



RESTRICTED

STAT

2. Because of the brevity of time that elapsed during the implementation of the land reform, the masses have not been sufficiently indoctrinated politically. Their sense of proprietorship and class homogeneity has not been sufficiently aroused. They are inexperienced in controlling the landlord class and a minority are even ready to retreat.

3. There are still unsettled problems, such as incomplete distribution of land and movable property, which have resulted in poor and hired peasants having insufficient resources for production. There are also mistaken classifications of peasants, and hoarders have not been wholly disposed of.

4. The problems of the people's livelihood have not been solved. Final adjustments of land distribution have not been made. Some people have received too little land, some landlords have been allowed too much land or land of too good quality, and some landlords have even been left too little land. Land titles have not yet been issued and peasants are still too ignorant of the future agricultural program.

While the extent and nature of these problems vary from section to section, if they are not settled by reinvestigation, the stability of the whole land-reform program may be jeopardized.

Care must be taken to deal with the most important questions first. These questions will vary with the differing situations in various areas.

#### B. Responsibility for Reinvestigation

In the original land-reform activity, dependence was placed on the unified action of the poor and hired peasants and the cadres of the agricultural associations. Through this coordinated action victory was achieved over the landlord class.

In the reinvestigation program, reliance can be placed on the agricultural association cadres, the activists, and the so-called "root members" of the communities to carry out the program as representatives of the poor and hired peasants (especially in the first- and second-class hsiangs). Here it will not be necessary to rearouse the masses. In some third-class hsiangs where the percentage of poor and hired peasants in the total population is small it may be well to rearouse the masses in carrying out the reinvestigation program.

Most of the rural cadres have gone through a process of selective elimination, have dependable backgrounds, stable opinions, and have proved themselves active workers. They and the activists developed during the land-reform campaign can be depended upon to carry out the reinvestigation successfully. If any prove unreliable they can be changed during the campaign. Some cadres are timid, fearing to offend people; some feel cadre work takes too much of their time and is too much trouble. Others feel that they have already done enough and want to retire. All of these attitudes are wrong. The reforms thus far carried out are only a beginning. The people must continue to have leadership in production. The various temporary vexations that fall to the lot of cadres are only stepping stones to greater glory for those who persevere as servants of the people. The suggestions and criticism of the masses should be regarded by the cadres as useful for their development and an evidence of regard.

Cadres, at present, may be divided into four classes:

1. Those who are wholly reliable and progressive, who merit and receive the people's full confidence.

2. Those who are good, but not entirely progressive, who are not fully democratic, not activists, have insufficient regard for the new position of women, and are not helpful to backward peasants.

- 2 -

RESTRICTED

STAT

RESTRICTED

3. The third class includes men who are essentially good workers, basically honest, and who have made good reputations in the fight against the landlords, but who have become involved in doubtful practices, such as receiving too much movable property or grain in the distribution, mistreating women, or sheltering enemies of the people.

4. Those who are definitely bad characters, camouflaged landlords, or agents of landlords who deliberately engage in bad practices, such as demanding more than their share of property in the distribution, oppression of the people, embezzlement of public funds, etc.

The first three of these classes should be dealt with by democratic methods designed to help them improve their weak points. Only when such efforts seem to be fruitless should they be removed from office. In the case of the fourth class, definite action should be taken to remove and punish them according to law.

Cadres should put away their misgivings and throw themselves heartily into the task of reinvestigation so that the agricultural production program may progress rapidly everywhere.

C. Targets of the Struggle

Is struggle necessary in the reinvestigation program, and, if so, against whom? In the reinvestigation program it will be necessary to make certain distinctions among the families of the landlord class. Landlord families should be placed in three categories, law-abiding, semi-law-abiding, and anti-law-abiding. How is this classification determined?

- 1. Is the landlord's political submission and confession of crimes sufficiently thoroughgoing to satisfy the people?
2. Have his lands and movable property (including grain) been confiscated as completely as they should be?
3. Has he ceased from all illegal opposition and has he promptly complied with all requirements made of him?
4. Is he willing to reform himself by labor and engage in production?

The way in which these four questions are answered will determine into which of the three categories named above the landlords should be placed. Those who are anti-law-abiding should be dealt with severely.

