

Translation to English:

Zhou Enlai's Draft of the "Common Program of the New Democratic Revolution"

Zhou Enlai

[For information about the drafting process and the evolution of the name of the "Common Program," please refer to the "Remarks on the Speech at the Establishment Meeting of the Third Group of the Preparatory Committee of the New Political Consultative Conference and Comments on the Meeting Records" (June 18 and 21, 1949), Note 5. The title of this article is the original manuscript. On August 22, 1949, Zhou Enlai sent this draft to Mao Zedong for review and annotated, stating, "Chairman: Only 50 copies have been printed, and none have been sent to anyone yet. After you review it, see if it can serve as a basis for modification, and then decide whether to send it to the Politburo and relevant comrades for review."]

Today, after the Chinese People's Liberation War has achieved basic victory, the Chinese people, various democratic parties, people's organizations, democratic individuals from all walks of life, domestic ethnic minorities, and overseas Chinese urgently need to establish a common program mutually agreed upon to further unite, immediately form a united democratic government, lead and consolidate all the forces of the Chinese people, swiftly eliminate the remnants of the Kuomintang reactionaries, expel the aggressive imperialist forces, heal the wounds of war, unify all of China, and systematically and step by step carry out political, economic, cultural, and national defense construction to establish an independent, free, democratic, unified, and prosperous new China. The First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference now solemnly proclaims to the people of the entire country and the world that the various democratic parties, people's organizations, liberated areas, and the People's Liberation Army, totalling forty-five units, as well as specially invited representatives, have unanimously passed a Common Program of the New Democratic Revolution that reflects these requirements, serving as a guide for the future struggle of the Chinese people. We hereby call on the entire nation to unite and persevere in this common endeavour.

The Common Program of the New Democratic Revolution is divided into two parts: General Program and Specific Program.

General Program

The representatives of various democratic parties, people's organizations, liberated areas, and the People's Liberation Army participating in the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference acknowledge the following: Uniting all democratic classes in China and all ethnic groups within the country to jointly pursue new democracy, oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, overthrow the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, carry the revolution through to the end, and unite with all progressive democratic forces worldwide to establish the People's Republic of China. This is the political foundation for our common adherence and long-term cooperation in the current stage in China.

Based on this foundation, we have formed a united front of the entire Chinese people. This united front is the broadest front formed under the leadership of the Chinese working class by uniting the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, the national bourgeoisie, and all democratic patriotic elements. The task of this united front is to oppose imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism, and therefore, it must reject the participation of reactionary elements who support imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucrat capitalism and oppose new democracy. It must not include feudal landlords, old-style rich peasants, and comprador bourgeoisie but only absorb democratic patriots who have demonstrated their dedication to the cause of people's democratic revolution. This united front, initiated and promoted by the Chinese Communist Party, has gone through a winding path from the reorganization of the Chinese Nationalist Party in 1924 through the first cooperation between the Kuomintang and the Communist Party and the four revolutionary periods, finally reaching its most suitable organizational form today—the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

The composition of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference includes representatives not only from various democratic parties and people's organizations but also from regions, ethnic groups, and the military. It also specifies the invitation of several representative democratic patriots. Therefore, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference is not only the organizational form of the united front of the people's democratic revolution but also possesses the characteristics of a nationwide representative conference. Before the convening of the National People's Congress, which will be elected through universal suffrage, its plenary session shall exercise the powers of the National People's Congress and undertake the historic task of establishing the Central People's Government of the People's Republic of China.

In the future, the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, through its National Committee and local committees, will strengthen the unity work of the united front of the people's democracy in accordance with the Common Program of the New Democratic Revolution, strictly guard against the conspiracies and disruptions of imperialist and reactionary elements. History has proven that unity leads to success, division leads to failure, and open or hidden destructive elements must be firmly rooted out to consolidate the front. Foreign imperialism and the remnants of Chinese reactionaries will not accept failure in China. First and foremost, American imperialism, in its pursuit of maintaining its privileges in China and realizing its dream of world domination, has openly declared that it will continue to assist "democratic individualists" in China in carrying out internal division and betrayal from within the united front of the Chinese people. It will also cooperate with the so-called "Pacific Anti-Communist Alliance" to carry out blockades and interference from outside China. However, such attempts will not withstand the counterattack of the powerful united front of the Chinese people, and they are bound to arouse the national indignation of the Chinese people. The more resolute the Chinese people are in opposing imperialism and eliminating the remnants of reactionaries, the more hopeless the fate of imperialism and reactionaries in China becomes. Over a century of struggle for national independence and thirty years of people's democratic revolution have all been aimed at the victory over imperialism. Now is the most favorable time for the liberation of the Chinese nation. At this critical moment, there is no room for any illusions, wavering, or retreat. Only by resolutely overcoming difficulties, correcting possible errors, and carrying the revolution through to the end can

we fulfil the basic requirements of the united front of the people's democracy—national independence and the construction of a new China.

