

October 17, 1950

Telegram No. 56 from Taipei to the Department of State, 'Political Platform of the Kuomintang Central Reform Committee; A Discussion of the Role of the Committee in Governmental Reform'

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Summary:

The US Embassy on Taiwan transmits a copy of the Political Platform of the Kuomintang as adopted by the Central Committee as well as a summary of its contents.

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THE FOREIGN SERVICE OF THE UNITED STATES

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To: Department of State

From: TAIPEI 56 October 17, 1950

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Ref:

Subject: POLITICAL PLATFORM OF THE KUOMINTANG CENTRAL REFORM COMMITTEE; A DISCUSSION OF THE ROLE OF THE COMMITTEE IN GOVERNMENTAL REFORM

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DEPARTMENT OF CHINESE AFFAIRS
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DEPARTMENT OF STATE

There are transmitted herewith five copies of the Chinese text of the Political Platform of the Kuomintang as adopted by the Central Reform Committee, and a summary English translation as released by the Reform Committee and edited by the Embassy. An expected full, official English translation has not been forthcoming. There are also enclosed, as of possible background interest, five copies of an English translation recently obtained from The Government Spokesman's Office of a resolution introduced by President CHIANG Kai-shek at a meeting of the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee held on July 22, 1950.

The main points of the platform, in English translation based upon publication of the document in the vernacular press, were transmitted to the Department in Embtel 338, September 2, 1950.

The keynote of the platform is a renewed emphasis upon SUN Yat-sen's Three People's Principles. A considerable portion of the platform is devoted to a description of Communist practices on the mainland and to the resulting deplorable conditions found there. The platform declares that the Nationalist Government is determined to succeed in each of the areas mentioned where the Communists have failed, by making Formosa a proving ground for democratic practices which will then be introduced on the mainland upon the promised return of the Nationalists.

The reporting officer has attempted to obtain a broad sampling of public and official opinion with respect to the content of the platform and the likely degree of its implementation. As may be expected, opinions vary considerably with regard to the activities and general promise of the Reform Committee. Perhaps the most notable phenomenon in this connection is that despite wide publicity in the press and daily broadcasts of portions of the platform and commentaries thereon, the Committee and its platform are seldom spontaneously mentioned in conversation.

When the subject is brought up, reaction to the document itself generally favorable. It is frequently added, however, that the platform will be difficult to implement chiefly because of dissension within the Reform Committee itself. This dissension has been most often mentioned in confidence by members of the upper-middle class of Government officials. It cannot be said that the doubts which most of this particular group hold have made them cynical about the sincerity of the efforts of the Reform Committee as a whole. They rather give the impression that they at first entertained high hopes for the effectiveness of the Committee, and now have a feeling that they have been betrayed by remnants of the CC Clique, the retention of whom on the Committee was reportedly ensured by decree of the Gimo. The resistance to the Committee's progress by these members is reported so far to be passive rather than active. They are described as exerting an insidiously destructive influence by exhibiting in private conversations a cynical or tongue-in-cheek attitude

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with respect to the idealism embodied in the platform. CH'EN Kuo-fu, who is not on the Committee but who was approached as an elder statesman and member of the Consultative Committee for advice and encouragement, is reliably reported to have spurned the approach and to have ridiculed the efforts of the Committee.

Aside from these few obstructionists on the Committee itself, the group which is most cynical in its view of the Reform Committee is the Formosan representation on the People's Political Council. This cynicism arises chiefly from Kuomintang failure satisfactorily to implement previous platforms. It is interesting to note, however, that cynicism in this group has notably lessened since the recent municipal and hsien (district) elections held in various parts of the island. These elections were remarkably successful, in that they were free, an overwhelming majority of the electorate voted, and very few known "rascals" were successful. Those few are in Taipei and Keelung, with perhaps one exception. (An Embassy report on the elections will be submitted soon.)

The most important governmental activity since the establishment of the Reform Committee has been the reorganization of the various echelons of the Kuomintang Party. It is too early to evaluate with accuracy the effects of this reorganization. Some improvement in the caliber of men in important positions is indicated, and the emphasis on younger men is generally applauded. There is considerable evidence that the reorganization is designed to strengthen Party discipline, but this trend is usually interpreted as good or bad according to the already existing emotional orientation which the observer possesses. The more sympathetic observers point out that such tightening of discipline is appropriate under present circumstances, in the attempt to prevent Communist infiltration. (It is true that the public as a whole is sympathetic with efforts to combat Communist infiltration, even while it complains of "police state methods" used in doing so.) The more critical observers see in the reorganization merely an attempt to give the military more power, especially through the increasing importance of the Gimo's son, CHIANG Ching-kuo.

The recent passing of the National Independence Day, or "Double Tenth", was an occasion which served to call attention to the degree of progress -- economic, political and psychological -- which has been achieved on the island during the past twelve months. There is still ample room for improvement in each of these categories. The remaining distance from the ideal goals, however, is perhaps no more noteworthy than the distance traversed in the past year, which the reporting officer, who has had some experience under both the Nationalist and the Communist regimes on the mainland, frankly finds surprising. In the political sphere, steps toward local self-government so far seem genuine. The acid test will come when it is seen whether those elected are able to exercise the powers supposedly invested in them. On paper, those powers are appropriately broad for the local level of government, and include control of the budget. In the economic sphere, although long-term economic stability is yet to be attained, progress achieved during the year is at least encouraging and widely recognized as such. The chief phenomenon which bears watching at present is a recent rise in the prices of essential commodities. In the psychological sphere, morale is in general good, both in civil and military circles, despite uncertainties and certain hardships and valid grievances.

The interesting fact is that the much-publicized Reform Committee is not so much a vehicle of these various reforms as it is one of several symptoms of the reforms themselves, most of which probably would have gone on without the existence of the Committee. The actual motivating factors behind the reforms are many and complex. Among the more obvious are the impetus afforded by back-to-the-wall urgency, American aid and technical advice, and significant contributions of personal effort on the part of

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energetic Governor, H. C. Wu, of the Commission of Civil Affairs of the Taiwan Provincial Government; YANG Chao-chia, and to some extent of the Premier, CH'EN Cheng, and others.