In most cases the largest number of landlords will be found in the second category. Those in the first category can be dismissed from consideration. Of the other two categories the anti-law-abiding (usually about 20 percent of the landlord class) should be dealt with first. When they have been beaten down, the semi-law-abiding class will quickly fall into line, since they have usually been under the influence of the anti-law-abiding class. Another group to be dealt with is those who have fled. If possible they should be arrested and brought back. It may be necessary to arouse the masses to search for those who are hiding in neighboring hsiens or who are masquerading under some other name. It is certain there are many of these and they must be apprehended and those among them who are guilty of gross crimes appropriately punished before the people's minds will be at rest.

D. Elimination of Landlord Influence

It is important, during the reinvestigation, to eliminate any remaining vestiges of the former fear-inspired respect which the masses manifested for the landlord class. Those who still refuse to give up property, attack cadres,

- 3 -

RESTRICTED

STAT

RESTRICTED

stir up religious feuds, interfere with production, secretly stir up strife while appearing orderly in public, steal, resist control, refrain from labor, threaten people and predict a change of administration must be thoroughly suppressed.

The reinvestigation period allows for a more leisurely and detailed exposure of the crimes of the landlords than was possible in the heat of the first intense struggle when the people were preoccupied with all the problems of distributing land and movable property. During this time, a strong political campaign may be waged against the landlords. The people may be aroused to make a close search for concealed weapons among them. In such campaigns political indoctrination of the masses should never be lost sight of. Accusation meetings may clarify the thinking of the masses in regard to who are their real enemies. In all conferences, peasants with any unresolved doubts should be encouraged to talk them out. Free discussion of any type that the people desire should be encouraged to enable them to educate themselves. Those who fear to express themselves in a large gathering should be given a chance to talk in a small group in order that all the crimes of the landlords may be revealed and the people's self-education advanced, at the same time completely overcoming the political influence of the landlords.

During the reinvestigation, the collecting of surplus grain must be done according to the merits of the case. No further contributions should be demanded from those who have already paid in full, from those who have paid more than the equivalent of a year's rent as was originally demanded, or from small landlords who have not paid in full. Great and medium landlords from whom more than a year's rent in grain was originally demanded should be required to pay only the equivalent of a year's rent. Those who are unable to pay may be partially or completely exempted. The great landlords who resist shall be compelled to pay in full.

#### E. Full Activation of the Masses

One of the principal purposes of the reinvestigation is the complete activation of the masses. In the heat of the land-reform campaign there was not an opportunity to fully arouse the masses, hence the landlord class was not entirely subjugated. The fact that there is a "backward stratum" among the people is evidence that they were not sufficiently activated the first time. This "backward stratum" is made up of middle, poor, and hired peasants, old people and women, and old basic cadres. Members of this "backward stratum" may be found individually and in groups and their presence has contributed to diminishing the power of the masses to struggle. During the reinvestigation period all workers must be fully aroused.

Several factors are involved in accomplishing this.

1. Progressives should enlist the support of the nonprogressives. When the reinvestigation campaign begins, investigation of the enemy can be utilized to investigate one's own forces -- their strength, the efficiency of their organization, the degree of their consciousness. To overcome the self-satisfaction of the progressives, set them to work among the backward masses to study their ideas and demands and to call upon them to rise and join the struggle. When this is done the enemies will be discovered and overthrown by the organized will of the masses. While fighting the enemy the awareness of the masses can be heightened and greater unity achieved.

2. In the reinvestigation, special attention should be paid to the middle-class peasants for they are an indispensable factor in the ranks of the peasants. Where mistakes have been made in previous classification, apologies, adjustments, and financial amends should be made. In the future, no encroachments should be made upon either the property or the political privileges

- 4 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

STAT

of the middle-class peasants. They should be admitted to the agricultural associations and to the village governments in order to encourage them to engage enthusiastically in production activity.

3. Special attention should be paid, in the reinvestigation, to the rights and political position of women. Women in Kwangtung are accustomed to outside work, but have suffered much oppression. Much stress should be laid on wide dissemination of the knowledge of the marriage law and elimination of feudalistic attitudes. Women should be aroused to struggle against the landlords and declare the abuse that women have suffered at their hands. At an opportune time husbands and wives should be led to engage in criticism and self-criticism to eliminate causes of domestic infelicity. They should recognize that domestic strife is a by-product of the feudal system and that they cannot present a united front against feudalism outside the home while maintaining feudalistic practices within the home. They must accept the fact that in the new democratic society men and women are on the same level. A few representative cases of violation of women's rights should be tried by the authorities in each hsiang to educate the people and to encourage the women to assert themselves and take their rightful place in the peasant ranks.

