

1. A three-day holiday, 6-8 January [sic], has been declared for all organs, army forces, factories, and shops.

2. A military review is to be held on 7 November. In all units at the front, except for those which cannot do so on account of fighting, the highest-ranking commander of each unit will hold a review of troops. Red Guard units and model battalions of every county will concentrate on the seat of the county Soviet to stage their review. In Jui-chin County directly under the central authority, the central authorities will hold a formal inspection of all model battalions in the county.

3. On 6 November, all counties will each summon a mass meeting of the electorate, at which the district or township government will represent the Central Government in making a report on the work in the past year (The report will be printed and issued by the Central Government in due course.). On 8 November, the district or township government will report to the electorate on its own work, so that on this day the electorate may review the work of the Soviet and the Soviet may accept the suggestions of the electorate regarding the Soviet.

4. Toward the end of October, all provinces and counties will make a work report to the Central Government, in which they conduct a review of the work of the different levels of the Soviet in the past year, especially regarding the work of leading and organizing the war.

All levels of the government and all military districts positively must act in accordance with this order and make actual preparations for the above items of work in the midst of actively expanding the revolutionary war. Such is the order.

Military Council  
All levels of the Government  
All Military Districts

Chairman: Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-chairmen: Hsiang Ying  
Chang Kuo-tao

24 September 1932

"Red China," No 35, 27 September 1932

7682  
CSO: 4005

TELEGRAM AGAINST THE REPORT OF THE INTERNATIONAL INVESTIGATION DELEGATION

6 October 1932

[Text] All Chinese workers, peasants and soldiers and all oppressed masses!

The Provisional Central Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic has long since proclaimed to the masses of all China that the League of Nations is a bandits' alliance of the imperialist countries to dismember China, and that the main purpose for which it has sent Lytton's investigation delegation to China is to plan for the dismemberment of China and the suppression of all revolutionary activity under the banner of the Chinese Soviets.

Now the report of the imperialist bandit alliance's investigation delegation--the Lytton Commission--concerning the dismemberment of China has been published. It is a tragic whitewash of the dismemberment of China presented to the Chinese masses by imperialism--and those traitors who disgrace their country, the Kuomintang and their government, entirely agree with and accept it!

The Lytton Commission report has publicly and quite shamelessly proclaimed a new plan for the dismemberment of China: it openly declares that Japan and all the imperialists should not only occupy Manchuria but should dismember the whole of China, and it clearly declares that Japanese imperialism's occupation of Manchuria and its bloodbath in Shanghai were justified. It calls for all imperialists to unite to dismember China and destroy the Chinese revolutionary movement, starting with an even crueller attack upon the country-wide national revolutionary war and local revolutionary movements led by the Chinese Soviet Government, upon the anti-Japanese war of the Manchurian volunteers, and upon anti-Japanese, anti-imperialist and goods boycott movements. It shamelessly advocates the status of "autonomous nation" for Manchuria, the setting up of an international gendarmerie to make it a base for international imperialism's attack upon the Soviet Union, for active attack on the Soviet Union. At the same time, it uses phrases such as "suzerainty rests with China" in the hopes of relieving the Chinese masses of their anti-imperialist armor and benumbing them. Finally, it repeatedly orders the Kuomintang to more actively attack the Red Army, to surrender more faithfully to imperialism and sell out national interests, to strive even harder to suppress the anti-imperialist movement and the goods boycott movement, and to cruelly butcher the Chinese masses!

The Lytton Commission's report is a certification of imperialist enslavement of the Chinese people. The Soviet Government calls upon the masses of the entire country to arm themselves and, under the leadership of the Soviet Government, tear the Lytton report to shreds with a revolutionary national war, and to oppose all of the imperialists' new schemes to dismember China, to attack the Soviet areas, to suppress the Chinese revolution and to attack the Soviet Union! Drive the Japanese and all imperialists out of China and gain complete liberation and independence for the Chinese people! Protect the Soviet Union by force of arms and establish a social alliance between China's laboring masses and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Government declares to workers, peasants and soldiers throughout the country and to all oppressed masses that to truly carry on a national revolutionary war and to oppose imperialists dismemberment of China, we must begin by overthrowing the scavengers of imperialist dismemberment of China and the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, which represses the nationalist war. The Kuomintang and its government have, with complete loyalty, accepted the imperialists' report on the dismemberment of China, have accepted it as a basis for discussion, and all discussions and studies of it by Kuomintang factions and the government, as well as verbal expressions of dissatisfaction with certain points in the report are without exception a smokescreen to cover up their betrayal of China and a trick to deceive the masses. The Kuomintang is willing to give the Three Eastern Provinces, Shanghai, and the rest of China to the imperialists and mobilize a huge army, with the direction and help of the imperialists, to attack the worker and peasant army which is truly leading the revolutionary masses of the entire country in a revolutionary nationalist war, hoping in this way to destroy the Soviet Government of the true anti-imperialist masses and prevent the Red Army and the heroic anti-imperialist fighters and volunteers from standing together to make war directly upon the imperialists. At the same time, it assists the imperialists by slaughtering and betraying the Manchurian volunteers, repressing the nationwide anti-imperialist movement, restraining the goods boycott movement and the workers' strikes, and slaughtering the workers and peasants and the laboring masses in order to prove its loyalty to imperialism. Only by overthrowing the Kuomintang rule which has sold out our national interests can we prosecute the national revolutionary war in a workable manner. The Soviet Government is now leading the Worker and Peasant Red Army of the entire nation and the broad range of laboring masses in the Soviet zones in a bitter war against the imperialist Kuomintang to victoriously smash the Kuomintang's fourth campaign and is destroying the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang with revolutionary war! Masses of the entire nation, arm yourselves! Oppose the Kuomintang's fourth campaign on the Soviet zones, overthrow the rule of the Kuomintang, the lackeys of imperialism, and support the Red Army and Soviet power! Only the Soviet Government can truly lead a nationwide revolutionary war, fight directly against Japan and oppose the imperialists' dismemberment of China! Only the Worker and Peasant Red Army is truly arming the masses for a nationalist war! Fighters of the Worker and Peasant Red Army throughout the country, and laboring worker-peasant masses in the Soviet zones! Actively carry on revolutionary war against the imperialist Kuomintang and resolutely attack and smash the fourth "encirclement and suppression campaigns!"

Workers, peasants and soldiers everywhere in the White areas, and all suffering masses! Take the initiative in arming yourselves, organizing militias, staging strikes and carrying on goods boycotts, and struggle actively against the imperialist Kuomintang; all revolutionary masses rise together under the Soviet banner to wage a national revolutionary war, to oppose imperialist dismemberment of China, to overthrow Kuomintang rule, to drive the Japanese imperialists and all other imperialists out of China, to set up a Soviet Government of the masses of all China, and to complete the independence and liberation of the Chinese people!

Chairman of the Provisional Government of the Chinese Soviet Republic,  
Mao Tse-tung  
Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
6 October 1932 in Jui-chin 3843 6855 Kiangsi

o"Soviet China," Soviet Research Society Chung-hua Shu-Chu (Shanghai),  
November 1932

\*"Pei-Fang Hung-Ch'1" RED FLAG OF THE NORTH No 15, Oct 1932

\*"Soviet China," Soviet Foreign Workers Publishing House (Moscow), 1933

8480  
CSO: 4005

ON EMERGENCY MOBILIZATION FOR WAR

Order No 12 of Central Executive Committee

13 October 1932

[Text] The revolution is becoming daily more intense throughout the country, and the Soviets and the Red Army in particular have won unprecedentedly great victories and more unprecedented progress throughout the country, so that the imperialist Kuomintang's fourth encirclement campaign in O-Hsiang-Yuan, Hsiang-o-hsi, Hsiang-tung-pei and Hsiang-o-chiang has met with crushing defeat after defeat. Most notably, the Red Army in the Central District rolled victoriously northward, and as a result the Kuomintang warlords, under the strict supervision of the imperialists, are now devoting their full strength to deployments for a large-scale attack against the Central District, and intensifying their attacks on Kau-tung-pei, Hsiang-ok-kan and Ho-hsi; this is because in view of the revolution's victories and the reactionary ruling class is planning to put all its strength into a final effort which represents a critical point of decisive struggle between revolution and counterrevolution.

This class war will be more intense and graver than any previous war and accordingly we must mobilize all our workers and peasants and laboring masses to arm themselves and quickly become a powerful Red Army force, and to prepare with all their strength, all their economic resources and all their sacrifice for a war to smash the enemy's large-scale campaign in the course of the victory in this war, we shall take the urban centers of Chi, Hsiang, Fu, and Nan, and realize our initial victory in Kiangsi and the several neighboring provinces. In order to lead the worker-peasant masses and armed organizations of the entire country in smashing the imperialist Kuomintang's all-out attack on the central region the fourth encirclement campaign throughout the country, the Central Government is carrying out an emergency general wartime mobilization, in particular with reference to the Worker and Peasant Red Army units and all worker-peasant laboring masses in Soviet areas throughout the country, to carry out a resolute attack, with the most positive and rapid action and the broadest and most thorough military mobilization, in order to guarantee the complete success of this war. Accordingly, governments at all levels, all Red Army units, and all military districts must resolutely and rapidly carry out the following mobilization work:

1. Urgently mobilize all worker-peasant laboring masses to struggle energetically for victory with the most positive revolutionary enthusiasm and practical activity; to this end, the governments at all levels shall carry out a thorough political mobilization of the worker-peasant masses in all Soviet areas so that every worker-peasant element understands the significance of this campaign for his own future and that it is a decisive movement for the country-wide victory of the Soviets, and recognizes that the fundamental conditions for the victory of our class war are the swelling of the struggle against counterrevolution by all revolutionary forces in the country, so as to stimulate the worker-peasant masses' fighting enthusiasm and class determination and make them actively prepare for and participate in all practical work of the campaign, in the front lines and the rear areas, and struggle to smash the enemy's large-scale attack. Accordingly:

(a) All personnel of the provincial and Soviet area governments are to go immediately to the lower levels and convene assemblies there, in particular the urban and rural representative assemblies and electoral assemblies to undertake political mobilization, so that all working personnel and all worker and peasant comrades will understand the significance of this war, and will all be mobilized to take part in all mobilization activities of the war.