Most of the old ills of the Kuomintang are still present, but many of them in much less virulent form and degree. Critics are still able to stage a field day without indulging in any greater sin than a bit of honest selective sampling. The Gimo problem and the attendant form of clique dissension still exerts more than a modicum of paralysis and confusion. Corruption can still be found, but it is seldom openly winked at. "Free China" is a partial misnomer, but it is a matter of degree. Certainly the relative freedom with which critics of the government express themselves more or less openly to members of the Embassy and to others would not be tolerated on the mainland, and places the limited freedom of Free China in favorable contrast to the lack of freedom in the "New Democracies".

The important thing is that there is hope abroad where there was almost none a year ago. There is a somewhat intangible but nonetheless ubiquitous and undeniable feeling of new confidence. The feeling as yet is tentative and almost timid, but chiefly because (1) the more clearly discerned potentialities of a revived Free China are not yet sufficiently released from the old fetters and (2) the impact of coming international developments is too uncertain. Granted reasonably good progress in the efforts at internal unshackling and in keeping the head above the unpredictable currents of international waters, it is not inconceivable that time and good breaks might yet allow Free China to find terra firma -- about a hundred miles away.

It must be emphasized, however, that the Chinese are fully aware that neither of these two premises can yet be taken for granted.

The Reform Committee could do much toward granting the first premise. It is not doing it. Not only is it probably in large measure a symptom, a product of those forces which have effected reforms, it is one of the least successful of those products. The hope is that continued reform, if it comes, will bring the Committee to life, so that it may in turn further the reforms.

Alfred le S. Jenkins
Alfred le S. Jenkins
Second Secretary of Embassy

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THE PRESENT POLITICAL PLATFORM OF THE KUOMINTANG

I. Determination and Faith

China is facing a crisis unprecedented in her 5,000-year history. All the provinces on the mainland have fallen behind the iron curtain and millions of her population live in terror and starvation, controlled by the Chinese Communists and enslaved by Soviet Russia. At this time our Party remains the ruling party. Morally and politically we must be held responsible.

We must admit our past mistakes. But at the same time we are firmly convinced that our Party must shoulder the heavy responsibility of fighting Communism. We are, therefore, determined to effect a thorough reform of our Party.

We swear that we shall fulfill this sacred mission, so as to retrieve our past mistakes.

We are determined to revolutionize the party organization, to uphold party discipline, and to change our working methods, in order that the Party will be made a strong fighting force for the implementation of the Three People's Principles. We are determined to eradicate the evil forces behind the iron curtain through the implementation of the Three People's Principles. Through patriotism and loyalty, we must expose the treacherous plot of national betrayal of the Chinese Communists.

We are of the opinion that everything should be started in Taiwan. Not only should we defend Taiwan, but we should also begin reconstruction of the island. We should exert our utmost in enforcing Dr. Sun Yat-sen's policy of enabling every tiller to own the land he tills. We should develop water conservancy and apply ourselves diligently to land reclamation, so as to make the best use of the land. We also advocate a program to transfer all government-operated light industries to private management, to channelize idle capital for production, in order to increase production and to develop foreign trade, so as to facilitate the movements of commodities. We will bring the achievements of local self-government in Taiwan back to the mainland when the counter-offensive is launched, so as to lay a foundation for democracy and constitutionalism. We will build up a Taiwan where freedom and stability of livelihood reign, the fruits of our efforts through the realization of the Three People's Principles will form a sharp contrast to the hypocrisy and shameless trickery of the Chinese Communists. We are convinced that with Taiwan as the center of our political and moral force, we will deal a fatal blow to the Chinese Communists.

Based upon such determination and conviction, we present the political platform of our Party at the present stage.

II. Recovery of Lost Territory and Restoration of National Sovereignty

With the mainland in the hands of the Chinese Communists, our once free and independent country has now become a satellite of Soviet Russia. No patriotic citizen can possibly tolerate such national humiliation.

The position and the authority of a Soviet satellite are entirely at the mercy of Moscow. For this reason, the Chinese Communists cannot but put themselves in the chains of the Soviet aggressor under the slogan of "leaning to one side".

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Therefore, the first point in our platform is to unite all revolutionary comrades and compatriots, irrespective of party, religion, profession and sex, in a common effort to extinguish the Communist conflagration and to resist Soviet aggression, so that China's 5,000-year-old culture can be perpetuated and our lost territory and sovereignty can be restored.

We realize that any single country alone will not be able to stop the aggression of international Communism. In the diplomatic field, we fully support the Charter of the United Nations and the decisions and actions taken by the United Nations to check aggression and to uphold international justice. We must cooperate with all democratic countries so as to strengthen the United Nations. For this purpose, we will cooperate sincerely with nations who are friendly to us and who give assistance to us, and we hope that all Asiatic peoples will be able to see the danger of Soviet imperialism and join the anti-totalitarian and anti-aggression struggle so as to achieve the collective security of Asia.

III. Social and Economic Measures Based on the Principle of People's Livelihood

The second point of our political platform is to enforce social and economic measures based on Dr. Sun Yat-sen's Principle of People's Livelihood.

The propaganda of international Communism is falsehood. Its greatest falsehood is to control the people and to make collective exploitation under the pretense of socialism. The Communist industrial and commercial policies aim at the destruction of the existing industry and commerce, thereby establishing their own monopolistic organs of production and trade. The Communist land policy induces the farmers to join the army by redistribution of land and to seize foodstuffs from the farmers by "struggle" and "liquidation". The Communists control all productive channels and consequently control the livelihood of the people.

In spite of industrial and commercial bankruptcy and the disuse of land, the Communists continue to whip China's manpower and resources for the use of the aggressor. On the mainland, 50,000,000 people are starving to death. Great floods have broken out this summer in Central China. Famine and starvation are the means the Communists use for the control of the people.