We do not deny that there are different demands and contradictions among various classes within the united front of the people's democracy. However, during the entire stage of the New Democratic Revolution, we should ensure that these different demands and contradictions do not exceed the common demands. We believe that, in the struggle against imperialism and the remnants of feudalism, the different demands and contradictions within the united front of the people's democracy can and should be reconciled.

The program of our united front is New Democracy. Chinese New Democracy is distinct from Old Democracy and also from socialism. Its characteristics are as follows: First, the Chinese revolution over the past thirty years has been influenced by the October Revolution. It has been led by the Chinese working class and the Chinese Communist Party and has relied on the vast majority of the working people in the nation, rather than being conducted under the leadership of the bourgeoisie. Second, the Chinese revolution is anti-feudal, anti-bureaucratic capitalism, and, in particular, centred on anti-imperialism. Although the national bourgeoisie, who are generally oppressed and bound by imperialism and feudalism, often exhibit vacillation and fear towards the revolutionary movement, they can

participate and have indeed participated or remained neutral. Therefore, the Chinese revolution has become a new democratic revolution led by the working class, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and with the participation of the bourgeoisie.

This new form of bourgeoisie democracy is evidently different from the old form of bourgeoisie democracy. Dr. Sun Yat-sen defined the difference between the two in the Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China in 1924, stating, "The so-called civil rights system in recent times is often monopolized by the bourgeoisie, becoming a tool of oppressing the common people. The civil rights ideology of the Kuomintang is shared by the common people, not possessed by a minority." Therefore, the foundation of new democracy was established from that time, and in the subsequent years, Chairman Mao Zedong of the Chinese Communist Party further developed and enriched it, completing and defining the theory and program of new democracy. He also established the leadership of the working class through revolutionary practice. At present, it has enabled over half of the Chinese people and will eventually allow the entire Chinese population to live in the actual conditions of new democracy. Old democracy, on the other hand, has been shattered in the world through two world wars, fascist dictatorships, and capitalist crises. As Chairman Mao Zedong said, "The Western bourgeoisie civilization, bourgeois democracy, and the schemes of the bourgeois republic have all collapsed in the minds of the Chinese people." (Mao Zedong, "On People's Democratic Dictatorship") All ideas of the "middle way" or the "third path" have also failed. The People's Republic of New Democracy has been firmly established in China, and no conspiracies or disruptions by imperialism can change the Chinese people's confidence and determination in this regard.

At the same time, new democracy is not yet socialism. In the current stage in China, the task of the Chinese people is still to eliminate the remnants of feudalism, abolish imperialism's privileges in China, and build an industrialized China. This does not go beyond the scope of the bourgeoisie democratic revolution. However, the People's Democratic United Front and its political power are led by the working class and the Chinese Communist Party, based on the alliance of workers and peasants, and the industrial leadership is in the hands of the state. Therefore, its consolidation and development will prepare the groundwork for the realization of socialism in China.

Therefore, the national system of new democracy that we advocate is a system of people's democratic dictatorship based on the alliance of various democratic classes and all ethnic groups within China, with the working class and the Chinese Communist Party in leadership—the system of a united government of the People's Democratic United Front. Only this system can ensure that state power belongs to the people, allowing all democratic classes to have their rightful place in the state, to obtain all freedoms and rights, to realize people's democracy, to thoroughly overthrow the ruling position of all reactionary classes and individuals, to deprive or restrict their freedoms and rights, and to implement dictatorship over them. Only this system can achieve the equal unity of all ethnic groups within China, allowing each ethnic group to have an equal status in the state's political power, to enjoy autonomy, and to form the Chinese Federation of all ethnic groups according to voluntary and democratic principles.