4. With regard to those who have somewhat shady records, they should be educated and led to review their past, recognize their errors, and then be accepted into the agricultural associations. They should never be treated with coldness or contempt. Even the old people who tend to accept new ideas slowly should be helped by education to feel that they can have a part in the new society. They should never be treated as useless deadwood.

5. Nonagricultural workers in the rural areas, especially small craftsmen, should be made to feel they are a part of the community. They should never be treated with discrimination or disrespect. If all the above classes can be unified and their consciousness heightened it will be possible to lead the mass of the people to win in the struggle against the common enemies of the people.

#### F. Adjustment of Faulty Classification

Because of the shortness of time and the haste with which the land reform was carried out many errors in classification occurred. Many were classified too high and many who should not have been were classified as enemies. In the reinvestigation these errors must all be corrected.

Two main errors committed in classification were: (1) too few were classified as poor and hired peasants and too many as nonagricultural workers; (2) too many were classified as landlords and enemies. For example, wealthy peasants renting out small amounts of land and even some specially situated middle-class peasants were classified as landlords.

How shall these mistakes be corrected? First, it should be done according to the principle of "generosity toward insiders, severity toward outsiders." What is the meaning of "generosity toward insiders?" This means that first consideration is always given to those within the peasant classes. In all borderline cases, for instance, where a family might be classed either as middle-class or poor peasant, or as wealthy or middle-class peasant, the lower classification should be given. If the choice is between classification as poor [nonpeasant] citizen or poor peasant, the latter classification should be given. Special care should be taken not to upgrade middle-class peasants. Wherever middle-class peasants have been wrongfully accused and misjudged, apologies and pecuniary remuneration for losses must be made.

- 5 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

STAT

Second, no nonagricultural workers or any with shady records [those who have unwittingly been involved in reactionary practices] may be classified too high and, above all, none of them may be classified as enemies. When nonagricultural workers have been classified as poor or hired peasants no change can be made unless a two-thirds majority of the peasants vote for it. They must be cordially accepted in the peasant group. Remuneration and apologies must be made to those who have been wrongfully accused and misjudged.

What is meant by "severity toward outsiders?" Severity is to be exercised toward the landlord class and toward those who have heretofore escaped such classification (however, the number of such is actually not large). In case it is desired to change the classification of any from landlord to peasant the matter must be discussed by the masses and investigated and approved by the ch'u agricultural association. All who escaped landlord classification before should be reclassified.

The standard of classification is based on the amount of production materials (land, work animals, buildings, and implements) owned or used. Those who rent out a small amount of land by reason of their profession (such as physicians, teachers, officials, or professional bandit-chasers), whose families at home are small and lack agricultural manpower, and whose standard of living is not above that of the middle-class peasants, if they have been classified as landlords, should be reclassified as lessors of small tracts. All impoverished persons who rent out land, but who cannot be classified as small proprietors, should be classified as poor peasants. Those in charge of ancestral shrine grounds, who collect rent, should be classified according to the size of the operation; large operators may be classified as landlords, others should be given other classifications.

The percentage of those classified as landlords in any community should not exceed 5 percent (4 percent in mountain areas). If the percentage runs over this figure there should be reinvestigation with a view to reducing it. Certain Kuomintang civil and military officials may have been wrongly classified as landlords merely on the basis of their former connections. Reclassification may be advisable in some of these cases. Former minor officials of the Kuomintang, such as pao-chang and chia-chang, may be given consideration on the basis of the status of their families. If their families include workers, they may also be allotted land and be urged to reform through labor.

The first step in rectification of faulty classification is to call a meeting of the poor and hired peasants and pass a resolution on the subject, thus making the demand for rectification of faulty classification the spontaneous demand of the peasants. At the same time, use the opportunity to give instruction on reclassification. Make it clear that the fewer people classified as enemies and the more classified as belonging to their own class the better. Next, carefully investigate the wrongly classified families and seek to remove their worries. After the poor and hired peasants have reached agreement [on reclassification] call a meeting of the middle-class peasants and lead them to state their grievances freely and to express their demand for rectification voluntarily. After this, call a general meeting of the peasants for review and confirmation of the classifications agreed upon.