We have, therefore, decided upon our social and economic policies as follows, based upon the Principle of People's Livelihood.

We advocate balanced and rational development of all kinds of occupations and enterprises in conjunction with a general program of national reconstruction, thereby protecting the people from speculation and manipulation. State-owned enterprises should be further readjusted, while every assistance should be given to private enterprises, so that production can be increased and foreign trade can be expanded.

We strongly advocate the enforcement of the income tax, inheritance tax and property tax, so as to equalize the wealth of society.

We must promote and give assistance to labor organizations so as to protect the interests of the workers and their freedom in choosing and changing their professions. Social insurance must be introduced to stabilize the livelihood of the workers. Mutual aid and cooperation between labor and capital must be realized to protect their mutual benefit and to increase production... Workers must be given every

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opportunity to express their opinions wherever labor welfare is concerned. The people will enjoy more chances of employment when productive enterprises can be fully developed.

Concerning land, we advocate that speculation on urban land must be suppressed and the system of land value and increment taxes must be enforced. In rural districts, reduction of land rental and restriction of land ownership must be put into practice. Measures must be adopted to assist the owner farmers and create more such farmers, so that Dr. Sun's policy of "land to every tiller" can be realized. Scientific farming methods must be adopted for the increase of production. Cooperative farming must also be encouraged.

IV. Democracy Under Three People's Principles

The third point in our political platform is to complete the democratic system under the Three People's Principles.

The Communist political trick is to utilize the term "freedom" to destroy the people's freedom. Before they seized political power, they voiced freedom, democracy and coalition government under the so-called "new democracy" so as to win the people's sympathy. After the seizure of political power, they enforce totalitarianism under the theory of the "people's democratic dictatorship". The people's freedom of thought and action as well as their life and property is entirely sacrificed.

Our Party platform is, therefore, to establish a political structure based on the Three People's Principles. Such political structure is a democratic political system based on human nature and on the needs of the time.

We must uphold the spirit of constitutional government and be determined to struggle for democracy. The sound foundation of democracy rests on the security of the fundamental freedoms of the people and on the establishment of local autonomy. The establishment of an honest, competent and efficient government calls for the service of younger and more capable persons and the dismissal of the corrupt and unstable elements.

We advocate an exploration of the cream of Chinese culture and at the same time the absorption into it of the essence of Western culture and science. We advocate academic freedom, the freedom of thought and of religious belief. We advocate also an exploration of our national ethics of mutual help and love and the elimination of all conceptions of totalitarianism.

Our educational policy should lay emphasis on national consciousness, democratic spirit and the need of reconstruction for the betterment of the people's livelihood. Vocational education should be of special importance in view of the necessity to provide technical training to those who are unable to receive higher education. This will not only help to solve the problem of unemployment, but also increase production.

V. Our Platform During The Period Of The Counter-Offensive

When this period arrives, we shall show no mercy to the brutal chieftains of the Chinese Communists and persons of brazen impudence who not only surrendered to the Communists but also helped them in committing atrocious crimes. We shall permit the less important and

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unimportant members of the Communist Party to come to our side provided they pledge henceforth to render service to their country. We shall be lenient in the case of masses who are compelled to take orders from the Communists.

Farmers in recovered territories should be allowed to continue tilling the land which they have been tilling. Their profits must be safeguarded, and their tillage should be dealt with on the principle that "every tiller shall have his own land". All unclaimed land and public land should be distributed to veterans of the Anti-Communist war.

Railways, mines, and other national resources forcibly seized in recovered areas by the Russians must be taken back. All Communist monopolies set up under various pretexts for the exploitation of the people must be dissolved.

Regarding productive enterprises, the encouragement of private ownership and private investment are just as important as the prevention of monopoly. On the other hand, the working conditions in every productive enterprise must be improved to safeguard the welfare of the workers and a democratic industrial system must be adopted to allow laborers to have a share and a voice in the ownership and management of such enterprises. Only thus can the profits derived from production be shared by the producers.

To be true to the spirit of Dr. Sun Yat-sen's "Industrial Program", we welcome foreign investment and technical cooperation to facilitate our program of demobilization and reconstruction.

The moment when the military situation in recovered areas is stabilized, military and civilian affairs should be separately handled and local self-government should be introduced. Democracy and government by law shall take the place of Communist totalitarianism and autocracy to allow the people on the mainland to be free, once and forever, from slavery and untold sufferings. The Republic of China "of the people, for the people, and by the people", shall be established.

VI. Unity and Solidarity

This is our Party platform, on which we hope to receive full support from our fellow countrymen and Party members. We especially look forward to the combined efforts of Party members to thoroughly carry out this platform.

The fifth columnists of the Communist Internationale have scattered and infiltrated into every corner of the world, threatening mankind with malicious plots and atrocities. For the past four years, China has borne the brunt and become the chief victim of Communist aggression. We strongly believe that every Chinese citizen loyal to his country will engage in the anti-Communist struggle and pledge revenge on the Communists for our humiliation. In this fight, every loyal citizen shall have his share no matter where he is -- no matter whether he is in Taiwan, on the mainland, in a border district, or abroad.

At this time when we effect our Party reform, all Party members must have a sense of self-examination and determination. He must show a revolutionary spirit by sticking to his post and acting as a vanguard of the people. We must see that the work of the Party be extended to every field engaged in the anti-aggression struggle. To enable our Party to be responsible to the people, every Party member must first of all be responsible to the Party and be determined to carry out the Party's principles and policies. Every additional Party member with a sense of responsibility means additional strength to the anti-Communist struggle. To pardon an irresponsible and unfaithful Party member is to invite harm and damage to the cause of freedom and national salvation. Our personal efforts are actually mingled with the fate of the Party and the future of the country. Whether the outcome of this struggle ends in defeat or in victory, it is the free choice of every one of us. With this platform, we call for the concerted efforts of our Party

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members and to solicit support from the people. Only by uniting
hundreds of millions of our fellow countrymen will we be able to over-
come the present crisis and attain final victory in our anti-Communist
war.