The political system of new democracy that we advocate is a system of democratic centralism, where the power lies with the people's congresses of all levels, directly elected by the people. These congresses form the various levels of state power organs. They determine major policies, elect people's governments at all levels, which are responsible for handling all national or local affairs entrusted by the people's congresses. The people have the right to supervise and remove their elected representatives, as well as the government officials elected by the people's congresses at all levels. This system is both democratic and centralized. As Chairman Mao Zedong said, "Only this system can embody extensive democracy, granting the highest power to the people's congresses at all levels, while also centralizing the handling of state affairs, allowing various levels of government to centrally deal with all matters entrusted by the people's congresses, and safeguarding all necessary democratic activities of the people." (Mao Zedong, "On the Coalition Government") This system is fundamentally different from the representative system of old democracy. The representative system is a tool for the bourgeoisie dictatorship, using a facade of democracy to deceive and oppress the people, whereas the system of people's congresses is a tool for the people's democratic dictatorship based on democratic centralism. This system, when implemented in China during the entire period of new democracy, is neither a class dictatorship nor a single-party government but rather a united government of various democratic parties and people's organizations working under a shared new democratic program.

The economic system of new democracy that we advocate aims to realize an economic program that aligns with the interests of the vast majority of the people nationwide. This program includes the confiscation of land from the feudal class and returning it to the peasants; the nationalization of bureaucratic capital, led by the four major families of Chiang Kai-shek, Song Ziwen, Kong Xiangxi, and Chen Lifu, for the benefit of the People's Republic; the elimination of imperialist economic privileges in China; the protection of national industry and commerce; and the step-by-step achievement of

national industrialization and modernization of agriculture. This economic program aligns with the views of Dr. Sun Yat-sen, who advocated "land to the tiller" in the land issue and state management of enterprises with monopolistic or excessively large scale in the industrial and commercial sectors, such as banks, railways, and shipping, to prevent private capital from manipulating the livelihood of the nation. (Declaration of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China)

The economic structure of new democracy is primarily a state-led economy, with individual economies, mainly agricultural, gradually moving towards a collective direction. The state economy must control the lifelines of the people's economy, and any enterprise with a monopolistic nature should be under state ownership to facilitate planned economic development and accelerate national industrialization. Private capital, due to the backwardness of the Chinese economy, will still have conditions for development in a long period, as long as it does not "manipulate the livelihood of the nation." The state should protect it to make it an indispensable part of the people's economy. However, we will never allow private capital to develop into a monopolistic nature and follow the old capitalist path of Europe and the United States, which would disrupt the economic direction of new democracy. Individual economies, mainly in agriculture, will continue to be dispersed for a relatively long period after being liberated from the feudal system, but the state should support their development and gradually guide them toward cooperative economic forms. Only when tens of millions of individual farmers organize themselves in production can China's agricultural economy achieve large-scale development and modernization under the conditions of national industrialization.

The culture of new democracy that we advocate is one "shared by the common people" rather than "privately owned by a minority." In other words, the Chinese people should establish their own national, scientific, and popular culture, transforming new China from a culturally backward country into one that progresses culturally. We advocate taking appropriate but resolute steps to eliminate all imperialistic, feudalistic, and fascist cultures that have enslaved the Chinese people. We should promote the progressive culture that the Chinese people have created since the May Fourth Movement. Regarding the cultural heritage of ancient China, we should adopt a serious critical attitude, rejecting its feudal and reactionary aspects while drawing upon its democratic and revolutionary elements. Regarding foreign cultures, we should not blindly reject them but should absorb progressive foreign cultures to the extent possible, especially socialist culture from the Soviet Union, as a reference for new democratic culture. We should also not blindly worship foreign cultures but should base our acceptance on the actual needs of the Chinese people, accepting foreign cultures critically. New democratic culture is meant to serve the people, and theory and practice must be combined. Neglecting the importance of continuing the cultural popularization, regardless of the current needs and possibilities of the Chinese people, is a mistake. Being content with cultural backwardness and denying the need for gradual cultural improvement is also a mistake.

The international relations of new democracy that we advocate are to "unite with the people of all nations who treat us as equals in our common struggle" (Sun Yat-sen). In other words, we should unite with the Soviet Union, unite with the working class and the broad masses of people in all new democratic countries, unite with the working class and the broad masses of people in all capitalist countries, and unite with all oppressed nations to form an international united front, opposing imperialist world aggression and the danger of war, and striving to achieve world democracy and

lasting peace. Facing the imperialist camp led by American imperialism, the Chinese people should firmly stand on the side of the world peace camp led by socialist Soviet Union and call on people who love peace and oppressed nations worldwide to stand together. This unity can undoubtedly defeat any provocations by the strong foreign imperialism.