Those who have been wrongfully classified as landlords should be politically cleared of the landlord stigma and economically reimbursed for losses wrongfully sustained, but such restoration does not necessarily mean that the actual property lost will be restored. Only by proper rectification of classification errors can the enemy class be properly isolated and the fighting strength and power be properly coordinated.

- 6 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

STAT

G. Proper Land Distribution

Since the land is the peasants' mainstay the distribution made in connection with reinvestigation must be entirely correct. During the original distribution, errors were committed and many poor and hired peasants, nonpeasant workers, orphans, and widows were dissatisfied with the results. In some cases, adjustments designed to add to their land have resulted in some tenant middle-class-farmers simply taking over all good land in exchange for poor land. The reason for such a situation is that in the original distribution too much attention was paid to labor force only and too little to the actual number of people in families or specially impoverished conditions.

While land distribution is primarily based on labor potentiality, special hardship cases among peasants or nonpeasant workers should by no means be disregarded. The distribution under reinvestigation is not a new distribution but a readjustment with a view to satisfying the wishes of the poor and hired peasants as far as possible. Landlords should be allowed no surpluses, especially surpluses of good land; all such surpluses must be transferred to the poor and hired peasants. Newcomers in an area, families with uncommon surnames, peasants whose past has not been impeccably clear, craftsmen, small merchants, and self-employed workers should never be denied their full allotment of land or be given wholly poor land.

The allotments of the nonpeasant members of these groups should be determined in relation to the amount of their income from nonagricultural sources. Orphans and widows should have their proper allotments and any discrepancies must be corrected. Middle-class tenant farmers should be apportioned an amount of the land they are now renting equivalent to the amount of land apportioned to new agricultural families. Proper adjustments should be made to insure equalization as to the quality of the land and any discrepancies in this respect should be rectified.

The basic principle in land distribution is to satisfy first the needs of the poor and hired peasants, second the tenant farmers among the middle-class peasants, and third the nonagricultural workers. Cadres and activists may not seek extra land or better land than others. Reinvestigators should first familiarize themselves with the extent of the expanding ferment among the poor and hired peasants. Then they should call a meeting of the cell leaders or a full meeting of the peasants and honestly discuss and debate, with no restriction on full expression of opinions, until fully democratic decisions are reached. Only a reasonable and just rectification of the land distribution can insure the interest and enthusiasm of the masses for high production.

H. Complete Distribution of Confiscated Property

A considerable amount of confiscated property, such as hill groves, officially controlled fields [land held in reserve for possible use for railways, highways, etc.], fish ponds, orchards, work cattle, and implements still remain undistributed. All these should be distributed immediately so that there may be no deterioration, that they may be productively used, and so that the needs of the poor and hired peasants may be cared for.

Many cadres feel that such things as hill groves, fish ponds, buildings, and orchards are hard to distribute equitably, hence, in their opinion, it would be better to operate them under control of commercial cooperatives. This is fallacious reasoning. Cooperatives cannot carry on such enterprises. If cadres will use a little ingenuity, no matter how large a grove or fish pond, it can be equitably divided. The peasants living near such property are dependent on it for their livelihood and the sooner such property is properly distributed the better for the peasant economy.

- 7 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

STAT

The way to distribute hill and mountain areas is to divide the land itself into parcels the same as level land, then compute the value of the pine or bamboo, as the case may be, in cash, then convert the cash value into terms of grain, and convert that into terms of production. To establish a norm of production, consider such factors as distance, cost of transportation, planting season, etc. After a production norm has been established, the production value of this property may be added to the production value of surrounding field land and divided in the same way. After production norms have been established for such properties as orchards and fish ponds the farmers should be encouraged to operate them as mutual aid cooperative enterprises rather than giving two trees to one person and two trees to another which would result in no advantage to the farmers and would damage national production possibilities.

#### I. Pending Court Cases

There is a multitude of pending cases piled up on the court dockets everywhere which must be speedily dealt with and those innocent of real evil released to engage in production; the guilty should be convicted and punished quickly. Only thus can a clear distinction be drawn between real enemies and useful friends of the people. There are three main reasons for this great accumulation of unsettled cases.