CHINA

THE PLATFORM OF THE KUOMINTANG

A resolution introduced by President Chiang Kai-shek
and adopted at a meeting of the Standing Committee
of the Central Executive Committee held on July 22, 1950

Introduction

Under the needs of the present stage of the Revolution and to answer the request of many Party comrades I drew up a reform program for the Party in July 1949, and presented it to the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee. It is the opinion of the Standing Committee that, with the exception of those matters which should be decided by the National Congress, all the rest in the Outline of the Reform Program can be put into execution. The Committee then distributed the Outline of the Reform Program to the Party organs in various localities for study.

Since then, the provinces on the Chinese mainland fell to the Communists one after another. With the changed situation, not only the work of Party reform had been brought to a standstill but the entire program though adopted by the Standing Committee of the C.E.C. should be revised. In January this year, I gathered some members of the Central Committees and discussed with them the program all over again, with the original program and the opinions as suggested by various grades of the Party organs and their members as the basis. Now that I have revised the whole program, with the exception of those parts which should be reserved for discussion and decision by the National Congress of the Party, as they require the revision of the General Regulations of the Kuomintang. Today I submit the revised Outline of the Reform Program, together with the measures and procedure for the reform and propose that they be passed and promulgated.

For 40 years Dr. Sun led the National Revolution. Whenever the very existence of the country was at stake and the success of the Revolution in peril, he effected a reform of the Party. Under his leadership, the name of the Party changed five times and the Party was also reorganized five times. We should particularly be benefited by the lessons we learned from the reforms in 1914 and 1924. With the failure of the Second Revolution, Yuan Shih-kai dissolved the Parliament, discarded the Provisional Constitution, and finally restored the monarchical system by changing the name of the country. Most of the Party members either surrendered or sought for personal interest at the expense of the Party. Some of them were so disappointed that they either stopped talking of the Revolution altogether or waited for 20 more years before they talked about it again. Dr. Sun then proceeded to organize the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914 which adopted secret organization and with rigid discipline engaged itself in the revolutionary movement. It was only then that the monarchical system was overthrown and the Republic safeguarded. During the campaign against Chen Chun-ming, Dr. Sun returned to Canton. In the North he was oppressed by such warlords as Wu Pei-fu. In the East obstructed by Chen Chun-ming. Foreign imperialists threatened from without and such commercial groups as led by Chen Lien-po obstructed from within. But Dr. Sun addressed himself wholeheartedly to the reform of the Kuomintang, paying special emphasis to publicity and popular movement so as to lay a deep foundation for the Three People's Principle among people. On the other hand, he established the Whampoa Military Academy, trained military personnel and laid the foundation for the revolutionary army. In the 26 years that followed, the successes of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan were the results of the reform of the Party. The thorough reform of the Party as effected during 1914 and 1924 had indeed making significance in Chinese history. As a result of the reform of the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1919, the National Revolution continued and the Republic of China was established. (to be continued on next page)

It was because of the reform of the Kuomintang in 1924 that the basis of the National Revolution could be broadened and the success of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan could be achieved.

I, like other members of the Party, in deference to the will of Dr. Sun, accepted the revolutionary task and would never change the organization of the Party at any time. After the outbreak of the war with Japan in 1937, I set up the San Min Chu Youth Corps, in order to appeal to the youth of the country to participate in the war. As the result of the utmost efforts rendered by both the Party and the Corps, the war against Japan came to a successful end, though under most difficult circumstances. An army, after having engaged in a fierce battle, should be regrouped before it can fight again. Since the purge of 1927, our Party has led the country during a period of ten years of political tutelage, four years of war against the Communists, and eight years of war against Japan. Hardly had the war against Japan been brought to a victorious end before the Soviet imperialists and their fifth-columnists, the Chinese Communists--taking advantage of the weakened condition of the country and the war-weariness of the people, started the total warfare. With the promulgation of the constitution, our Party assumed the dual responsibility of carrying out constitutional government and waging the war against the Communists. Should our Party have a sound organization, observe a rigid discipline, and carry through the policies of the central authorities, I believe it would be in a better position to awaken the populace to mobilize against aggression and totalitarianism.

Unless our Party carries out further reform, it would not be able to shoulder such a heavy task and to complete such a dual mission. It was for this reason that the organization of the Party and the Youth Corps were merged in 1947. I have once and again told our comrades: "The amalgamation of the Party and the Youth Corps should be regarded as a revolutionary, instead of a technical task." It was anticipated that after the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th C.E.C., the work of Party reform could be completed within six months and the 7th National Congress could be convened on May 5, 1948 to mark a new era of the Party. But actually the unification of the Party and the Youth Corps had not attained the end of revolutionary reform. On the contrary, it further aggravated the friction among the different cliques within the Party. Up to January, 1948, it was found out that the convocation of the 7th National Congress would conflict with that of the National Assembly. So the C.E.C. decided to postpone the date of its convocation. The efforts in unifying the Party and the Youth Corps by thoroughly reforming the Party ended in complete failure. Thus the Communists under the banner of "Democratic Coalition Government" began to spread the seeds of defeatism, dislocate the popular organs of various strata of the Party, infiltrate the administrative and military systems and even try to divide the highest political center, with the result that the Party was almost on the verge of total collapse. The disastrous military reverses on the mainland was not due to the overwhelming strength of the Communists which was strong enough to defeat our revolutionary army but due to the organizational collapse, loose discipline and low spirits of the Party.

In January, 1949, I retired from the presidency, began to work on the measures for national salvation by speeding up the reformation of the Party. But owing to swift changes in the situation, (to be continued on next page)

The program for Party reform failed to materialize and I had to resign the presidency to face the national crisis. On the eve of my resumption of office, I told the members of the Central Committee: "It is not yet known whether I shall have to resign the nation. If I am resuming the presidency, this question cannot be answered by myself. If I had not retired at the beginning of last year, it would be beyond imagination that all the provinces on the mainland should be lost within one year. That was the result of my retirement, and it is painful to recall. Now that the nation is facing a grave danger, Taiwan would be gone within three months if I still refuse to shoulder the political and military responsibilities. I am sure that with my resumption of office, Taiwan will be safeguarded. But if the members of the Party fail to wake up to their past follies and unite in a common struggle, the situation would remain irretrievable even if I had again taken up my duties. The entire legal system of the Chinese Republic rests in the Constitution. I respect the Constitution, the democratic system. My only hope is that all members of the Party will behave like members of an ordinary political party so as to lead the government into the track of party politics. If no one is able to do so, it would be vain to talk about national salvation and the mission of a revolutionary party."