In the East, on one hand, the victory of the Chinese people is inspiring the development of the national liberation movements of the colonies oppressed by imperialism. On the other hand, imperialism and its lackeys in the colonies are making every effort to form an anti-communist coalition in the East to interfere in China's internal affairs and suppress the revolutionary movements in the colonies. However, no matter what, the Chinese people's liberation war is approaching complete victory, and the national liberation movements in the East's colonies cannot be extinguished. Any nation's affairs must be handled by its own people, and no imperialist country should be allowed to interfere again. The victory of the Chinese people deals a severe blow to the interference of these imperialist countries.

We, representing the Chinese people, declare to the world: The system of imperialism must be opposed, all privileges of imperialism in China must be abolished, China's national sovereignty and the cause of national liberation should be respected internationally. Similarly, we respect the sovereignty of any country and its struggle for liberation. We believe that this call will receive a response from progressive countries and peoples around the world.

Specific Program

Throughout the entire stage of the new democratic system, the general principles mentioned above remain essentially unchanged. However, in various periods within this stage, specific measures should be taken as needed.

Current Situation in China:

1. The people's liberation war will achieve complete victory in liberating all of China in about a year.
2. Imperialist countries have not completely relinquished all the privileges they gained through aggression in China. They are reluctant to do so and even have the potential for armed intervention.
3. The Chinese people have already been or are about to be liberated from the corrupt and decadent rule of the reactionary Nationalist Party (Kuomintang) and are in urgent need of eradicating reactionary remnants, healing war wounds, restoring production, initiating construction, strengthening national defense, and seeking foreign assistance to rebuild China.

Taking into account these circumstances, we outline the following specific program:

A. Liberation of All of China

1. All democratic parties, people's organizations, and patriotic individuals nationwide should unite more closely, concentrate their will, coordinate their actions, move forward courageously, work hard, and put the people first.

2. The entire people's liberation army and all relevant armed forces should continue advancing, resolutely and thoroughly eliminating all remnants of the Nationalist Party's reactionary forces in China who dare to resist, arresting all unrepentant war criminals, liberating the entire Chinese people, defending China's territorial sovereignty, independence, and integrity, and realizing the genuine peace and democratic unity that all the people of the country desire.

3. Any local governments and military groups affiliated with the Nationalist Party's reactionary forces, as long as they admit their errors, acknowledge their failure, and are willing to stop the war and seek a peaceful resolution, whether they raised arms or cease resistance, will all be welcomed. They will be dealt with according to the spirit of the final amendment of the Domestic Peace Agreement of April 15, 1949.

4. We encourage and welcome enlightened individuals within the Nationalist Party's reactionary organizations and revolutionary elements among the masses, or mass organizations, to plan and carry out activities in support of the People's Liberation Army's advance and to bravely protect all government agencies, factories, enterprises, and assets.

5. In areas and cities entered by the People's Liberation Army, military control should be implemented uniformly. Old reactionary regime structures should be immediately abolished, and temporary people's government bodies should be appointed by the superior people's government to carry out all government affairs under military control. The duration of military control should be determined by the People's Revolutionary Military Committee based on the local political and military situation.

6. In areas and cities entered by the People's Liberation Army, local residents and troops should jointly abide by the Eight Regulations promulgated by the Chinese People's Liberation Army on April 25, 1949, to facilitate the takeover of local political power and the establishment of revolutionary order.

7. To maintain public security in the newly liberated areas and to guard against the subversive activities of imperialism and the Nationalist Party's reactionary elements, people's liberation army and public security units in cities must implement registration of Nationalist Party spies, disarm roaming bandits, and confiscate hidden firearms and weapons. In rural areas, all reactionary armed

groups must be eliminated, and bandits and tyrants must be eradicated, with strict vigilance against any resurgence of armed activity by the enemy.

8. To ensure the rapid victory of the People's Liberation War and secure supplies for the military, the people in all liberated areas should continue to provide financial resources, material resources, and manpower to support the front lines. In the old liberated areas, people should intensify production, practice thrift, and allocate more grain and materials to support the front lines and assist the new areas. In the new liberated areas, the people should bear reasonable burdens, including contributions of grain, labor services, and funds, to facilitate the advance of the military and the expansion of the liberated areas.