(b) In all Red Army units, their highest leadership organs shall convene soldiers' meetings in accordance with their particular situation, to carry out a general mobilization of all fighters.

(c) In all local armed associations, the military district military departments, and those at all other levels, shall hold meetings of their Red Guards, guerrillas, and Young Pioneers groups.

(d) All mass groups shall, under this general mobilization order, respectively hold plenary meetings and make agitation reports.

2. All Red Army units shall, in accordance with established policy and mounting the most positive and adroit attacks, first defeat the enemy's attacks and smash the enemy's all-out attack with victorious attacks of their own, so as to seize control of urban centers and realize the initial victory in Kiangsi; in particular, the Red Army units throughout the country must act in coordination.

3. An intensive expansion of the Red Army strengthens the main force of the revolutionary war, and this is a main condition for smashing the enemy's all-out assault. In October, governments at all levels must, with the greatest energy and rapidity, mobilize the broadest range of worker and peasant activist elements to swell the Red Army's numbers and improve its quality. They must resolutely carry out the Central Committee's Directive No 15 and must also more than double the prescribed numbers, and thereafter must continually carry on activities to expand the Red Army, constantly replenishing the front lines on a large-scale and setting up regular Red Army reserve units. In addition, governments at all levels are charged with mobilizing and urging soldiers who have been demobilized and have returned home to all return to their units during October, and with initiating an extremely broad return-to-the-units movement among the masses.

4. Persevere in carrying out Directive No 15 and quickly mobilize all able-bodied men between 18 and 40 years of age in all Soviet areas to volunteer to join the Red Guards, each man must provide himself with a weapon, prepare sights for local weapons and artillery and ready a sufficient supply of ammunition (in addition, the Young Pioneers must be set up extensively); they must be organized and set up as units in accordance with regulations; this work must be completed before the revolutionary holiday in October.

Political education and combat training must be especially intensified. Governments at all levels, and all military districts and all military departments, must painstakingly undertake the implementation of this Directive so that the Red Guards will truly be able to shoulder the task of protecting their localities and coordinating with the Red Army in destroying and striking back at the attacking enemy; model camps and model Young Pioneers groups must be ready at all times to move out and to assemble for combat.

5. Set up powerful guerrilla units. All existing guerrilla units must be subjected to strict investigation and bad elements among their personnel must immediately be purged and guerrilla units' leadership must be strengthened or replaced. During October each guerrilla unit must take a week's training in rotation and strengthen its political and military education, so that every member of the unit knows the work and missions he is charged with. Each country must have at least one or two crack guerrilla units to go into neighboring White areas and the enemy's rear and carry on the broadest kind of guerrilla war, whipping up mass struggle and extending the Soviet areas; they will be the Soviet areas' armed organizers and propagandizers. They will become an extremely critical force in the revolutionary war, able to coordinate with the Red Army in applying pressure and attacking the enemy; they will resolutely erase all serious phenomena of guerrilla units. Each county must have them thoroughly organized and put in order during October so that they can all go into action according to the directives and missions which have been planned by the Military Service Committee.

6. In order to facilitate the destruction of the enemy and to win the initial victory in Kiangsi, we must actively develop the surrounding Soviet areas, in particular those in the north and east, as well as those in the northeast. This is a critical prerequisite for winning a victory and for realizing the initial victory in Kiangsi. Governments at all levels and armed units in all localities must immediately mobilize personnel to go to these fronts and develop the Soviet areas to win over the broad worker-peasant masses, to create an even more extensive Soviet area, to surround every urban center and the environs of any urban center that serve the enemy as a strong point; to establish close relationships with Northeast Kiangsi and Ho-hsi, and with more thorough planning, to go and carry on work among the soldiers of the White armies surrounding the Soviet areas, so as to shatter the enemy's armies, win over the revolutionary masses of the soldiers, and set up activities in the neighboring urban centers. All provincial and county governments must, in October, transfer large numbers of cadres to these new areas in order to establish political power and carry out the land revolution, so as to carry on work in the White areas and with the White army soldiers, and at the same time, must deepen the class struggle in all the border areas, consolidate and expand them.

7. We must immediately collect the land tax, the business tax and the house rents so as to develop our financial resources, and must thoroughly ready our economic and food resources for warfare, along with all military necessities, and prepare for a protracted struggle with the enemy, so that

Red Army and all worker-peasant masses will not be troubled by being bottled up by the enemy and short on provisions; even more, we must continue to save on expenses and food, in order to make ample war preparations. This is of critical importance to our victory or defeat in the decisive war.

8. Mobilize all worker-peasant masses to store food and salt and to cut waste of food, to make an effort in the growing of miscellaneous grains and vegetables and to prepare to supply the Red Army during wartime. The enthusiasm for revolutionary war and support for the Red Army of the worker-peasant masses in all the soviet areas should be encouraged politically, and preparation and storage of economic resources and food should be thoroughly carried out, in order to gain victory in war and to be prepared at any time to lend or contribute to the Red Army.

9. We must persist in destroying the advancing enemy so that our soviet areas will not be overrun. If the enemy is able to enter and harass soviet areas, we must persevere in leading the worker-peasant masses and arming them in hitting the enemy and destroying him. We must cut off his food supplies and communications, harass him day and night, strengthen our bulwarks and leave nothing outside them, so that the enemy cannot continue for a moment in the Soviet areas. All local governments must lead the local armed organizations and worker-peasant masses in active execution of all kinds of preparations, making use of our experience of the past three campaigns, so that we will attain a more thorough and effective achievement and will be victorious.

10. All Soviet areas must institute the strictest sort of Red martial law, and all sentries shall be the responsibility of the Red Guards. They must be set up within 10 days so as to stringently guard against penetration by enemy reconnaissance, and must scrupulously check all travelers and all materials brought with them. Any suspicious cases must be brought to the government organs for thorough investigation. The governments at all levels shall issue travel permits only after detailed investigation and certification. They must not issue them carelessly. The previous practice of stamping a mark on the hand is to be abandoned. All mass organizations must obtain travel passes from the government, and only the government and military organs of the government can issue them. Travel permits for travel through the white areas must be issued by the county or district governments. A house-to-house check of all Soviet areas must immediately be carried out, and in particular all suspicious elements in the urban areas must be subjected to intensive investigation and surveillance. For this work, government at all levels shall have the participation and assistance of the labor unions, Young Pioneers and all mass organizations.

11. Intensify the purge of counterrevolutionaries. The National Security Office is charged with instructing its branch units at all levels to make painstaking plans to carry out this work, and at the same time government at all levels must deal severely with all counterrevolutionary activities, in particular the counties of Shih Ch'eng [4258 1004], Ning-tu [1337 6757], Kuang-ch'ang [1639 2490], I-huang [1355 7806], Ning-hua [1337 0553], Hui-ch'ang



[2585 2490], Hsin-wu [1416 6762], Yu-tu [7184 6757], An-yuan [1344 6678], Hsin-feng [0207 0023], and Lung-yen [7893 1484]. We must quickly and thoroughly wipe out the power of the evil gentry and landlords and lead the worker-peasant masses to carry out surveillance activities against all landlords, rich peasants and all suspected counterrevolutionaries. In the combat zones these elements must be arrested. In order to set up a more consolidated rear area we must thoroughly purge all counterrevolutionary factions and suppress all counterrevolutionary activities.

12. We must actively revamp our main communication lines to make them more conducive to military transport and troop movements. We must institute strong logistics depot activities and logistics depot transportation, and all governmental units within 30 li of the depots in either direction will be charged with transport and protection responsibility. The Red Guards along the line shall become armed units for protection and escort. As to means of transportation, we shall change the past designation of the various organizations and unite them under the Red Guards. We have resolved that every member of Red Guard unit shall have a weapon and a carrying pole; one stretcher for every five men so that if combat occurs they may all attack the enemy with weapons and if the front lines or logistics depots need stretcher bearers or transportation teams, all Red Guards can become transportation teams or stretcher bearers; only with such a rapid mobilization can we adapt to the intense needs of combat.

13. The relevant government units shall mobilize the broad masses during October to completely pull down all works built by the enemy in the soviet areas during the three campaigns and not yet destroyed, and the city walls of all cities.

14. During wartime, government at all levels must persevere in leading the masses and the armed units in resolutely doing battle with the enemy, and if there are those who are faint-hearted and flee and do not persistently lead the masses in combat, they must be dealt with according to military discipline. In addition, in order to intensify the combat leadership strength of the various governments, all the working personnel of the various governments shall receive military training, and the district and township government personnel shall participate in the Red Guards with leadership responsibility; at the province and county levels they must, in coordination with the working personnel of the various organs and organizations at the same level, set up a Red Guards organization to regularly carry out military training, so that all life and activity shall be militarized. This will more practically strengthen the leadership of the governments at various levels over the combat activities of the local armed units.

The situation of the war is becoming daily more urgent, and we must use our full strength in mobilizing the worker-peasant masses of all soviet areas, and must, with the greatest rapidity, thoroughly prepare for all combat activities and prepare to make every sacrifice to gain a military victory, subordinating all activities to the war. This time, victory will assuredly belong to us. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
13 October 1932

8480  
CSQ; 4005

ORDER NO 29 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

13 October 1932

[Text] In order to adjust to the development of the revolutionary war, and  
XX XX the work of the military department of local governments at all  
levels, to lead the armed units of all localities in active participation in  
combat, the chairman of the Military Department must be well-provided with  
military skill and leadership ability to take on this important work. The  
People's Committee has determined that the method of choosing the chairman  
of the military departments of local governments at all levels shall be  
changed; he shall be appointed directly by the command over all the military  
districts, the general headquarters of the Jui-chin [3843 6855] garrison.  
The appointment and replacement of the chairmen of the military departments of  
the country and districts shall now be overseen by the individual military  
district garrison commands. We make known this order and expect compliance.  
It is so ordered.