Four months have passed since my resumption of the presidency. Members of our Party now in responsible positions and myself have done our best in the political and military fields. The evacuation of our troops from Hainan and Chusan have completed according to plan. The defense of Taiwan and the outlying islands has been strengthened. Government finance has been further retrenched after two months' efforts. A program for the readjustment of the Government operated enterprises has been enforced, and more measures are being adopted to develop foreign trade. Our economic difficulties are expected to be overcome one by one. But these measures are not sufficient to illuminate Taiwan as the lighthouse in the dark. We must have a high spirit and lofty ideals. We must amplify the hopes and expectations towards Taiwan from the entire people so that they will be crystallized into a force of anti-aggression and anti-totalitarianism. We must inherit our 5,000-year-old history and culture and make it a guidance in human progress. We must make Taiwan the base for national recovery, a vanguard for the struggle of the free peoples of Asia, and a champion of world peace. To achieve this, we must thoroughly reform our Party in order to reorganize our revolutionary machinery and to revive our revolutionary spirit. On the negative side, we must do away with the conflicts among the various cliques and factions as well as individuals within the Party. Any indiscipline and defiance to the Party organizations must be eliminated. We must not tolerate any longer the selfish behaviors and ideas which have caused the collapse on the mainland and may cause the collapse of Taiwan, if unchecked. At the present moment when an international crisis is brewing on the Pacific and in the whole Far East, we must uproot all psychology of complacency and opportunism and must be prepared for violent changes. We must realize that if we cannot maintain our position firmly or if we cannot endure the crisis, Taiwan will lose its political value to us even if it can be held militarily. We must demonstrate our fearless spirit of national independence and freedom before we can hold Taiwan as a base for national recovery. We must, therefore, redouble our efforts and thoroughly reform our Party. If we repeat our past mistakes and remain hesitant and compromise, we will be held responsible for the extinction of the Chinese nation. (Continued on next page)

then, even if we sacrifice ourselves, we would be regarded as guilty only before Dr. Sun Yat-sen and our revolutionary martyrs.

Whether we shall succeed or fail in our revolution, it will be entirely our own choice. The only way out for us is to get rid of all factional and personal differences, and start all over again by thoroughly reforming the Party. Concerning the procedure of the Party reform, I wish to explain the following three points. First, since 1947, all members of the Party have been hoping that the 7th National Congress of the Party would mark the rebirth of our Party and the beginning of a new era in our National Revolution, as the 7th National Congress would be empowered to effect reforms. But circumstances do not allow the convening of a National Congress. Though we are making preparations for the eventual convening of the National Congress, yet we cannot wait until then to start the Party reform.

Second, the term for members of the 6th Central Executive and Supervisory Committees was due over three years ago. It is regrettable that the 4th plenary session of the 6th Central Executive Committee failed to effect any reforms of the Party. Between January and March, this year, a group of Party members devoted their entire time and energy to drafting a program for Party reform and proposed the cessation of the functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the appointment of a Central Reform Committee. Presently I have adopted this proposal. There are more than 500 members on the two committees. While there are many among these members who have worked hard and contributed greatly to the Party, I must admit that these members and myself must be responsible for the declining of the prestige of our Party during the past four years, particularly the sad failures during the past two years. In view of the present circumstances, I deeply feel that unless the existing Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee cease functioning, it would be difficult for any Party reform to produce any political effects. As a result, it would be hardly possible for our Party to shoulder the revolutionary responsibilities.

Third, Party reform is the unanimous demand of the members of the Party. Recently more than 200 members of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committee sent me a joint letter, requesting me to effect Party reform immediately. The Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee specially delegated Messrs. Chu Cheng, Yu Yu-jen and Tsou Lu to explain to me that Party reform is the fundamental measure we should take. At this time when the fate of our nation is at stake and our revolutionary cause may be disrupted, I have no other way than following Dr. Sun Yat-sen's spirit in reforming the Party in 1914 and 1924 and enforcing the powers entrusted to me by the General Regulations of the Party by appointing from 15 to 25 members to set up a Central Reform Committee to assist me in carrying out measures for the reform. At the same time, I shall appoint those members who render meritorious services to the Party or who enjoy great prestige in the country to be members of a Central Advisory Committee whose duties will be to supervise the enforcement of the reform measures. The Central Reform Committee, being a small body, will be able to centralize all functions of the Party and thus produce practical results. The advisory group will include senior members of the Party and will absorb opinions and suggestions from all quarters. I shall supervise the enactment of the rules and regulations for the Central Reform Committee.

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Negatively speaking, in the present reform, all corrupt, reactionary, selfish and unstable elements will be strictly eliminated in order to revive the Party's revolutionary spirit. Positively, we must strengthen ourselves by uniting all the patriotic youth and loyal citizens both at home and abroad in the Revolution, and direct all anti-aggressive, anti-totalitarian and freedom-loving people to the road of San Min Ch'u-I (Three People's Principles). Factionalism must be eradicated. New members must be enlisted from the anti-Communist and national salvation movement, while good workers must be trained through political and economic reforms. We must emphasize group action in order to influence individual activities. Every member of the Party must be organized into a basic unit which live in the masses. We must take the people's needs as the basis in formulating the political program of the Party and take the current social thought as the guide of our Revolution.