1. Recalcitrant landlords have made many false accusations against people and self-satisfied cadres have blindly believed these accusations and arrested a great many good peasants as special agents, bandits, members of underground forces, etc.
2. Many former Kuomintang soldiers, men who had been forced into a short period of military service for the Kuomintang, but who were quiet and orderly after liberation, were all lumped together as malefactors.
3. Many local officials under the Kuomintang, including those who were forced to act as couriers for the Kuomintang forces, have been dealt with as though they were intractable exponents of the old regime.

According to our policy, all such cases should be reviewed quickly and dealt with strictly on their merits. The purpose of this clearing of the dockets is to establish clearly the line of demarcation between die-hard counter-revolutionaries and decent citizens and to destroy once and for all counter-revolutionary organizations. In addition to those in custody, all real counter-revolutionaries at large should be speedily apprehended and their cases disposed of. At the same time, all those who are wrongfully in custody, or under control surveillance, should be released from such custody or control and their good reputations restored to them by public acknowledgement of their innocence. In this work the national policy must be strictly followed and the cases dealt with in accord with the wishes of the masses after the latter have been made thoroughly aware of the correct policy. Thus real enemies of the people can quickly be eliminated and innocent victims of false accusations or poor management be restored to a useful productive position in society.

#### J. Investigation and Issuing of Land Titles

Land titles are evidence to the peasants that the land which has been wrested from the landlords under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party is now really theirs. Before issuing the titles it is necessary to reinvestigate the present land situation to make sure that landlords have no hidden holdings and that all other inequities are rectified. At the same time, production norms should be established. Patriotic education should accompany this program to insure the interest of the people in increased production.

- 8 -

RESTRICTED



STAT

RESTRICTED

The first step in the investigation of the land situation is to allay the fears of the peasants that a true grading of their land will result in raising their peasant classification or increasing their grain tax. They must be led voluntarily to make an honest declaration of the true amount and productive capacity of their land; to help others to do likewise; and to seek verification of the facts and avoid individual prejudices.

The following criteria should be employed in measuring the land and determining production norms:

1. The land unit shall be the shih mou  $\sqrt{\text{one shih mou equals } 0.1647 \text{ acre}}$ . The shih mou contains 60 square shih chang  $\sqrt{\text{one shih chang equals } 3 \frac{1}{3} \text{ meters}}$ .
2. Production capacity will be based on the average annual production for normal seasons.
3. Production norms shall be set for all land, whether level or mountainous, that produces any type of agricultural product.
4. Production of such crops as tea, jute, tobacco, and cane shall be converted into terms of grain to determine production norms.

In measuring the land a  $3 \frac{1}{3}$  meter chain should be used and this should provide a very accurate result. In mountainous areas where actual measuring is difficult the owner may be permitted to declare the amount of his land and the surveyors may determine upon an arbitrary figure.

In determining production amounts the first thing is to determine the grade of the land as indicated by the amount of ordinary production on the hsiang level. Then the ch'u authorities should assemble the hsiang reports and establish a set of general classifications to cover the ch'u and set up a land register. This register should then be referred to the hsien authorities who will determine the production norm for each of the classifications.

After the surveying and the determination of production norms have been completed the old land deeds should be burned. Thereafter the land will be again in the hands of its rightful owners, the peasants. Assemblies to celebrate this climax should be held in all hsiangs. At such celebrations comparisons can be drawn of conditions under the Kuomintang and the new conditions under the Chinese Communist Party. The people may then be called upon to show their patriotism by increased production.

To assure protection of the rights and property which the people have acquired and to promote their zeal in production, it will be necessary at the time the land titles are issued to engage in propaganda designed to insure protection of what the people have secured, to implement the principle of every worker reaping the fruits of his own labors, including the landlords who engage in productive labor. There may be no more confiscation of what landlords produce. Everyone has the right of unrestricted private borrowing and loaning and the unrestricted right to hire labor (except that able-bodied landlords may not hire labor). The propaganda should make clear that work animals may not be slaughtered at will, hill forests should be protected and afforestation encouraged, as well as production of such supplementary crops as tea, sugar cane, tobacco, and hemp. Expansion of the mutual aid teams and consumer cooperatives, together with appropriate recognition for model workers and better cultivation methods, should all be included in the propaganda material.

