of the revolutionary people in a people's country to educate and remould themselves."

We should, through the various democratic parties, people's organisations, people's consultative bodies and the leading organs of the People's Government and the People's Liberation Army, organise the study of the teachings of Mao Tse-tung, on a broad, systematic basis, among active elements in every section of society, among combat heroes and model workers, members of democratic parties, all teachers, specialists and cadres, and we should through them help the masses in their studies. The first volume of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung* has been published during this session of the National Committee. We must make ourselves responsible for stimulating all sections of the population to organise the study of the *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*.

Let us equip ourselves with the teachings of Mao Tse-tung which unite Marxism-Leninism with the revolutionary practice of China! This is the new task of the Chinese People's Democratic United Front.

All the people of China unite closely and advance to new and still greater victories under the banner of Mao Tse-tung!