Today millions of people behind the iron curtain on the China mainland are suffering oppression and tyrannical rule by the Russian aggressors and the Chinese Communists. They have lost the protection of our government. They have lost freedom and they have lost the very right of existence. Our Party should share such miseries with them for the sake of freedom and national salvation. Overseas Chinese are also eagerly hoping the recovery of the lost territory because they have suffered the consequences of Communist rule as their families in China are subjected to Communist tyranny. Fifty years ago, overseas Chinese were the cradle of the Chinese Revolution. The formation of the Hsing Chung Hui, the forerunner of the Kuomintang was made possible by their support. They will again form a main force in a struggle between patriotism and national betrayal, between democracy and totalitarianism, and between freedom and enslavement. Our Party should become an organization for a common struggle for the freedom-loving and patriotic overseas Chinese. People in Free China have been working hard in increasing production and many of them have joined the army. They will be further mobilized to help the armed forces in meeting the present crisis.

Our Party must live with the people, accept their demands and unite them into a force for national salvation. In view of the rising of the world-wide anti-aggression and anti-totalitarian tide, our Party should unite the entire nation in the spirit of universalism and under the Three People's Principles in a fight against Russia and communism in order to complete our Revolution. The Standing Committee of the C.E.C. made a preliminary study of "The Present Platform of Our Party" in July, 1949. In January, February and March, this year, members of the central committees revised the program in the light of the then existing circumstances, when they discussed the Outline for Party reform, which will be made known upon the establishment of the Central Reform Committee.

I wish to particularly point out today that it is the consensus of opinion that our Party failed during the past four years because we failed to enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood. Everyone now realized that we must enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood to defeat the Communists. May I ask: During the past four years, has any village Party organ made a land survey? Has any municipal Party organ compiled labor statistics? Has any provincial Party organ submitted to the Central Party Headquarters any systematic social survey or economic research? The practice of the Principle of the People's Livelihood does not depend on theories or experiments alone; it must be based on fact.

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does not provoke class struggle, but promotes cooperation in order to improve social and economic relationships of the people. We must, therefore, abandon subjectivism and formalism and cultivate the scientific spirit in dealing with actual conditions. Only thus can we effect social reform based upon the principle of the People's Livelihood.

The Kuomintang has fought for more than 50 years for national independence and freedom and has a glorious history. We cannot tolerate the destruction of our revolutionary fruits by totalitarianism, and we must not allow this glorious history to be torn up in our own hands. One member of the Party may shirk the responsibility of failure or cover up his own weaknesses, but no one can deny that our past failures are the failures of the entire Party. It is my sincere hope that all members of the Party will disregard personal favor or hatred as well as personal position, and each as a member of the Party plays his or her part with all his power in accordance with the Party reform program. At a time of life and death struggle for the entire nation, when the 7th National Congress of the Party cannot be convoked and the Party reform cannot be further delayed, I must take such drastic measures for the reform. I hope all members of the Party will work together with concerted efforts to push on with the reform in order to strengthen the Party organization, to revive the revolutionary spirit, to perpetuate the Party's 50 years glorious history, and to create a bright future for the Party and the nation.

I. Outline of the Party Program

1. General Principles

The Party is a revolutionary, democratic political party.

The Party believes in the Three People's Principles, leads the National Revolution, and is anti-aggression and anti-totalitarianism. Anything that undermines the Republic and the liberty of the people and obstructs the realization of the Party's principles will be eliminated so as to attain the following aims:

- (1) Internally:
 - a. Racial equality.
 - b. Political equality.
 - c. Economic equality.
- (2) Internationally:
 - a. World peace.
 - b. Cosmopolitanism.

3. The Party respects the position of, and cooperates with, all democratic political parties that are anti-communist in nature, in order to struggle together for the salvation of the country and the protection of democracy.

II. Components and Social Basis of the Party

4. The social basis of the Party is the working masses, including the youth, intellectuals, farmers and workers. The patriotic, revolutionary elements of them are to be united to form the components of the Party in order that they may struggle together for the nation and the welfare of the working masses.

III. Principles for the Organization of the Party

The organization of the Party is based on a democratic centralism system. Its officers are to be elected; its policies to be derived from discussion. Individuals are to obey the Organization which makes all decisions; the minority must obey the majority decisions; the lower ranks must obey their superiors. Free discussion is to be held before a resolution is passed, and once a decision is made, all members are to abide by it so that a unity of action and strength can be attained.

IV. Organization of the Party

5. Any Chinese citizen, upon reaching the age of 18, irrespective of sex and occupation, having belief in the Three People's Principles and the Party platform and policies, may apply, in accordance with Party regulations, as Party members.

6. Party members who remain ardent believers in the Party's principles, platform and policies and who are willingly to continue to work for the Party shall be allowed to retain their Party membership.

7. To eliminate corrupt Party elements and to strengthen the revolutionary front, Party members who fall into one or more of the following categories shall be expelled from the Party:

- (1) Those who rebel against the nation and cooperate with the enemy.
- (2) Those who betray the Party by joining another party.
- (3) Those who violate Party discipline and act against the Party.
- (4) Those who have corrupt practices and who failed to fulfill their duties.

- (5) Those who lead a notoriously corrupt life.
- (6) Those who abandon their duties and who have no sense of responsibility.
- (7) Those who are not firm in their belief and who waver in their opinions.
- (8) Those who engage into illegitimate business for the sake of personal profit.

The Party is to put up different ranks of committees, namely the Central Committees, the Provincial Committees (municipalities directly under the Executive Yuan fall into this category), the Hsien (including municipalities) Committees, the District Committees, and the Sub-District Committees. Under the sub-district committees section may be created each to be headed by a section chief. In cities and municipalities the sections are to be differentiated chiefly according to the occupations and professions of Party members with localities to which the Party members belong as secondary consideration. In villages the sections are to be differentiated chiefly according to the localities to which Party members belong with occupations and professions of Party members as secondary consideration. Members attached to a sub-district committee with sections must join one section under the sub-district committee.

Party organizations under the hsien committees are to be kept secret.

The different grades of party organizations overseas, of various occupational groups, once in Communist-controlled areas are to be established according to actual needs.