#### K. Control of Landlords

Although the land-reform program has basically overthrown the feudalistic system, there are still some landlords who are loath to give up the positions of power they held in the past. These are still thinking of a comeback. However,

RESTRICTED

STAT

RESTRICTED

the masses will never permit this. Our method of landlord control is discriminating. It is applied only to important leaders among them. And even these are not watched day and night, or beaten and reviled, or subjected to surprise night searches of their premises. The chief matters in which control is exercised are their political and labor activities. Militia may be assigned by the cadres of the agricultural association or the hsiang magistrate to maintain an open surveillance of the leaders to insist that they obey the law and engage in productive labor. In addition, there will be observation by the people's representatives, and meetings to review developments in the political and labor activities of the landlords. The rules laid down by the Central-South China People's Government no date given for control of landlords should be observed. They are as follows:

1. All those classed as landlords should be deprived of political privileges for a stipulated period.
2. Members of landlords families who have not been classified as landlords, students in school, and children under 18 years of age, should not be treated as landlords, but lawless ones among them should be dealt with by law.
3. Besides the landlords who are being dealt with by the courts as criminals, the following classes of landlords shall be placed under control: a. Those who after the land reform manifest a spirit of resistance or seek to recover their old status. b. Those who do not engage in agricultural or other lawful enterprises, but spend their time in idleness and questionable amusements. c. Those who are vicious or engage in counterrevolutionary activities. d. Those legally sentenced by high authorities or courts to be controlled by the masses.
4. Those mentioned above as subject to control need not all receive the same treatment. Some will not be permitted to receive guests or move far from home during a stipulated period. Others may be required to make periodic reports to the agricultural association on their production activities. Those who are lazy should be compelled to work. With the approval of government authorities above the hsien level some may be sent to other hsien or provinces to be reformed through labor by the local authorities in those places.
5. Upon the motion of the peasants, after discussion by the hsiang people's representative conference, and with the approval of the hsien authorities, those landlords under control who have been law abiding and active in reform through labor may be released from control or have the control period shortened as conditions may warrant. Those who conduct themselves in an opposite manner may have the control period lengthened or be subjected to other punishments.
6. Landlords who are well able to perform farm labor and who have no other occupation must reform themselves through farm labor. They may not neglect the cultivation of the land allotted to them, neither sell it, nor mortgage it, nor rent it out.
7. Those landlords who are really unable to perform farm labor may be permitted, after discussion by the agricultural association, to hire labor, or to rent out all or a portion of their land on the basis of the reduced rent policy.
8. A landlord who belongs to the intelligentsia, or who has some other skill may not be compelled to perform farm labor, but the hsiang authorities must be informed of the place where he pursues his occupation.

- 10 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED

STAT

9. A landlord who has turned over all the property required of him by the land-reform law, and who has recompensed the peasants for losses sustained at his hands, shall be permitted to employ any surplus resources he may still have in agricultural, industrial, or commercial enterprises at his own discretion with no questions asked. He shall be protected in the full possession of all income from such sources.

10. Landlords who during a period of 5 years completely obey the law and actively engage in productive enterprise, may be granted a change of status on the motion of the hsiang people's representative assembly and with the approval of the hsien authorities, but not otherwise.

11. Control of landlords shall be under the joint supervision of the hsiang authorities and the hsiang agricultural association with actual operations in the hands of the Public Security Committee and the people's militia forces.

L. Strengthening the Leadership Core

To build a hard core of rural leadership it is necessary to strengthen and raise the quality of the leadership network based on the interaction of the peasant leaders, basic cadres, the party, the New Democracy Youth Corps, and the local officials in the political indoctrination and propaganda programs directed toward the masses.

Peasant leadership and basic cadre quality shall be elevated and developed by the following methods:

1. Leaders should be selected from and elected by the masses. The working cadres should never think those whom they have selected better than others, nor should they assume superior knowledge to indicate who would make good or poor leaders.

2. Working cadres [sent in from outside] should avoid all tendencies toward monopolization or authoritarianism and, placing the responsibility in the hands of the local cadres, should work alongside them as advisers, instructors, and evaluators, thus steadily increasing the skill of the local cadres.

3. Working cadres should teach the local cadres that they are entering a career of long-range service to the masses, that such service offers political prestige, but that they should never try to carry on independently of the counsel and guidance of the masses.