Soviet Governments at all levels  
Commands of all military districts  
Commander-in-Chief Jui-chin Garrison  
Chairman, Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
13 October 1932

oRed China, No 36, 16 October 1932

oRed China, No 47, 14 January 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

ORDER NO 30 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

13 October 1932

[Text] The former Commander-in-Chief of the Jui-chin Garrison, Piu Po-ch'eng, has now been transferred to XX XX work, and the principal-designate of the Red Army School, Yeh Chien-ying, shall now also serve as Assignments Committee member. It is so ordered.

Chairman, Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-  
tao  
13 October 1932

oRed China, No 36, 16 October 1932

8480  
CSO: 4005

ON THE SECOND ISSUE OF REVOLUTIONARY WAR BONDS

Directive No 17 of Central Executive Committee

21 October 1932

[Text] Because the revolution is developing particularly because of the victorious development of the Soviets and the Red Army, the enemy is now devoting his entire energy to an intensified deployment for a large-scale assault against the Central District. In addition to issuing an order for emergency wartime mobilization in order to lead the worker-peasant masses of all Soviet areas in thoroughly smashing the enemy's large-scale attack and realizing the initial victory in Kiangsi, the Central Government, in order to facilitate the thorough guaranteeing of a complete victory in this war and thorough preparation of economic resources for war, and in particular to mobilize all worker-peasant masses to complete this preparation more quickly, is taking the step of issuing a second series of revolutionary war bonds in the amount of 1,200,000 yuan, for the specific purpose of meeting the costs of the war. On receipt of this directive, governments at all levels must, on the basis of previous experience, immediately discuss the method of selling them and put it into practice within a short time. For this purpose they must use a concrete method as below:

1. Distribution of loans

(a) Merchants, 150,000

T'ing-chou [3060 1558] City, 70,000. Ning-hua [1337 0553], 5,000.  
Jui-chin [3843 6855], 20,000. Hui-ch'ang [2585 2490], 8,000.  
Yün-men-ling [4596 7024 1545], 18,000. Kuang-ch'ang [1639 2490], 6,000.  
Ning-tu [1337 6757], 5,000. Hsing-kuo [5281 0948], 8,000.  
Yü-tu [7184 6757], 3,000. Shih-ch'eng [4258 1004], 3,000.  
An-yuan [1344 6678], 2,000. Hsü-wu [1416 6762], 2,000.

(b) The various counties, 986,000

Fukien: Ch'aung-ting [7022 3060], 60,000. Shang-hang [0006 2635], 60,000.  
Lung-yen [7893 1484], 20,000. Yung-ting [3057 1353], 15,000.  
Hsin-chuan [2450 2164], 15,000. Ning-hua, 10,000.  
Ting-chou City, 4,000. Wu-p'ing [2976 1627], 1,000.

Kiangsi: Jui-chin, 120,000. Hsing-kuo, 120,000.  
Ning-tu, 80,000. Hui-ch'ang, 64,000.  
Kan-hsien [6371 4905], 60,000. Sheng-li [0524 0448], 60,000.  
Kung-lue [0361 3970], 50,000. Yu-tu, 50,000.  
Kuang-ch'eng, 40,000. Shih-ch'eng, 40,000.  
Yung-feng [3057 0023], 30,000. An-yuan, 15,000.  
Hsun-wu, 15,000. Lo-an [2867 1344], 10,000.  
I-huang [1355 7806], 5,000. Hsin-feng [0207 0023], 2,000.  
Wan-t'ai [8001 3141], 4,000.

(c) Red Army, 60,000

Front Lines, 40,000. Rear Area offices, 10,000. Red Army School, 2,000.  
Kau [6371] Military District, 5,000. Fukien Military District, 3,000.

(d) Party and Government Groups, 4,000

All General Administrative Offices, 2,700.  
General Office of Young Pioneers, 500.  
Organs Directly under Central Government, 400.  
Lenin Normal, 300.  
Central Office, 100.

2. Date of Issuance and Collection:

First Period, 306,000.

October 26, sent out by Central Government.

November 1, issued in all localities.

November 15, collections completed.

Lung-yen 20,000; Yung-ting 15,000; Wu-p'ing 1000; Lo-an 10,000; I-huang 5,000;  
Kuang-ch'ang 46,000; Ning-tu 65,000; An-yuan 17,000; Hsun-wu 17,000;  
Hui-ch'ang, Yun-men-ling 90,000 each.

Second Period, 360,000.

October 30, sent out.

November 1, issued.

November 15, collections complete.

Jui-chin 140,000; Yu-tu 53,000; T'ing-chou City 74,000; Ning-hua 15,000;  
Shang-hang 60,000; Hsin-ch'uan 15,000; Fukien Military District 3,000.

Third Period, 310,000.

November 5, sent out.

November 12, issued.

Last of November, collections complete.

Hsing-kuo 128,000; Kan-hsien 60,000; Kung-lue 50,000; Wan-ti'ai 40,000;  
Yung-feng 30,000; Hsin-feng 2,000.

Fourth Period, 184,000.

November 8, sent out.

November 12, issued.

End of November, collections complete.

Ch'ang-ting 60,000; Shih-ch'eng 41,000; Sheng-li 60,000; Rear Area Offices 10,000; Ka'engsi Military District 5,000; Red Army School 5,000; Party and government groups 4,000.

Fifth Period, 40,000.

November 12, sent out.

November 20, issued.

December 1, collections complete.

Front Line Red Army 40,000;

### 3. Collection centers.

(a) Fukien: all cities, county and military districts collected at National Bank, Fukien Branch.

(b) Jui-chin, Shih-ch'eng, Hui-ch'ang, Hsün-wu, An-yuan, Yü-tu, Sheng-li, Ning-tu, Kuang-ch'ang, in Kiangsi, Kiangsi Military District.  
Party and government groups, direct payment at Central Office of National Bank.

(c) Hsing-kuo, Kan-hsien, Kung-lue, Yung-feng, I-huang, Wan-t'ai, Lo-an, Hsin-feng, in Kiangsi, at Kiangsi Provincial Soviet.

(d) Front Line Red Army units, collected at General Management Office.

### 4. Means of mobilizing the masses.

(a) Use propaganda and agitation, agitate the worker-peasant masses to take the initiative in buying them. Orders or coercion must absolutely not be used. But rich peasants and large and middle merchants can be designated in advance, and ordered to buy them.

(b) The areas, cities and hsiang should convene the township representatives assemblies to make a report and discussion. As to the methods of sale and of encouraging the masses, the urban and rural governments and representatives should convene mass meeting, of the electorate and report on the significance of the government's bond issue and the duties of citizens. It is important that they should agitate them politically about participating in the revolutionary war so that the masses will take the initiative in buying them.

(c) Use of revolutionary emulation. County will compete with county district with district, township with township, village with village, and group with group, and the one that sells the most the quickest wins. The government at the next higher level should award a pennant and a prize.

(d) It shall be the responsibility of the village or city representative and the urban and rural governments to turn over the collected funds to the higher level.

(e) Governments at all levels shall, in accordance with the above, determine the concrete methods of implementation, i.e., methods of distribution, agitation, and collection. To sum up, the bond issue can be completely carried out according to the above regulations, but it depends most importantly upon how we decide upon our work of mobilizing and agitating the masses; whoever can actively mobilize the masses will be able to accomplish his mission. We must stringently correct the past erroneous procedures of not mobilizing the masses and relying exclusively on orders. The second bond issue is entirely for the needs of the war to thoroughly smash the enemy's large-scale attack. After the autumn harvest, the worker-peasant laboring masses and the inhabitants are economically more active, and following the first bond issue in particular the credit of the bond certificates had an easier time gaining the support of the masses. So, governments at all levels should, on the basis of past experience, make a great effort to agitate the masses, and resolutely correct the past erroneous method of giving orders and designating people without going through any propaganda and agitation. Each locality must at all costs sell the bonds on time and deliver the receipts by the deadline, in order to fulfil their revolutionary task. If half-hearted workers and saboteurs are discovered again as they were last time, they shall be punished according to revolutionary discipline.

This is most expressly ordered!

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
21 October 1932

oRed China, No 38, 1 November 1932

8480  
CSO: 4005

ORGANIZE LABOR TEAMS WITH RICH PEASANTS

Order No 35

25 November 1932

[Text] At this period of tension in the revolutionary war, pressing tasks are many in order to lessen the burden of the combat tasks of the worker-peasant masses, we have decided to organize the rich peasants into work teams under the surveillance of the Red Guard to take on various types of labor service in the Soviet areas, such as tearing down city walls and works, repairing roads and internal transportation; these labor teams are to be made up out by compulsory levy of rich peasants. Overall treatment of them shall also differ from ordinary teams, as follows:

1. The various local governments must form all rich peasants able to work into labor teams, and at work time dispatch the Red Guards to oversee them (one Red Guard overseer per 5 workers). They must be sent immediately to tear down the city walls and earthworks and destroy the works which were previously put up in the Soviet areas by the enemy, and to repair the roads and bridges. Within the Soviet areas, the transportation along logistics depot routes and part of the moving of heavy objects shall be assigned to them.

2. As to the support of the labor teams, they must provide their own utensils and food, but if they are engaged in transportation work on trips lasting more than 2 days, the government may provide them with rice, but they themselves must carry money for vegetables. It is imperative that each government unit shall immediately implement the above resolutions. It is so ordered.