10. For the whole nation, the highest organ of authority is the national congress; for provinces and hsien, the provincial or hsien congress; for districts, the district congress or district member's general meeting; and for sub-districts, the sub-district member's general meeting. The different grades of committees are the highest organs of authority during the adjournment of respective congresses or member's general meetings.
11. Members of district and sub-district party organizations are to be elected from respective party congresses or members' general meetings. Members of provincial and hsien committees are to be elected respectively from provincial and hsien congresses. Members of the central committees are to be elected from the national congress.
12. The provincial and hsien committees each have a chairman, while the other committees each have a standing committee elected from the committees.
13. Resolutions of different grades of congresses, committee meetings and standing committee meetings are to be carried by secret ballot.
14. The different ranks of committees direct the work of the party by a conformity of purpose and action of all party members.

V. Party Officials

15. Officials of different ranks of the Party are the mainstays of such organizations in the making of Party policies, and publicity and enforcement of party resolutions as well as in the planning, supervision and review of Party activities.
16. The Party, through its organization and work, shall select members of the following calibre as officials in different ranks of the Party:
 - (1) Those who are faithful to the country and to the Party and who are unquestionably loyal to the revolutionary cause.
 - (2) Those who are close to farmers, laborers and youths and who fight for their welfare.

(3) Those who have acquired the knowledge and the skill to direct people to work;

(4) Those who have acquired the spirit of impartiality and unselfishness;

(5) Those who are hard-working and diligent.

17. Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be selected and instated according to their abilities and shall be fully backed by the Party during their work. They shall also be supervised to learn and improve themselves through hard work, so as to build up their virtue of leadership.

18. The work and livelihood of Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be safeguarded by the Party in order that they can concentrate their efforts in revolutionary activities.

VI. Characteristics of the Party

19. To completely get rid of past mistakes, the Party should be readjusted on the following principles:

(1) Party principles must be realized. Every Party member must study Party history and theories of the Revolution, and must struggle and sacrifice with courage for the realization of the Three People's principles.

(2) Party organization must be respected. Every Party member must play his role in the organization, observe Party discipline, abide by the orders of the Party, and carry out the resolutions of the Party.

(3) Party policies must be carried out. Every Party member must strictly adhere to his position in the Party, be fully aware of the psychology of the masses, win the confidence of the people and conquer all difficulties in order to carry out fully the policies of the Party.

(4) The Party must mix with the people. Every Party member must form for himself a conception to render service to the people, and to mix with the people. He should go to the masses and to the villages, propagate to them the Party platform and policies, and to convey to the Party the feelings and wishes of the people in order that Party policies will represent the interests of the people and Party members will be able to fight for the welfare of the people. The organization and leadership of the Party among the masses can only thus be strengthened.

(5) Efficiency must be maintained. Every Party member must be exact and scientific in his work in order that Party policies will yield definite results.

(6) The Party must be united. Every Party member must get rid of all prejudices as reflected in the formation of cliques and internal feuds within the Party. In order to attain improvement through criticism and unity through review of past mistakes, he should concentrate his mind on Party work and contribute his energy to the Party.

VII. Party Leadership

20. The relations between Party leaders and Party officials, between higher and lower ranks, between Party officials and Party members, and between Party members and the masses, should be improved on the basis of the following principles:

- (1) General principles
 - a. To coordinate the work and life of the Party through the exchange of opinions.
 - b. To select personnel in conformity with policies.
 - c. To effect promotion and demotion of Party members according to merit.
 - d. To settle disputes by factual presentation.
- (2) Organized leadership
 - a. Everything must go through the organization, and the organization will decide everything.
 - b. The Party leaders are to adopt the resolutions of the organization, and Party officials are to carry out to the full the wishes of the leaders.
 - c. Policies are to be decided by the organization and politics are to be guided by the policies.
- (3) Democratic leadership
 - a. The opinions of the lower ranks are to be conveyed to the higher ranks; the opinion of the higher ranks are to be made known to the lower ranks.
 - b. To seek a unified opinion through free discussion; to seek agreement through persuasion.
 - c. To gain sympathy through publicity; to gain confidence through work.

VIII. Privileges and Obligations of Party members

21. A Party member has the following obligations:

- (1) To study revolutionary theories and to propagate Party principles.
- (2) To pay regularly fees to the Party, attend meetings of sub-district committee meetings or section meetings, and to actively participate in Party work and other social activities led by the Party.
- (3) To obey Party regulations, observe the rules of discipline, take orders from the Party and to carry out the resolutions of the Party.
- (4) To master his own profession, strictly adhere to his position, abide by the policies of the Party, safeguard the foundation of the Party, and to fight to the finish against anti-revolutionary parties.
- (5) Socially, to mix with the people render service to the people, understand the needs of the people, and promote the execution of Party policies.
- (6) To safeguard Party secrets against Communist agents.

22. According to Party regulations, a Party member has the following privileges:

- (1) The right to elect, to be elected, and the right of recall within the Party.
- (2) The right to submit a resolution and to vote in Party meetings to which he attends.
- (3) The right to be nominated and supported by the Party in any open election.
- (4) The right to be supported by the Party in his career.
- (5) The right to receive relief and pensions from the Party in case he is wounded, dead, or crippled as a result of working for the Party.

IX. Party Discipline

23. Implementation of party control upon its members are as follows:

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- (1) Supervision of members of the higher ranks
 - (2) Discipline of members of the same rank
 - (3) Accusation of members of the lower ranks
24. Party members who fall under any of the following categories are considered as violating party discipline:
- (1) Those whose conduct are specified in Point 8 of this Outline.
 - (2) Those who disclose party secret.
 - (3) Those who organize factions or cliques within the party.
 - (4) Those who disobey party policy and orders.
 - (5) Those who fail to pay the party fees and who fail to attend the meetings of the sections.
25. Those who are nominated and supported by the party but fail to carry out party policy or to obey party resolution after being elected to be members of people's representative bodies or appointed to be political officials are considered violating party discipline.
26. Party sanctions are as follows:
- (1) Warning.
 - (2) Suspension of membership privileges.
 - (3) Expulsion from the party.
 - (4) Dissolution of the whole organization in case of mass violation of party discipline.
27. The Party may adopt the following measures to sanction the party members who violate party discipline.
- (1) To indict in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (2) To remove from the present duty in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (3) To criticize openly and to appeal to public opinion.