4. Establish the system of democratic selection of local cadres, supervision of the local cadres, and the system of criticism and self-criticism among the cadres themselves.

The party organization should be set up in the rural areas in order to strengthen party leadership and establish the rural front, and the alliance of the industrial and rural workers. The party must lead out and direct the movement in the rural areas so that the peasant masses shall never get off the path in either revolutionary struggle or routine work.

After the reinvestigation the party will lead the peasants through the various steps toward agricultural collectivization. In a word, the party is the headquarters for the organization and leadership of the peasant masses. After having received training in party organization and recruiting methods in training courses, when rural activists return home they should aid party members in the organization of party subbranches in order that members may receive continuous indoctrination and maintain the status of true pioneers.

- 11 -

RESTRICTED

STAT

RESTRICTED

The New Democracy Youth Corps constitutes a reserve corps for the party. Progressive peasant youth organized in the youth corps can be prepared to unite with the masses and lead out in many phases of activity. Hence it is desirable to enlist as many rural youth as possible and pass those who manifest a high degree of class consciousness into the party as fast as they have been given thorough discipline in preparation to become strong cadres in the socialistic reconstruction of the rural areas.

How shall we build up political power in the rural areas? To reduce the complexity of the rural organization and to eliminate the many meetings that interfere with production, it is necessary to observe four principles.

1. Unify leadership and simplify organization; have a joint committee for both the hsiang government and the agricultural association, one hsiang magistrate, one agricultural association chairman, and a people's representative conference, with a fixed delegate system based on the peasants' representative conference. The hsiang committee may consist of 5, 7, 9, or 11 persons according to size of the hsiang. Various committeemen may be charged with responsibility for various phases of regular operations.
2. Establish democratic procedures. The representative conferences should meet once a month to consider and rule upon important matters. The [hsiang] committee should meet weekly or every 10 days to plan for carrying out directives from higher authorities and the actions of the representative conference. The representative conference should expand the practice of democracy, receive delegates' criticisms and carry out self-criticism.
3. Reestablish the system of officer-of-the-day committee consultations. The chairman and vice-chairman of the agricultural association, the hsiang and deputy hsiang magistrate should alternate as officers of the day, remaining at the [hsiang] office, regardless of whether or not any business comes up. Important matters may be decided by the hsiang magistrate and the chairman of the hsiang agricultural association in consultation. The committeemen should hold collective consultations every few days.
4. The number of mass meetings and hsiang representative conferences should be held to a minimum in the interest of conserving the people's strength. Any meetings aside from the regular meetings of the people's representative conference must have prior approval of the ch'u authorities.

In addition to party and youth corps, rural propaganda and education networks should be established. The propaganda network is a most important organ for unifying the people and the party. All the policies, objectives, and tasks of the party and all the suggestions and demands of the peasants can be transmitted through this network of propaganda workers. Reports of the activities of model peasants can be circulated in this way for emulation by others. Thus, the class consciousness and production interest of the peasants can be heightened, and the unity of the party, the youth corps, and the broad masses promoted. Hence, the establishment or the improvement of the propaganda network is an integral part of the reinvestigation program.

What is the procedure for establishing a propaganda network? Select from among extraordinarily class-conscious activists among the party and youth corps, militia, and peasants those with special aptitudes for writing and speaking and ability to mingle with the people, and use them to expand the propaganda network. Then organize them into working groups. A party subbranch committeeman should lead in the network activities and should hold meetings at stated intervals to discuss activities and collect reports.

- 12 -

RESTRICTED

RESTRICTED



STAT

Responsible rural cadres should be prepared to give instruction to the propaganda workers in how to fit local situations into the general propaganda policies handed down from above so as to develop good propaganda material. They should also explain to the workers the intricacies of propaganda work. Prompt recognition should be given to good propaganda work on the part of units or individuals in the network. Continued education should be given those not so successful. The most important methods of rural propaganda activity are individual oral information, information to groups by use of megaphones, wall newspapers, and posters, slogans, etc.

A combination of party and youth corps organization, good organization of rural governmental structure, and propaganda activities will assure the development of the rural communities in the right direction, which, in turn, will bring about high agricultural production and general prosperity for the peasants.

- E N D -

- 13 -

RESTRICTED