Soviet Governments at all levels  
Chairman, Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
25 November 1932

oRed China, No 42, 28 Nov 1932



CULTIVATE MORE GRAIN AND PROHIBIT OPIUM CULTIVATION--NOTICE NO 13 OF  
PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

25 November 1932

[Text] At present, in order to continue the victorious pursuit of the revolutionary war and the protracted struggle, so as to thoroughly smash the enemy's large-scale offensive, and to win even greater victories, we need to make thorough preparations in which food is particularly critical, not only affecting the provisioning of the Red Army but also directly influencing the daily life of the worker-peasant masses. Accordingly, the Provisional Central Government, in order to bolster the food supply and to keep the broad worker-peasant masses and Red Army in the Soviets from suffering any hardship with respect to food, has made the following decisions:

1. Plant more miscellaneous grain and vegetables; now is the time for planting miscellaneous grains, and the worker-peasant masses in all localities should do their utmost to plant miscellaneous grains and vegetables to make up cereal shortages.
2. Forbid the cultivation of opium. Opium is a most pernicious poison, and a tool used by the evil gentry and landlords to benumb the workers and peasants. In our Soviet areas we must absolutely forbid it. Furthermore, since the cultivation hinders the cultivation of miscellaneous grains and the next year's spring planting and so decreases the source of grain and harms the revolutionary war, in all our Soviet areas this year we absolutely forbid further cultivation of opium. It must be replaced by miscellaneous grains.

The above decision is entirely in the interest of the revolutionary war and of the worker-peasant masses. It must be strictly followed by everyone. Recently we have heard that rich peasants are subverting from within, intentionally inciting the masses to plant opium, to decrease the food production in the Soviet areas and bring about grievous harm to the worker-peasant masses. This is indeed intentional subversion of the revolution, and accordingly is absolutely prohibited by the Soviet areas. All local

governments and all revolutionary bodies and all the worker-peasant masses must painstakingly investigate peasants who encourage the masses to grow opium; rich peasants who intentionally subvert the revolution must be strictly investigated and given harsh punishment. This is most earnestly communicated, and it is expected that governments at all levels, all mass organizations and all the worker-peasant masses will be informed of it and will obey it implicitly. It is so required.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
25 November 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8480  
CSO: 4005

ON MOBILIZATION FOR WAR AND THE STYLE OF WORK--URGENT RESOLUTION OF  
CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

29 November 1932

[Text] The results of a recent investigation of the implementation of the emergency mobilization in the various localities have been quite unsatisfactory. Beyond the brief comments made by the War Service Committee in a letter addressed to the localities, the People's Committee points out more gravely that the primary factor in this state of affairs is errors in political understanding:

1. The gravity of the enemy's large-scale assault has in general been taken too lightly, this reflects the extremely backward peace-at-any-price attitude among the masses which holds that while the enemy is not here it is business as usual, and which naturally makes them unable to carry out urgent tasks.
2. In the border areas which have been subject to enemy invasion and harassment, there has been panic and disorganization. This results from failing to understand the current situation, which is favorable to revolution, a lack of confidence in the revolution, and defeatist mood, and it hinders the carrying out of mobilization work.
3. There is incorrect understanding of the attack policy; people consider it to be solely the task of the Red Army, while they themselves sit by and hope for a Red Army victory. In the border regions there is even more an attitude of depending on the Red Army and taking no active measures oneself to attack the enemy outside. With this idea of waiting, it is impossible to carry out a policy of attack from all sides, and it results in the complete neglect of all emergency mobilization work.

The People's Committee calls upon governments at all levels and the local military leadership organs to carry on a resolute and ruthless struggle against these political errors, to oppose all under-rating of the enemy's large-scale offensive and particularly the backward consciousness of peace-at-any-price that considers that the enemy is still far off, to resolutely oppose panic and disorganization in the face of enemy assaults and the conservative idea of waiting, for these things are the most dangerous to the implementation of the emergency mobilization to smash the enemy's large-scale attacks.

The People's Committee gravely calls upon governments at all levels and the local military leadership organs to arrive at a profound understanding of the enemy's current active building of motor roads, organization of military outposts and transport, organization and expansion of armed landlords, development of anti-communist groups and communist eradication militia all around the Soviet areas, enforced collection of large sums for the army, and transfers of large numbers of troops. Of particular importance, he has stepped up his attacks on Kan-Tung-Pei, Hsiang-o-Kan, and the Hsiang-Kan Soviet area; this is an indication of the enemy's ever more thorough deployment of his large-scale attack on the central Soviet and his preparations for a protracted effort. We must reach a profound understanding that this attack to smash the enemy's large-scale assault will be a prolonged, hard and bitter struggle, a critical juncture in the class struggle. We must devote all our strength to the struggle for victory in this war.

We must also point out that although this enemy attack has the direct assistance of imperialism and has increased its armed strength, politically and internally they are much weaker than in the third campaign, and the troops with which the enemy is attacking the Soviet areas are ripe with disaffection and indecisiveness. The development of the nationwide revolution and the concurrent expansion and growth in strength of the Soviet Red Army are conditions especially beneficial to us; if we can mobilize all our forces to make sacrifices for the war we can win a complete victory and realize our initial victory in Kiangsi.

In investigating mobilization work we discovered another grave state of affairs, namely a failure to mobilize the masses politically or move them organizationally, adopting instead a work style which is divorced from the masses and involves coercing them and ordering them around. Furthermore the development of this work style is closely connected with the above-mentioned political errors:

1. Having failed to understand the gravity of the enemy's large-scale assault, they naturally cannot understand the importance of mobilizing the whole range of the worker-peasant masses, and they do not proceed to the broad mobilization work on a foundation of mass mobilization.
2. Leadership organs at all levels, in dealing with subordinate officials, adopt a leadership style of simply issuing an order or sending down a resolution or a plan, with no indication or investigation of any of the concrete methods of carrying it out, or of the methods of mobilizing the masses. On occasion, they even simply order that it be done, perhaps making use of threats or punishments. This in turn causes the subordinates to coerce the masses even more, and cases of ordering the masses around are appearing everywhere.

3. If people have a haphazard and disorganized work style and do not make use of mass meetings of the electorate, representative assemblies, and all the various mass groups to mobilize the masses and strengthen mobilization of the masses, they will inevitably end up coercing the masses and ordering them around.

4. Because people have a bureaucratic work style, they are inevitably unable to take pains with the mobilization of the masses, but in an effort to find the easy way they resort to coercion and issuing orders instead.

These phenomena have appeared quite frequently in the emergency mobilization. It is quite clear that in responding to the Central Government's emergency mobilization order, they have not convened congresses of the electorate, representative assemblies, and mass meetings of the Red Guards and the Young Pioneers and the various mass groups to make detailed reports and explanations and carry out thorough political agitation efforts; even now a majority of the masses do not understand about the enemy's large-scale assault, which naturally means that all the mobilization work is unable to stand on a foundation of mass activism and achieve full realization. In expanding the Red Army, for example, we will not be able to fulfill the prescribed plans, will not be able to induce able-bodied men and women of the worker-peasant masses eagerly and spontaneously to join the Red Guards and the Young Pioneers, but rather will resort to threat of punishment to compel them to go to the drill field. Of particular importance, in collecting the land tax and in issuing bonds, we did not do thorough political propagandizing in advance, to assure that all worker-peasant elements understood why they should pay the land tax and buy bonds. When we were collecting the tax and issuing the bonds we also failed to convene the various kinds of meetings and make use of the urban and rural representative assemblies to agitate the masses, so that they would pay the tax and buy large numbers of bonds of their own accord; and when doubts arose among the masses we did not give them detailed explanations, but rather resorted to compelling the rich peasants and capitalists, and then extended it to the worker-peasant masses. This brought about a grave situation of being divorced from the masses, and it actually increased the difficulties of collecting the land tax and issuing the bonds. This in turn affected all other aspects of the mobilization work. This is a grave problem indeed.

In this practice of coercing people and ordering them around has not only appeared in the emergency mobilization but is also common in all types of work in the Soviets. This kind of work style has been fostered by the fact that the various leadership organs have, in their leadership, fallen into a grave kind of bureaucratism, and in their acceptance and implementation of orders from their superiors, they either pass them along routinely or even unopened, and do not call a meeting to discuss concrete methods of implementing them in accordance with the local situation, so as to direct their subordinates' work. As to the results of their implementation, they never investigate them or ask how they have turned out, but simply try to let things drift. All of their execution of orders depends simply upon

giving orders, and all work at all times is simply done routinely with the holding of routine meetings. This is out-and-out bureaucratism. Bureaucratism alienates the masses and destroys the connection between the Soviets and the masses. It does the greatest harm to the cause of the Soviet's victory and progress. Doing work in a perfunctory way, using coercion and commands, is an important expression of bureaucratism, and it absolutely must not be allowed to exist in the Soviet government. Such bureaucratism has crept into the Soviet governments:

1. By infection of China's semi-feudal society and Kuomintang bureaucratism.
2. Because the peasants are trapped in disorganization and lack the organization and discipline of the proletariat.
3. Because there is a lack of the spirit of hard struggle and people simply try to devise short-term solutions so that bureaucratism creeps into the Soviet organs and expands daily.

The People's Committee calls upon Soviet organs at all levels and the broad masses of workers and peasants to wage a determined struggle in common against bureaucratism and to expunge it from the Soviet organs, driving out all incorrigible decadent bureaucratic elements so as to consolidate the power of the worker-peasant Soviets and also create a new work style in the Soviets. To this end, they must:

1. Build in all their work upon mobilization of the masses, for anyone who neglects mass mobilization work becomes divorced from the masses.
2. In carrying out decrees and resolutions, do not simply resort to commands, but rely heavily upon a raising of the masses' class consciousness and enthusiasm to support the carrying out of decrees.
3. In mobilizing the masses, make use of thorough political propaganda and agitation work.
4. In mobilizing the masses, utilize all organizations in the Soviets and all mass groups to mobilize the masses; the urban and rural representative assemblies and mass meetings of the electorate are tools for direct mobilization of the masses, and the labor unions are the cornerstone of mass mobilization.
5. In carrying out every decision, adhere to practical possibilities, opposing every impractical and non-concrete resolution as well as all unprepared and fruitless routine meetings.
6. In carrying out orders, give full attention to the methods of mobilizing the masses and also to the opinions of the masses as reference material in determining methods of carrying them out.

7. When receiving an order or a resolution from superiors, immediately hold a meeting and conduct a detailed discussion to determine the concrete methods for carrying it out.

8. In carrying out orders, constantly investigate the work to see whether it is successful or not and see whether there are any errors or unsound parts.

9. In all work, divide up labor in a way consonant with the conditions of the work, not only among the departments and the working comrades, but also in directing subordinates.