9. In the political work of the new liberated areas, the central focus should be on connecting with the masses. During the period of military control, people's governments at the city and county levels should establish conferences of representatives from all walks of life as consultative bodies for the government. In rural areas, peasant associations and conferences of peasant representatives, with poor and landless peasants as the backbone, should serve as the foundation of the rural people's government.

Regardless of urban or rural areas, the system of neighbourhood associations (Baojia) must be completely abolished. The temporary utilization of neighbourhood association personnel is only for maintaining order at that time and facilitating the organization of the masses. During the period of utilization, it is necessary to continuously enhance the supervision capabilities of the masses.

B. Political and Legal

10. The Chinese people shall have the right to freedom of thought, body, speech, publication, assembly, association, communication, residence, occupation, strike, demonstration, and religious belief. However, this right cannot be granted to those who violate the laws of the New Democratic State.

Regarding rights such as speech, publication, assembly, association, and demonstration, the people's government should provide necessary material guarantees to various democratic parties, people's organizations, and patriotic individuals.

To ensure freedom of religious belief, religion should be separated from the government and education, and there should be no connection with foreign imperialist governments.

11. The Chinese people shall have the obligation to obey national laws, abide by labour discipline, protect public property, pay taxes, perform public service duties, and defend the homeland.

12. Chinese women shall have equal rights with men in all aspects of economic, political, cultural, and social life. To ensure gender equality, equal pay for equal work should be implemented for male and female workers, land should be equally distributed to male and female farmers, women should have equal inheritance rights as men, freedom of marriage should be upheld, and practices such as arranged marriages and child brides should be strictly prohibited, while foot-binding of women should be banned.

13. All ethnic groups within China shall be equal. All minority ethnic groups have the right to establish autonomous regions at various levels in the political structure and implement democratic ethnic alliances. All minority ethnic groups have the right to use their own language and script and preserve their religious beliefs and customs. Oppression of other minority ethnic groups by the Han ethnic group, as well as the promotion of ethnic hatred and the denigration of minority ethnic groups, must be abolished.

14. People's congresses at all levels are the organs of state power at all levels. The method of their formation should follow a universal, equal, direct, and secret voting system without distinction of gender, ethnicity, class, faith, property, education, or length of residence. They should be elected by eligible voters of legal age, but the right to vote and the right to be elected cannot be granted to those who are mentally ill or have been legally deprived of these rights.

In liberated areas where military control has been lifted and the democratic forces of the people have developed considerably, conferences of representatives from various sectors in cities and counties, or village conferences of peasant representatives, have expanded into people's congresses. People's congresses convened directly by strategic regions and provinces and autonomous regions can further exercise the powers of people's congresses and formulate administrative policies and elect local people's governments. In areas where military operations have completely ended and land reform has been thoroughly implemented, people's congresses can consider convening for universal suffrage.

Whether it is conferences of representatives from various sectors in cities and counties, village conferences of peasant representatives, people's congresses, or people's congresses convened directly by people, regardless of whether representatives are nominated by organizations, specially invited by the government, or directly elected by the people, they should report their work to the organizations, masses, or voters they are affiliated with. If they are deemed incompetent, their organizations or voters have the right to recall them, and specially invited representatives may be revoked by the government.

15. The National People's Congress is the highest state organ of the People's Republic of China. Prior to the convening of the National People's Congress, the plenary session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference shall exercise the powers of the National People's Congress, establish the organization law of the Central People's Government, elect the Central People's

Government Committee, and entrust it with the exercise of state power. Local people's governments at all levels, during the period of military control, shall be appointed by the Central People's Government or the people's governments of various strategic regions and provinces and autonomous regions respectively. During the period of elections, the Central People's Government or the people's governments of various strategic regions and provinces and autonomous regions shall have the power of approval.

16. People's congresses and people's governments at all levels, both central and local, are of a united front nature for people's democracy. In particular, at levels above counties and cities, various levels of political power structures should involve workers, peasants, revolutionary soldiers, intellectuals, independent laborers, petite bourgeoisie, national bourgeoisie, and patriotic individuals, allowing them to participate and have responsibilities in their work.

17. The relationship between the central and local levels of people's governments should, based on the current situation, give local governments more authority to take measures according to local conditions in accordance with the principles of this program.

18. Starting from the nature of the New Democratic Revolution and the New Democratic State, establish new legal principles and legal systems, leading to the creation of new laws according to various practical needs. The new judicial system should implement people's courts and the system of people's jurors. It should emphasize investigation in prosecution and evidence in trial, and adopt a policy of primarily education and reform and secondary punishment for offenders.