10. In directing subordinates, be practical and concrete and issue workable instructions liberally.

11. Refrain from constantly issuing documents, but make inspection tours and give guidance. These tours should not be junkets, and they should not stand on the sidelines and criticize, but should responsibly investigate the work and help subordinates in resolving work difficulties.

12. Organize working groups to give direct assistance to the subordinates. The responsibility of the working groups is to get the work done well where they are, not to engage in idle criticism of others and do no work themselves. The work style of the working groups should be to concentrate forces and do the work well at one place before proceeding to another. They should divide up the labor so that each person does one part, and they should do their work well in every place they go to.

13. Refrain from holding disorganized meetings. Meetings should be prepared for, should have results, and should be conducted in a practical way.

14. In holding mass meetings, make thorough preparations in advance. All political agitation should conform to the demands of the masses and be connected with the masses' own interests. Speeches should be simple and clear and effective as agitation.

The work style of the Soviets should have a mass nature, be practical, organized, disciplined and characterized by a firm determination for bitter struggle; all approaches divorced from the masses are bureaucratic work style.

The People's Committee calls upon Soviet organs at all levels to mobilize urgently and oppose all erroneous understanding and slack behavior relative to the enemy's large-scale assault, to eradicate bureaucratism in the Soviet organs, and to struggle to create a Soviet working style and quickly complete all work under the emergency mobilization order.

All Soviet organs, from the provincial to the township level, on receipt of this resolution, shall immediately hold a meeting to examine their own work and in a spirit of self-criticism to expose all errors of work and shall determine concrete methods for carrying it out and shall report the results of the discussions to the Central Committee.

Chairman, Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
29 November 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8430  
CSO: 4005



ON INVESTIGATION OF ELECTION MOVEMENTS AT VARIOUS LEVELS--RESOLUTION OF  
CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

1 December 1932

[Text] It is almost 2 months since the Central Government proclaimed on 20 September that the governments at the various levels should individually carry out replacement elections for the governments, in accordance with election regulations. On investigating the results of these elections, it appears:

1. That not a single county has completed the elections in accordance with Directive No 16.
2. That the election movements at all levels have been peaceful and the masses have not been mobilized through struggle to participate in the elections.
3. The election movement has been entirely separated from the urgent tasks of the current war, and either all war mobilization work has been neglected because of the election or the elections have been put off on account of the press of mobilization work. (Wan-t'ai [8001 3141], for instance, had to hold the elections after the issue of bonds.)
4. Election regulations were not adhered to, the electing was not done by the electorate, the designation of representatives was done perfunctorily, and alien or newly reformed elements were even selected as representatives. (For example the Hui-ch'ang [2585 2490] county congress.)
5. At the provincial and county levels, the election movement showed signs of perfunctoriness and passivity.

On the basis of the above circumstances, this election has achieved nothing, which clearly indicates that the governments at the various levels have not understood politically that the replacement elections and the reinforcing of the local Soviet governments are a basic foundation for leading the worker-peasant masses in smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. It also reveals starkly the bureaucratism in the implementation of the directive by Soviets at all levels.

The Central Executive Committee believes that reinforcing the local Soviet governments will create a powerful lever in the current effort to lead the worker-peasant masses in thoroughly smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. Furthermore, if we examine the past three campaigns, there were alien elements concealed in the Soviet organs which led to countercurrents and other grave occurrences, and accordingly we have decided to carry out a strict investigation of this election movement. In all cases which fail according to the following conditions, they will be declared invalid and new elections will have to be held.

1. Elections where the broad mass of the electorate has not been mobilized to hold mass electoral meetings.
2. When those elected have not been elected with the agreement and support of the majority of the electorate. (As recently in several locations where a list of names has been presented or even promulgated by the higher levels and presented to the electoral meetings. This is a form of monopolizing the proceedings which is at variance with the electoral spirit.)
3. When those elected are not resolute revolutionaries and active workers from among the worker-peasant masses. (Those who go AWOL, who join all kinds of activities in peacetime but are not active [in wartime].)

As for the new elections and the regulations in Directive No 16, those places which were to have held replacement elections and have not held them must immediately hold them, and this replacement election movement should in particular be made into an extensive movement of the leadership organs to mobilize the masses in order to implement the emergency war mobilization and to resolutely smash the enemy's large-scale attack. Accordingly, in the election the following work should be done:

1. In rural and urban elections extensive political mobilization work should be done among the masses, including:

- (a) Calling upon the masses all to actively come and participate in the election movement and set up a powerful government which can truly carry out all decrees in order to secure the thorough realization of the labor law and the land law.

- (b) Make the worker-peasant masses understand that the Soviet government is their government and if bad men are elected to do the work they will not be able to consider everybody's interests.

- (c) The right to vote is a right of the workers and peasants and those who have it can obtain a great deal of power; the right to vote has been seized from the rich peasants, landlords and capitalists, so that the landlords have received no land, the rich peasants have received bad land, the capitalists hold no positions, and accordingly everyone should not give up their power.

2. The political mobilization should be begun by an announcement to the masses in every village and on every street that the labor unions and poor peasants' associations and all groups should come to a meeting to discuss election questions, so that all the masses will know that a replacement election is being held in that town or township, will all understand the importance of the election; and so that when the time comes everybody will go vote of their own accord.

3. Investigation of voting rights should be used to mobilize the masses to struggle against hidden rich peasants and all alien elements and participate actively in the election.

4. At election time, the election should not only be carried out according to the procedures defined in the detailed election regulations, by means of investigation work, particularly regarding all decrees and regarding the protection of the interests of the worker-peasant masses, the masses should be mobilized to criticize the work of their past representatives and government, to oppose bureaucratism, and to seriously support those they want elected.

5. The election movement and the mass election meetings should be used to report on and discuss the Center's emergency mobilization order, to stimulate mass activism, and to carry on the war mobilization.

6. As regards [23 characters deleted], the masses should be led to an understanding that the enemy's large-scale attack is to oppose the Soviets and to recover the landlords' and capitalists' power to oppress the workers and peasants; the political consciousness of the masses and their determination to struggle against the enemy should be raised, so that they will resolutely struggle to the end to preserve the interests of the land revolution and support Soviet power.

7. The holding of congresses at the district and county levels should be based on a successful carrying out of urban and rural electoral movements, and in the district and county congresses all formalism should be stamped out, and investigation of past work and discussing the carrying out of the emergency war mobilization and of all decrees should be made part of the meeting. The items for resolution should not be long, but should be practical and concrete.

8. The election of committees should not be carried out in a haphazard way. Many workers, farm laborers and toilers, and women and poor and middle peasant cadres should be elected. Furthermore, a purely formal treatment of class membership should be corrected, and no attention should be given to the further consideration of work capacity or mass beliefs in the matter of class membership.

9. After the district and county elections, strict investigation should be made of class memberships and occupation of all other working personnel. Alien and shiftless elements should immediately be replaced.

The Center enjoins the province and county governments to carry out the above resolutions strictly. All inspection personnel and work groups have the responsibility for investigating all local election movements; they should treat the election movement and the reinforcement of local Soviets as an inseparable aspect of the emergency mobilization order.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen, Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
1 December 1932

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8480

CSO: 4005

IN COMMEMORATION OF THE ANNIVERSARY OF THE CANTON AND NING-TU RIOTS--  
ORDER NO 36 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

2 December 1932

[ Text] The 11th of December will be the fifth anniversary of the Canton riots, which opened a new stage in the Soviet revolutionary movement -- that of the first Chinese Soviet. The 14th is the anniversary of the Ning-tu [1337 675] riots, China's first soldiers' riots. They shook the reactionary rule of the imperialist Kuomintang, and even more importantly, hastened the collapse of the Kuomintang warlords, and launched new Soviet victories. Because that day is close to the anniversary of the Canton riots, the People's Committee has decided that 11 December will be a holiday and the anniversary of the Ning-tu riots will be commemorated along with the Canton riots. Huge commemoration demonstrations and mass meetings will be held, and the implementation of the war mobilization movement will be intensified. Of special importance, during the commemoration maximum strength should be devoted to instituting work in the White areas and White armies, so as to win over the revolutionary soldiers in the White armies surrounding the Soviets and disintegrate the armies of the enemy's large-scale assault, in order to thoroughly destroy the imperialist Kuomintang's large-scale assault and realize the Soviets' initial victory in Kiangsi and neighboring provinces and regions. It is so ordered.

All Soviet governments

All Red Army units.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
2 December 1932

oRed China, No 43, 5 Dec 1932

8480  
CSO: 4005

DIRECTIVE NO 8 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S COMMITTEE

27 December 1932

[Text] Now, in order to unify finances, and to maintain a constant understanding of the financial state of all Soviets, and to facilitate overall financial planning and control, the Financial People's Committee has determined that next January 1st a national treasury shall be established to carry out X plan X. All revenues will be paid to treasury branches and will be controlled by the Center. This is an important basis for setting up unified finances. Government organs at all levels and all Red Army units and all local armed associations must understand thoroughly that starting 1 January the major political and military work of the united finances shall be managed according to the treasury regulations and accounting rules promulgated by the Financial People's Committee:

1. All expenditures by all organs and all units must be budgeted in advance according to the various systems and reported to superiors. Without obtaining a draft from the Financial People's Committee, absolutely no withdrawals from the branch treasuries or temporary loans may be made. Violators shall be considered as sabotaging the financial unification.
2. All independent local guerrilla units' and all local armed associations' expenses must be on a self-supporting basis; but funds raised by local armed organizations also shall be paid over to the military organs for planned allocation.
3. If some local armed associations by reason of temporary difficulties cannot support themselves, they must make a budget and report it to the military district to receive a disbursement. They cannot under any circumstances take it upon themselves to draw from the branch treasuries.
4. Financial departments at all levels must direct and supervise their subordinate organizations in an even more planned way, intensify the collection of all revenues, and develop financial sources. They may not, because of the availability of disbursements from above, relax in the matter of collecting revenues. Violations will be considered sabotage.