19. At levels above counties and cities, establish people's inspection agencies or people's inspectors within people's governments to supervise, inspect, report, and take disciplinary action against certain corruption, malfeasance, and other violations within government agencies and personnel. Regularly prevent and oppose bureaucratic tendencies that are detached from the masses.

20. The work style of governments at all levels must embody the spirit of serving the people. All government officials must diligently discipline themselves, be honest and dedicated to public service, listen to the opinions of the people, and be concerned about the national interest.

The people have the right to report illegal or erroneous actions of government agencies and personnel to the state judicial authorities or the People's Inspection agencies.

C. Financial and Economic

21. The economic construction of the New Democratic state should be guided by the policy advocated by Chairman Mao Zedong, which is "taking care of both public and private interests,

benefiting both labour and capital, mutual assistance between urban and rural areas, and exchange between domestic and foreign economies," to achieve the overall goal of "developing production and prospering the economy."

In the current situation, both the development of agriculture and the recovery of industry should be emphasized nationwide. Especially for the purpose of healing the wounds of war and developing the national economy, long-term struggles must be prepared against the Chinese economic system of imperialist colonization and the blockade policies of imperialism. Therefore, it is more necessary to rely on the labouring masses of workers and peasants, unite the petite bourgeoisie, develop agricultural production, restore land and water transportation, intensify thrift and economy, evacuate urban populations, adjust industrial equipment, expand the domestic market, and control foreign trade, in order to facilitate the recovery and development of industry.

22. Support the Land Law Outline announced by the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party on October 10, 1947, abolish the feudal and semi-feudal land ownership system in rural areas, and proceed in a planned and gradual manner. In newly liberated areas, rent and interest reductions should generally take place first, followed by land distribution. In the implementation, it must effectively meet the requirements of poor peasants and tenant farmers, and it must also firmly unite with the middle peasants, without infringing upon their interests. The land and property acquired by landlords and rich peasants should not exceed that of the peasant masses.

23. In order to develop agricultural production, it is necessary to promote deep ploughing, meticulous cultivation, fertilization, weeding, provision of farm tools, water conservancy construction, and pest control. Agricultural loans should be used directly for production. Promote cotton and hemp cultivation, develop animal husbandry and rural sidelines, promote superior varieties, improve tools and farming techniques. Guide farmers to gradually organize economically, establish labour exchange teams and various forms of production cooperation based on voluntary and equal principles.

Promote land reclamation and afforestation in conjunction with local resources, initiate water conservancy construction.

24. Confiscate bureaucratic capital. Protect national industry, commerce, agriculture, and animal husbandry. All factories, enterprises, shops, farms, ranches, and other entities operated by the reactionary government of the Kuomintang and big bureaucratic elements shall be taken over by the people's government. Among them, if there are privately owned shares of national industry, commerce, agriculture, and animal husbandry verified through investigation, their ownership shall be recognized. Privately owned factories, enterprises, shops, farms, and ranches should be allowed to make legitimate profits and normal profits, but speculation and profiteering should be prohibited, as should excessive exploitation of labour. If it benefits the national livelihood, the government should guide and support its development. If it manipulates the national livelihood, the government should ban it.

25. To restore and develop industrial production, it is necessary to build railways, restore transportation, increase industrial and mining power, strengthen fuel production, expand the iron and steel industry, initiate machine manufacturing, adjust the textile industry, and produce chemical raw materials. In general, light industry should focus on the development of agricultural processing industries and cultural industries.

The people's government should establish a national economic resource research institution, a national statistical system for finance and economics, and technical research institutions in various departments. It should start implementing economic construction plans in areas where conditions are relatively mature or in relatively important and feasible sectors, laying the preliminary foundation for future national planned economy.

Factories, enterprises, farms, and ranches owned by the state, if they cannot be managed by the government for a while due to its capacity, may be leased to private capital for operation. For the continued production or expansion of privately operated factories, enterprises, farms, and ranches, if the production is beneficial to the national livelihood and private capital is insufficient, the government may invest in and participate in management. The government should encourage private speculative capital to invest in production.

26. Establish labour laws to protect and improve the lives of workers. In factories and enterprises owned by the state, workers and staff should participate in management, establish factory and enterprise management committees, and lead the development of production. In privately operated factories and enterprises, to realize the principle of mutual benefit for labour and capital, workers and employers should conclude collective contracts in various industries. Currently, the work system should implement an eight to ten-hour working day, including temporary work, with a maximum of not more than twelve hours, and ensure that all adult workers can maintain a minimum wage standard for themselves and two other people, including themselves. Special protection should be given to young workers, female workers, and child laborers. Implement a mining and industrial inspection system, ensuring that mining and industry have safe and sanitary facilities, gradually improving them.

27. Abolish the oppressive and miscellaneous taxes imposed by the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang. Reform the tax system, improve indirect taxes, gradually implement a unified progressive agricultural tax, industrial tax, and commercial tax, and implement an inheritance tax. In order to ensure final victory, the people still need to bear the expenses of the war, but the government must actively help the people develop production, collect reasonably, economize in expenditure, and strive to prevent the people from bearing an excessive burden. The division of central and local finances should be gradually determined. A budget and final accounts system must be established.

28. The financial industry should be strictly regulated by the state. The right to issue currency belongs to the state. The buying and selling of foreign exchange, foreign currency, and precious metals should be managed by the state banks. Privately operated financial institutions operating in accordance with the law should be subject to strict supervision by state banks to prevent speculation and manipulation. The people's government should establish a system for people's savings and may issue public bonds.

29. The trade industry should cooperate with the development of industrial and agricultural production. Foreign trade should be controlled by the state, with appropriate delineation of scope and boundaries to achieve a balance between public and private interests. Protective policies should be adopted for import and export taxes. Internal trade should be free, but the state should manage important markets, prohibit illegal and speculative activities, and state-owned trade agencies should be responsible for regulating supply and demand, stabilizing prices, combating unscrupulous profiteers, and promoting the development of people's cooperation.

30. Cooperatives should be promoted with leadership and planning. In urban areas, craft production cooperatives should be organized; in factories and offices, consumer cooperatives should be organized; in rural areas, supply and marketing cooperatives or transportation cooperatives should be organized. However, all these initiatives should be developed gradually based on voluntary participation and not be imposed by force.

D. Cultural and Educational

31. All cultural, scientific, educational, and propaganda activities should be subordinate to the political requirements of New Democracy and serve the people.

The revolution and construction of China urgently need intellectuals, and the people's government should systematically train cadres of various types of intellectuals from among the broad masses of the people. At the same time, it should unite and educate all useful intellectuals and technical experts.

The state should establish scientific academies, gather various specialized scholars to conduct theoretical and academic research, and cooperate with specific research work in various construction departments to promote the development of science.

All literature and art should primarily focus on the labouring people, their lives, encourage their enthusiasm for production, and inspire their political awareness. New Democratic literature and art should first seek to popularize and then gradually elevate. Transforming old literature and art should become an important task in the future.

32. Eradicating illiteracy among the vast majority of the Chinese population is the primary task of New Democracy's education.

All educational institutions, from primary and secondary schools to universities, including vocational schools, supplementary schools, and specialized universities, should establish an education system that is both interconnected and mutually supportive, as well as a system that can produce students at various levels, so that children, youth, and laborers receiving education at any level or in any type of school can benefit from their education without wasting time and effort.

Social education should be coordinated with the cultural and artistic activities of the masses and propaganda work among the masses.

33. To combat the serious problems of ignorance and epidemic diseases caused by the lack of hygiene in the old society, people's health care should be actively promoted. The people's government should train various specialized doctors, train a large number of medical and health cadres, unite and educate all available doctors, nurses, and all health personnel in the country, and transform the old doctors so that they can all serve the Chinese people's health, disease prevention, medical treatment, and maternity work.

34. The news and publishing industry of New Democracy should serve the general policy of the state and promote and consolidate the revolutionary and construction work of New Democracy. The state's news and publishing agencies should carry out their work based on the standpoint of the Chinese people, the New Democratic perspective, and the policies of the people's government at various times.

E. National Defense

35. The national defense force of the Chinese people is the Chinese People's Liberation Army. After the complete liberation of the country, the victorious People's Liberation Army will be completely transformed into the national defense force, while the People's Public Security Force and the People's Police will be responsible for maintaining public order, eliminating bandits, and eradicating espionage. At that time, the number of the People's Liberation Army should be reduced, its quality should be enhanced, and its equipment and training should be gradually improved. The People's Air Force and the People's Navy should be established now. All military formations and organizations suitable for national defense needs should be prepared now, especially the training and cultivation of personnel.