5. Budgets at all levels must be reported by a set date, and all expenditures must be made item by item in accordance with the specific amounts authorized by the higher authorities.

All organizations and units must faithfully comply with and carry out the above. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
27 December 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

ON STRICT CONTROL OF DEPARTING PERSONS--ORDER NO 37 OF CENTRAL PEOPLE'S  
COMMITTEE

27 December 1932

[Text] We are now in the tense period in which the imperialist Kuomintang is mounting large-scale attacks on the Central Soviet, and we must naturally take extra care concerning people departing from the Soviet. They must be subjected to close examination and not allowed to leave the area at will. This is to prevent oppressive gentry, landlords and all counterrevolutionary elements from departing freely from the area and engaging in counterrevolutionary activities. In order to consolidate the Soviets and protect the interests of the worker-peasant masses, the Provisional Central Government has laid down regulations for people departing from the Soviet areas as follows:

1. All persons departing from the Soviet areas must have an exit visa from the State Political Security Office and a travel pass from the government before they are allowed to go. If they have only the visa and not the travel pass, or especially if they have only the travel pass and not the visa, they shall not be allowed to go.
2. The State Political Security Office and its provincial and county branches (the district special representatives have no power to issue visas) must subject all persons requesting to depart to close examination, and only those who are determined to have a need to go outside the area may be issued exit visas. The route by which they are to depart must be specified on the visa.
3. Provincial, county and district governments (the township governments have no power to issue travel passes) should issue travel passes to leave the area to people with only State Political Security Office visas who request them only in accordance with the route specified on the visa, and not otherwise. The district governments in particular, when drawing up exit passes, must investigate thoroughly to assure that the persons are really transients or departing persons from that district whose route must pass through that district, and are not people who have purposely fled to that district from other districts to obtain travel passes, before they issue them. All local governments, security offices at all levels, all military organs and all investigative organs are charged



with complying fully with the above points in order to intensify the Red martial law. This is most essential. It is so ordered.

Soviet governments at all levels

State Political Security Offices at all levels

All military organs

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

27 Dec 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

ON STARTING SPRING PLANTING EARLY IN ORDER TO CONCENTRATE FORCES TO SMASH  
ENEMY LARGE-SCALE ATTACKS--DIRECTIVE NO 18 OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

28 December 1932

[Text] The revolutionary war has reached an extremely tense crisis, and the imperialist Kuomintang is mounting a large-scale attack on the Central Soviet with all its strength. Because it is trying to save its moribund rule, this bitter class struggle is now undergoing a sharp development. This campaign is a do-or-die struggle for the enemy, much more violent than the first, second or third campaign, and in order to thoroughly smash the enemy's attack and win an even greater victory we must mobilize the broad masses of workers and peasants and use all our strength to wage a resolute, bitter, protracted struggle against the enemy. However, spring planting is not far off, and the spring planting period is likely to be the most intense period of the war. Accordingly, in order to allow the broad masses of workers and peasants to do their planting safely and to quickly finish their spring planting work and concentrate all their forces without any distracting concerns to destroy the enemy attacks, the Central Government has determined that within all the Soviet areas all spring planting shall be begun early. Measures should be taken to increase production and speed up the work as much as possible, since we expect in a short time to greatly increase the food harvest in the Soviet areas, in order to secure the provisioning of the Red Army, improve the daily life of the worker-peasant masses, and guarantee the complete victory of the revolutionary war. Accordingly this decision is of especially great importance, and governments at all levels must work with all mass organizations, such as the Rural Laborers' Unions, the Poor Peasants' Associations to make the greatest efforts at mobilizing all the masses to fully implement the following measures:

1. In January all land must be plowed and all dikes repaired.
2. Sowing and setting of rice seedlings must be done one month earlier than last year.
3. Each family must ready enough fertilizer and select its best seeds, so that it will not only be able to greatly increase production but can facilitate rapid sowing and setting of rice seedlings

4. The masses everywhere must institute mutual aid in planting, and assist each other with labor, seeds, draft animals and tools, so as to quickly carry out the spring planting work.

5. The masses must be mobilized to plant the Red Army's public fields and the land belonging to Red Army families at the earliest possible moment. Not an inch must be left unattended.

Governments at all levels must devise more concrete methods of convening the Rural Laborers' Unions, Poor Peasants' Associations and electoral mass meetings for extensive propaganda and agitation, setting up revolutionary emulation and offering prizes according to their specific situations. The hsiangs and persons whose land is plowed first, and whose dikes are repaired first, whose fertilizer and seeds are readied first, who complete their sowing and setting of seedlings first, shall be awarded prizes by the county district governments. It is especially important that the localities where land determination has not been fully completed should immediately complete the distribution, to avoid hindering spring planting. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
28 December 1932

oRed China, No 46, 7 Jan 1933

8480  
CSO: 4005

RENAME NING-TU HSIEN PO-SHENG COUNTY AND CONVENE A MEMORIAL MEETING TO  
COMMEMORATE COMRADE CHAO PO-SHENG--ORDER NO 15 OF CENTRAL EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

13 January 1933

[Text] Comrade Chao Po-sheng [6392 0590 3932], Deputy General Commander of the 5th Corps and leader of the 13th Army, was a leader in the Ning-tu [1337 6757] soldiers' riots and the creator of the 5th Corps of the Chinese Workers-Peasant Red Army. At this time, our Red Army has won successive great victories at Nan-fu [0589 2329] and Chin-hsi [6855 3005], destroying and routing main force units of the enemy's large-scale attack on the Central Soviet--the reorganized warlord 90th division and warlord Chiang's 14th and 27th divisions had moved close to Fu-nan [2329 0589] city--and so began this year's great victories by smashing the enemy's large-scale attack. Unfortunately, Comrade Chao Po-sheng sacrificed his life in the Nan-ch'eng [0589 1004] campaign, in which he led all of his fighters in a heroic and determined hand-to-hand battle with the enemy, and with numerically inferior forces put to flight a full division of warlord Chiang Kai-shek's main units--the 14th Division--thereby completing the complete victory of our main-force army in the environs of Fu-chou [2329 1558]. In order to commemorate Chao Po-sheng's glorious feats of leading the Ning-chou riots and heroically sacrificing his life for the revolution, the Provisional Central Government has decided to change the name of Ning-tu Hsien to Po-sheng Hsien. In addition, in the course of this year's Li Lu [2621 4151] commemoration (the 21st) all Soviets will hold a memorial service and proclaim the establishment of Po-sheng County. It is so ordered.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairman Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
13 January 1933

oRed China, No 47, 14 Jan 1933

8480  
CSO: 4005

DECLARATION OF THE REVOLUTIONARY MILITARY COMMISSION OF THE WORKER-PEASANT  
RED ARMY OF THE PROVISIONAL CENTRAL GOVERNMENT

17 January 1933

[Text] Masses of all China! With the open assistance of the English and French imperialists and the League of Nations, the Japanese imperialists have begun the invasion of North China. This is a further extension of the imperialist bandits' aggression aimed at complete dismemberment and enslavement of all China. It has resulted in the massacre of large numbers of peaceful inhabitants, the destruction of cities and villages, and an increase in suffering and famine. The tragedy of Shanghai and Manchuria is being repeated with extreme cruelty on a large part of China's soil.

Because of failure to resist and surrender on the part of the Kuomintang warlords Chiang Kai-shek and Chang Hsueh-liang, because of their repression, dispersion and massacre of soldiers resisting the Japanese, large numbers of Chinese soldiers have died under the guns of the imperialists. The Kuomintang warlords have assisted the Japanese and the other imperialists in their further aggression and their massacres, while using all their strength to suppress the anti-imperialist struggle, the goods boycott and the organized armed militia.

The Kuomintang government and its politicians offer as one explanation of their evil deeds and treasonous collaboration the idea that the existence of the Chinese soviets makes them unable to mobilize all their forces for national defense, so that Chiang Kai-shek is unwilling to fight the Japanese warlords while he uses an army of almost a million men to attack the Chinese workers and peasants who have already set up their soviet government.

But the Chinese masses want to defend themselves, and many units and many hundreds of thousands of Kuomintang troops have opposed the massacre of their own brothers and sisters and supported armed resistance to Japanese imperialism.

They are beginning to understand that only a national revolutionary struggle of the armed masses can victoriously resist the aggression of the Japanese imperialists. The Chinese soviet government and the revolutionary military committee denounce the Kuomintang's explanation as a stupid lie by which they hope to conceal their treasonous activities from China's masses.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the revolutionary military committee once more remind the Chinese masses that last April we called upon China's masses to wage an armed struggle in common with us against Japanese imperialism, and that Chiang Kai-shek's response to this call was to mobilize all his troops to attack the Chinese worker-peasant government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army rather than to attack Japanese imperialism.

The Chinese soviet government and the Worker and Peasant Red Army military commission declare before the Chinese masses that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is prepared to conclude a wartime agreement with any armed unit to oppose the invasion of the Japanese imperialists under the following conditions.

1. That it immediately stop attacking the Chinese soviet areas.
2. That it immediately guarantee the democratic rights of the masses (those of assembly, association, speech, strike and publication).
3. That it immediately arm the masses and form armed militia to protect China and win Chinese independence, unification and territorial integrity.

We request that the Chinese masses and soldiers support this call and wage a united national revolutionary struggle to gain China's independence, unity and territorial integrity, coordinate the struggle against Japan and all imperialists with the struggle against the treason and surrender of the imperialists' running dogs the KMT warlords, and extend the armed national revolutionary struggle against Japan and all imperialists.

Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government  
Chairmen Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
Chairman of the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army Military Affairs Commission  
Chu Te  
17 Jan 1933

°Red China, No 48, 28 Jan 1933

\*Reference Materials on the History of the Chinese Revolution, Third Series, Great Chinese People's University 1957

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CSO: 4005

## ON THE LENDING OF GRAIN TO THE RED ARMY BY THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES

Directive No 20 of the Central Executive Committee

1 March 1933

[Text] From government reports from many localities in the two provinces of Kiangsi and Fukien and numerous requests from revolutionary groups everywhere, the Central Government has concluded that the imperialist KMT is now conducting large-scale attacks and engaging in large-scale burning, slaughter, and pillage against the masses in the soviet areas. Lung-yen county in Fukien has been totally devastated, with incalculable losses to the masses. Hsi-nan District in Yung-ting has lost more than 20,000 tan of grain taken away by the White armies. In Kiangsi, during the last 3 campaigns, the White troops killed several thousand people, burned tens of thousands of houses and pillaged tens of thousands of tan of grain and several tens of thousands of head of livestock. At present, several hundred thousand White troops under Chiang Kai-shek and Ch'en Chi-t'ang have begun to storm into the soviet areas, burning, massacring and plundering. Our heroic Red Army is now engaged in bitter combat with the White troops everywhere, but it is short on grain and only if the revolutionary masses everywhere are willing to undertake to limit their grain consumption and lend grain to the Red Army so as to completely destroy the vicious White armies and thoroughly smash the imperialist KMT's large-scale attack, can we prevent the masses in the soviet areas from being crushed.

On the basis of the above-mentioned opinion of the masses, the Central Government has decided to accept this request of the masses, and it has determined that the revolutionary masses shall of their own accord lend grain in the following manner:

1. Grain is something that every peasant household has, so lending grain is much easier than lending money, especially when the masses are resisting the brutality of the White armies and revolutionary fervor is at a high pitch. The governments of all localities should work together with all the mass organizations to carry out this movement, and within 3 months each county must complete the lending of grain by the masses, because during this time the warfare will become much more intense.

2. The carrying out of this grain lending movement must be based on excellent agitation and propaganda work. The phrasing of the propaganda must be highly colloquial and every method must be used, such as performing new plays, making speeches in costume, putting up slogans, and issuing illustrated flyers, etc., to make all those masses who have not yet requested to lend grain understand, and so that it will become a large-scale spontaneous movement of all the masses to lend grain. As to those masses who have not yet spontaneously made their request, it is absolutely forbidden to subject them to such command-ist methods as forced-loan confrontations instead of propagandizing them. If forced-loan confrontation methods are used not only will the Soviet government become divorced from the masses, but less grain will surely be obtained than if propaganda were used.

3. Allocation of quotas for grain lending must be determined in accordance with each locality's actual situation and the capacity of the masses to lend grain. It cannot be a uniform quota throughout. In the old soviet areas, quotas should be allocated on the basis of rice production, with rich producing areas lending more, and comparatively smaller producing areas lending less. In the new soviet areas, account should be taken of the masses' understanding of the revolution and whether or not struggle has penetrated deeply. The areas where the struggle has gone deep should lend more than those where it has not. As to border areas, determination should be made on the basis of whether or not they have been subject to counterrevolutionary devastation and plunder. Those areas that have been severely devastated need not lend; those who have suffered less should lend a suitable amount according to their circumstances. Only in this way can we make the masses understand that lending grain to the government truly serves to protect their own interests, make them eagerly give it, and avoid the occurrence of difficulties and bad influences in doing the work.

4. On receipt of this directive, governments at all levels must immediately and in accordance with the methods outlined summon the chairmen of all townships to a joint meeting to plan allocation of quotas and must send persons to all districts and townships to hold congresses and meetings of poor peasants associations, agricultural laborers associations and the electorate, and to propagandize and explain to the people of those localities the eagerness of the masses elsewhere to lend grain and their methods of doing it, as well as organizing emulation so that everyone will lend grain eagerly.

5. The grain that is lent shall be handled as follows in the various areas:

a. In Kiangsi

1. Po-sheng, Shih-ch'eng, Yu-tu, hui-ch'ang, Jui-chin, Sheng-li and Hsing-kuo counties and southern Yun-feng shall all collect it at the district government headquarters, and apart from a portion that shall be given to the local hospital, government, [army] units and other state organs for their expenses, the rest should be saved and handled according to future orders of the central government.



2. Kung-lueh, Wan-t'ai, and northern Yung-feng, Kan-hsien, I-huang, Lo-an Nan-kuang, An-yuan, Hsun-wu: apart from a portion which shall be taken out for the operating expenses of the local Red Army (paid for by the government) government hospitals and various organs by the county governments after discussion of their needs and for assistance to the mass organizations, the remainder may be sold at current market price.

b. In Fukien

1. In Ch'ang-t'ing and Ning-hua it shall be collected at the district government headquarters and kept to be disposed of in accordance with future orders of the central government; but in Shang-hang Hsin-ch'uan and Wu-p'ing some shall be used to provision the local Red Army and government organs and subsidize the mass organizations (given out according to price) and the rest sold at the going price.

2. Proceeds from all grain sold at an estimated price must be handed over to the treasury branch and a 5-copy receipt obtained from the treasury branch as proof. No government at any level may appropriate the slightest amount, and if there is any unauthorized use of these funds or if the price of the sale is reported as lower than it actually was, those guilty of corruption and misconduct will be dealt with severely.

6. All local governments, hospitals and units and revolutionary mass organizations which eat rice shall sell off these grains as quickly as possible, but they must do it for cash and not on credit.

7. After the financial units at all levels have received grain borrowing receipts from the central government financial department, they must set up special grain borrowing accounts showing item by item the amount of grain received from the masses, number of grain receipts issued to the masses, amounts of grain issued to various organs, and amount of grain sold and the price, in order to aid in keeping correct accounts. Money from the grain sales handed over to the branch departments shall be put by the treasury branches into a separate account named the "Masses' Grain Lending Account" and must not be mixed in with special income or the Red Army's public grain account.

8. All masses who lend grain shall receive a grain lending receipt issued by the central government's Financial People's Committee as proof.

9. Anyone who receives a grain lending receipt shall be allowed in the second half of 1933 to submit it as part of his land tax. Those which are obtained after the tax or are left over after paying the tax shall be redeemed for cash by the district government leadership at the proper time.

10. The grain loan receipts must bear the seal of the township soviet chairman and may only be used to pay taxes in that district. Those that do not bear this seal or are not from the district in question shall be considered as void extra receipts.

11. The receipts shall be distributed by the county government departments in accordance with the situation of the masses and the grain in each district. The districts in turn shall allocate them after discussion of the situations of the various townships. The government leadership at every level shall keep a record of all receipts issued, and if they hold receipts for which grain has not been handed in these must be handed over; there cannot be any discrepancies.

12. When the masses lend their grain they shall be given receipts in return, and anyone who lends grain and does not receive one may complain to the higher level governments and request strict enforcement. The grain from the "three sheng of rice" movement collected in the various localities since January of this year may be included in the amount of grain lent, and receipts must be issued for it.

13. If rich peasants have had to make forced contributions they shall not be made to lend grain.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao  
1 Mar 1933

"Red China," No 58, 6 March 1933

8480  
CSO: 4005

OPPOSE JAPANESE IMPERIALISTS' OCCUPATION OF JEHOL AND ATTACK ON PEKING  
AND TIENTSIN

Proclamation of Provisional Central Government

3 March 1933

[Text] To the masses of all China!

The 75mm artillery and great numbers of fighters and bombers of the Japanese imperialists are now carrying out inhumane bombardment massacres in the Jehol area! Eight Japanese imperialist divisions and two brigades, with the support of several hundred aircraft, are now attacking Ch'eng-te from three directions! The KMT generals continue to follow their shameless policy of non-resistance and retreat step by step, giving up K'ai-lu, Pei-p'iao and Ch'ao-yang, and have abandoned hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants and anti-Japanese soldiers to be trodden under the iron hoofs of Japanese imperialism, crushed and massacred!

Masses of all China! More than half of Jehol has already fallen into the hands of the Japanese imperialists, and all of North China is at a life-or-death crisis, and the tragic fate of colonial slavery directly threatens the toiling masses of all China!

Masses of all China! The imperialists' bandit war to invade and enslave all of China is now being frenziedly waged, and only one road lies before us: to arm ourselves and wage a revolutionary national liberation war. Only the armed strength of the millions of the masses can defeat the bandit war of the Japanese and all imperialists to invade and enslave China and can gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people! The provisional Chinese soviet government has repeatedly called upon the masses of all China to arise and wage a victorious national revolutionary war together with the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is willing to conclude a conditional wartime agreement with all true anti-Japanese units. But the KMT warlords and politicians have most shamelessly knelt before the imperialists and betrayed China, practicing non-resistance

and surrender, have cut off the Three Eastern Provinces and sold out Shanghai and massacred anti-Japanese and anti-imperialist worker-peasant masses and revolutionary fighters, and forbidden the organization of all goods boycotts and anti-Japanese militia. Now, at the very moment when the Japanese imperialists are attacking Jehol with all their strength, they even more openly advocate abandoning Jehol and Peking and Tientsin; they protest that this is a strategic necessity, while at the same time they attack the Chinese worker-peasant masses and the worker-peasant government and Red Army with dozens of divisions! The Soviet Government declares that it is willing to draw up a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese armies. The KMT response to this declaration is to retreat step by step before the iron hoofs of the Japanese imperialists, without dispatching a single soldier to Jehol to resist the Japanese, but to dispatch the greater part of its military force to Kiangsi and under the personal leadership of the counterrevolutionary chieftain Chiang Kai-shek to wildly attack the soviet areas! It is precisely because the soviet areas have called upon and organized the anti-imperialist, anti-Japanese movement throughout the country that the traitorous KMT government has, with increased ferocity, resorted more and more to burning, slaughter and pillage, military adventurism and economic blockade, with the aim of hindering the development of the soviet movement, in order to break the main force of anti-imperialism and resistance to Japan!

The KMT warlords and politicians plan to treat the soviet government's declaration that it is willing to draw up a wartime treaty with all anti-Japanese units as an expression of the Soviet government' and Worker-Peasant Red Army's weakness; but this actually expresses their own obtuseness and stupidity. The warfare of the last 2 days has taught these traitorous warlords a stern lesson: the 52nd and 59th divisions have been entirely disarmed, and their commanders and staff officers have all been captured, so that the 5th Army is a shambles. The soviet movement has gained the support of millions of the masses, while the KMT warlords' military adventurism and economic blockade have only served to further stir up the resistance of the toiling masses of the entire country, and in addition have created favorable conditions for the further advancement of the soviet movement!