36. National defense construction should be an important part of the country's future construction work, and industrial construction should be coordinated with national defense construction.

37. The militia system and organization, which played a role in the People's Liberation War, should continue to exist and be developed nationwide to establish the mobilization foundation of the country.

38. The families of revolutionary martyrs and revolutionary soldiers should receive preferential treatment from the state and society. Disabled and discharged soldiers who participated in the revolutionary wars of various periods should be properly resettled by the government and people's organizations, enabling them to make a living and start their own businesses.

VII. Foreign Affairs and Overseas Chinese Affairs

39. Imperialism must cease its interference in China's national affairs. Imperialist naval, land, and air forces must withdraw from Chinese territorial waters, territory, and airspace. Imperialist aid to China's reactionaries must be stopped. All treaties of national betrayal signed by China's reactionaries with imperialist countries and all foreign debts incurred to suppress the Chinese people are not recognized by the Chinese people.

40. The Chinese people are willing to work together with all nations and countries that treat us as equals to uphold the democracy and lasting peace of the world.

41. All foreign governments, as long as they have indeed severed relations with China's reactionaries and take a friendly attitude toward the Chinese people, we are willing to negotiate the establishment of diplomatic relations with them on the basis of the principles of mutual assistance and respect for territorial sovereignty.

42. The Chinese people are willing to engage in friendly cooperation with the people of all countries, restore and develop international trade, and seek communication and cooperation in the progress of culture and science among nations.

43. In areas reached by the People's Liberation Army, the lives and property of foreign nationals are to be protected, but foreign nationals must obey the laws of the People's Liberation Army and the People's Government and not engage in any destructive activities that harm the interests of the Chinese people and the nation.

44. The Chinese People's Government shall be responsible for protecting all legitimate interests of foreign nationals who have sought refuge in the liberated areas of China after being persecuted by imperialism or reactionary rule.

45. The Chinese People's Government shall be responsible for protecting all legitimate interests of overseas Chinese, welcoming overseas Chinese to return to invest, participate in production, and allocate land for the poor among them to return to their hometowns. Young overseas Chinese returning to China shall be provided with convenient opportunities for learning.

In accordance with the lead-printed copies preserved in the Central Archives.

Annotations:

[2] Refers to the regional anti-communist alliance proposed by Chiang Kai-shek and attempted to be established with the support of the United States, involving the Philippines and South Korea. In July 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and Philippine President Quirino held a meeting in Baguio, the Philippines, and issued a joint communique, calling for the immediate organization of this alliance. Due to the "hands-off" policy of the U.S. government towards China at that time, this alliance was not established.

[3] See Sun Yat-sen: "Manifesto of the First National Congress of the Kuomintang of China," Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen, Volume 9, Zhonghua Book Company, November 2006, 2nd Edition, page 120.

[4] See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Volume 4, People's Publishing House, June 1991, 2nd Edition, page 1471.

[5] See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," published by Northeast Bookstore in May 1948, page 313. In the third volume of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," published by People's Publishing House in June 1991, this passage from "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" reads: "Only with this system can broad democracy be manifested, giving the People's Congresses at all levels a high degree of authority. It can also centralize the handling of state affairs, allowing the various levels of government to centrally manage all matters entrusted to them by the People's Congresses and safeguard all necessary democratic activities of the people." See page 1057 of that book.

[6] See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," published by Northeast Bookstore in May 1948, page 318. In the first edition published by People's Publishing House in February 1953 and the second edition published in June 1991, the third volume of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong" does not contain this sentence.

[7] See "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," published by Northeast Bookstore in May 1948, page 313. In the third volume of "Selected Works of Mao Zedong," published by People's Publishing House in June 1991, this passage from "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship" reads: "These institutions are an important part of the state power system of the new democratic state, and without them, the defense of the state would be impossible." See page 1057 of that book.

[8] See Sun Yat-sen: "Testament," Collected Works of Sun Yat-sen, Volume 11, Zhonghua Book Company, November 2006, 2nd Edition, page 639.

[9] The "Eight-Point Code" announced by the Chinese People's Liberation Army, see the annotation [3] for the "Remarks on the Establishment of the Guangxi-Guangdong Border Guerrilla Force to the Central Telegraph" in this book (July 27, 1949).

[10] The All-Representatives Meeting, also known as the Local All-Representatives Meeting. See the annotation [1] for the "Outline of Report to the Beiping Local All-Representatives Meeting" in this book (August 10, 1949).