The Chinese Soviet Government is preparing to wage war directly against the troops of the Japanese imperialists and to drive them out of China. Accordingly, we must eliminate all reactionary armies and armed groups which hinder us in doing battle with Japan! The Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army once more declare that they are willing to enter into a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese military forces, but they will strike the gravest blows at all armies and armed groups which encroach upon the soviet areas, to the point of completely destroying them! We call upon our brothers among the fighters of the White armies! Rise and oppose your treasonous officers, turn the guns around, join up with the Red Army to oppose the bandit invasion of the Japanese imperialists and drive them out of China!

Masses of all China! Our brother fighters in the White armies! The Provisional Soviet Central Government calls upon you to arise and wage an armed national revolutionary war, to oppose Japanese imperialism and the traitorous KMT rule! Oppose the attacks on the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and soviet areas! Support our call to struggle and oppose your traitorous officers, arise on your own account and link up with the Worker-Peasant Red Army to oppose Japanese imperialism's bandit invasion! Oppose the attacking of the Soviet areas with even a single soldier, a single rifle, a single shell! Demand that all the military force of the entire country be dispatched to North China to oppose the attack of Japanese imperialism! Spread the national revolutionary war and opposition to Japan and all imperialism, and overthrow the imperialists' running dogs, the KMT!

Chairman of the Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government Mao Tse-tung  
Vice Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

3 March 1933

"Red China," No 59, 9 March 1933

8480

CSO: 4005

ON THE MATTER OF GRAIN REDISTRIBUTION AMONG THE PEOPLE TO KEEP UP THE  
PROVISIONING OF THE ARMED FORCES

Order No 39 Of the People's Committee of the Provisional Central Government

4 March 1933

[Text] According to reports from various localities in various counties in the soviet areas, a good many localities have recently forbidden the transport of cereals and rice, and county A and county B have drawn a boundary line between them; in many localities there has been a grain famine, and prices have soared or grain cannot be bought at any price. This is an extremely grave circumstance. Investigation indicates that in the soviet areas the food situation is uneven, with surpluses in some areas and shortages in others. In the border areas, where the enemy are plundering and pillaging, there are rice famines. In the areas where the Red Army is stationed and near hospitals food is even more in shortage. Readjustment between the districts and the counties affects not only the daily food of the ordinary masses, but is an extremely critical matter affecting the provisioning of the Red Army and its hospitals and rear area. It is therefore an absolutely indispensable condition for the smashing of the enemy's fourth attack and accordingly is extremely critical.

The reasons that grain circulation has been hindered boil down to three:

1. The masses who are short on food are afraid that much will flow out of their area, and in May and June they will have to eat high-priced rice.
2. Those who have excess food wish to keep it for later, so as to get high prices.
3. Rich peasants and traitorous merchants are manipulating and trying to get profits, or even intentionally making trouble in order to subvert the revolutionary war, and the governments of the various areas are not investigating them. So as it turns out, people are afraid that in May

and June they will be eating high-priced rice, while in other places it has come to that much earlier, and they are already eating rice at a high price. In Yung-ting you can get 3 1/2 sheng for a yuan, whereas in Shanghai you can get 4 sheng for a yuan, in T'ing-chou 7 sheng, and in Jui-chin it is as high as 8, but in other rice-poor areas it gets more expensive day by day. The workers in the cities have no land to farm but make a living by selling their labor, and a whole family with young and old, with that little bit of income from their labor, eats rice that keeps getting more and more expensive. The entire Red Army is now on the front line fighting a life-and-death struggle with the enemy, and relies upon the rear area to keep sending up military provisions. The governments of all areas must explain this fact to the masses in their areas: we certainly want the whole soviet area to have food to eat, but we especially want the Red Army to have food to eat, and only by joining forces with a common purpose to smash the enemy can we move ahead. They must tell those people who have extra grain not to keep thinking of high prices when people in other places are suffering hunger and the front lines are short on military provisions; people can't stand by and watch without heeding. They must know that it is bad for everybody, and if the Red Army doesn't win, you can't achieve your own aims. As to the rich peasants and merchants, they were unhappy when the government collected military provisions and when the cooperatives redistributed the people's food, and they either intentionally stored it away or secretly engaged in manipulation, or even disseminated rumors on a large scale to stir up the masses. This is counter-revolutionary activity and governments at all levels in all localities must lead the revolutionary masses in dealing severely with these people. They must know that the interests the whole and the interests of the war take first place among all interests. The local governments and the masses must understand this profoundly.

The central government has decided on a plan for grain distribution and has set up a grain distribution office. All local governments must lead the masses to quickly organize food cooperatives, and with the leadership and assistance of the food redistribution offices they must strive to carry out the redistribution. In addition to rice, they must ration salt in order to prevent the rich peasants and traitorous merchants from storing it away and manipulating the market, in order to guard against the KMT's grave economic blockade, to regulate the people's food in all areas, and to continue the provisioning of the front line. All local governments must know that the central soviet's harvests were not rich last year, and this year's spring famine problems will inevitably be more serious. Leading the masses to resolve this grave problem is a major task for the soviet governments; from the provincial-level soviets down to the urban and rural representative assemblies, all must conduct detailed discussions, plan meticulously, propagandize broadly and carry it out with great effort if we are to complete this task. This is an extremely pressing question for the masses. It is the main key to smashing the enemy's fourth encirclement campaign. In order to make the Soviet Government into a government which truly represents the masses' interests

and which powerfully leads the war, we must avoid the slightest neglect of this problem.

The Central Government's Ministry of Interior shall not only issue this report, but shall notify all local governments at all levels to earnestly implement it. It is so ordered.

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

4 March 1933  
°"Red China," No 58, 6 March 1933

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CSO: 4005



ANOTHER CALL TO THE PEOPLE OF THE COUNTRY TO TAKE UP ARMS AND COMBAT  
IMPERIALISM

4 March Proclamation of Provisional Central Government

4 March 1933

[Text] Masses of all China!

The 75 mm cannon and great number of fighters and bombers of the Japanese imperialists are now inflicting inhumane bombardment massacres in the Jehol area! Eight Japanese imperialist divisions with the support of several hundred aircraft, are now attacking Ch'eng-te from three directions! The KMT generals continue to follow their shameless policy of non-resistance and retreat step by step, giving up K'ai-lu, Pei-p'iao and Ch'ao-yang, and have abandoned hundreds of thousands of peaceful inhabitants and fighters actively resisting Japanese imperialism to be trodden by the iron hoofs of Japanese imperialism, crushed and massacred! Masses of all China! All of Jehol has now fallen into the hands of the Japanese imperialists, and all of North China is at a life-or-death crisis. The tragic fate of colonial slavery directly threatens the toiling masses of all China!

Masses of all China! The imperialists' bandit war to invade and enslave all of China is now being frenziedly waged, and only one road lies before us: to arm ourselves and wage a revolutionary national liberation war. Only the armed strength of the millions of the masses can defeat the bandit war Japanese and all imperialists to invade and enslave China and can gain independence, liberation and territorial integrity for the Chinese people!

The provisional Chinese Soviet government has repeatedly called upon the masses of all China to arise and wage a victorious national revolutionary war together with the Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and the toiling masses of the soviets. In its most recent declaration it clearly

declared before the masses of China that the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army is willing to conclude a wartime agreement, under the simplest and most essential conditions, with all true anti-Japanese armies. But the KMT warlords and politicians have most shamelessly knelt before the imperialists and betrayed China, practicing non-resistance and surrender. (Hiatus) It is precisely because the soviet areas have called upon and organized the anti-imperialist anti-Japanese movement throughout the country that the traitorous KMT government has, with increased ferocity, resorted more and more to burning, slaughter and pillage, military adventurism and economic blockade, with the aim of hindering the development of the soviet movement, in order to break the main force of anti-imperialism and resistance to Japan! The KMT warlords and politicians plan to treat the Soviet Government's declaration that it is willing to draw up a wartime treaty with all anti-Japanese units as an expression of the Soviet Government and Worker-Peasant Red Army's weakness; but this actually expresses their own obtuseness and stupidity. The warfare of the last 2 months has taught these traitorous warlords a stern lesson: The 52nd and 59th Divisions have been entirely disarmed and their commanders and staff officers have all been captured, so that the 5th Army is a shambles. The soviet movement has gained the support of millions of the masses, while the KMT warlords' military adventurism and economic blockade have only served to further stir up the resistance of the toiling masses of the entire country.

The Chinese Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army are preparing to wage war directly against the troops of the Japanese imperialists and to drive them out of China. Accordingly we must disarm all reactionary armies which hinder us in doing battle with Japan. The Soviet Government and the Worker-Peasant Red Army once more declare that they are willing to enter into a wartime agreement with all truly anti-Japanese armies.

As to all armies and armed groups invading the soviet areas, we call upon our brothers among the fighters of the White armies to rise and oppose your treasonous officers, turn the guns around, join up with the Red Army to oppose the bandit invasion of the Japanese imperialists and drive them out of China! Masses of all China! Our brother fighters in the White armies! The provisional soviet central government calls upon you to arise and wage an armed national revolutionary war, to oppose Japanese imperialism and the traitorous KMT rule, to oppose the attacks on the Chinese Worker-Peasant Red Army and soviet areas! Support our call to struggle and oppose your traitorous officers, arise on your own account and link up with the Worker-Peasant Red Army to oppose Japanese imperialism's bandit invasion! Oppose the attacking of the soviet areas with even a single soldier, a single rifle, a single shell and demand that all the military force of the entire country be dispatched to North China to oppose the attack of Japanese imperialism! Spread the national revolutionary war and opposition to Japan and all imperialism, and overthrow the imperialists' running dogs the KMT!

Chairman of the Provisional Chinese Soviet Central Government Mao Tse-tung  
Vice-Chairmen Hsiang Ying, Chang Kuo-tao

9 March at Jui-chin, Kiangsi  
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