X. Party Secret Organization

28. The system, the ways of operation, the procedure to accept new members to join the party etc. of the Party's secret organization in the areas behind the Chinese Communist iron curtain or in areas where it is not possible or where secrecy is necessary shall be decided in special resolutions by Central Executive Committee and Regulations of the Party. All provisions of the Regulations not applicable to the party's secret organization shall be suspended temporarily.
29. Party policies shall be enforced; policies shall be formulated in conformity with principles; selection of personnel shall be based upon the policies so as to control party members by the Party organization.
30. The congresses of the various ranks and committees of all ranks shall be the policy making organ. Party members who are in government service and are members of the people's representative bodies should exert their utmost to carry out the Party's policies.
31. The Party's policies should be incorporated in law and executive orders through the Party members who are members of people's representative

III. Measures and Procedure for the Reform

For the enforcement of the reform, the following measures shall be adopted:

- (1) The 6th Central Executive Committee and the 6th Central Supervisory Committee shall cease functioning.
- (2) A Central Reform Committee shall be established to exercise the powers and functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The Central Reform Committee shall be composed of from 15 to 25 members, to be appointed by the Tsungtsai (Director-General of the party).
- (3) Departments or committees shall be established under the Central Reform Committee to be charged with the work of party reform. Members for the said departments and committees shall be selected by the Tsungtsai from among those who have a fighting and determined spirit and from those who are young and able.
- (4) The Party shall establish a Central Advisory Committee whose members shall serve as advisors to the Tsungtsai and shall be responsible for the supervision of the Party Reform. These members shall be appointed by the Tsungtsai.
- (5) The various grades of the Party organs in Taiwan and abroad as well as the Party organs in the various occupational groups shall continue to function as usual and shall receive orders from the Central Reform Committee for the enforcement of party reform.
- (6) All members of the Party shall retain their party membership, but corrupt and reactionary elements shall be eliminated.

2. The appointment of the members of the Central Advisory Committee and the Central Reform Committee shall be announced in due course.

3. Upon the announcement of the appointment of the members of the Central Reform Committee, the following procedure shall be followed:

- (1) Members of the Central Reform Committee shall be sworn in. (2) The Central Reform Committee shall announce the political platform of the Party. (3) The Central Reform Committee shall enact the organizational regulations for the central and local reform committees.
4. The Central Reform Committee shall take over the functions and properties of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the subsidiary enterprises of the Central Executive Committee.
5. The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate regulations for the scrutiny of the members of the Party and the enlistment of new members.
6. The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate the procedure for the reform of the Party organs of the various grades both at home and abroad and establish reform committees of the various grades.
7. Upon the completion of the reform of the Party organs in the hsien and districts and upon approval by superior reform committees, election of members of the committees for the hsien and districts shall be held and hsien and district headquarters shall be established. Provincial and municipal headquarters shall be established after the establishment of the hsien and district headquarters.
8. Upon the establishment of a certain number of provincial, municipal, overseas, and occupational Party headquarters, the Central Reform Committee shall request the Tsungtsai to convoke the National Congress of the Party.

THE PROGRAM OF THE KUOMINTANG

A resolution introduced by President Chiang Kai-shek
and adopted at a meeting of the Standing Committee
of the Central Executive Committee held on July 22, 1950.

I. Introduction

In order to meet the needs of the present stage of our Revolution and to answer the request of many Party comrades to draw up a reform program for the Party in July 1949, and to present it to the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee. It is the opinion of the Standing Committee that, with the exception of those matters which should be decided by the National Congress, all the rest in the Outline of the Reform Program can be put into execution. The Committee then distributed the Outline of the Reform Program to the Party organs in various localities for study.

Since then, the provinces on the Chinese mainland fell to the Communists one after another. With the changed situation, not only the work of Party reform had been brought to a standstill but the entire program though adopted by the Standing Committee of the C.E.C. should be revised. In January this year, I gathered some members of the Central Committees and discussed with them the program all over again, with the original program and the opinions as suggested by various grades of the Party organs and their members as the basis. Now that I have revised the whole program, with the exception of those parts which should be reserved for discussion and decision by the National Congress of the Party, as they require the revision of the General Regulations of the Kuomintang. Today I submit the revised Outline of the Reform Program, together with the measures and procedure for the reform and propose that they be passed and promulgated.

For 40 years Dr. Sun led the National Revolution. Whenever the very existence of the country was at stake and the success of the Revolution in peril, he effected a reform of the Party. Under his leadership, the name of the Party changed five times and the Party was also reorganized five times. We should particularly be benefited by the lessons we learned from the reforms in 1914 and 1924. With the failure of the Second Revolution, Yuan Shih-kai dissolved the Parliament, discarded the Provisional Constitution, and finally restored the monarchical system by changing the name of the country. Most of the Party members either surrendered or sought for personal interest at the expense of the Party. Some of them were so disappointed that they either stopped talking of the Revolution altogether or waited for 20 more years before they talked about it again. Dr. Sun then proceeded to organize the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914 which adopted secret organization and with rigid discipline engaged itself in the revolutionary movement. It was only then that the monarchical system was overthrown and the Republic safeguarded. During the campaign against Chen Chun-ming, Dr. Sun returned to Canton. In the North he was oppressed by such warlords as Wu Pei-fu, in the East obstructed by Chen Chun-ming. Foreign imperialists threatened from without and such commercial groups as led by Chen Lien-po obstructed from within. But Dr. Sun addressed himself wholeheartedly to the reform of the Kuomintang, paying special emphasis to publicity and popular movement so as to lay a deep foundation for the Three People's Principles among people. On the other hand, he established the Whampoa Military Academy, trained military personnel and laid the foundation of the revolutionary army. In the 25 years that followed, the successes of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan were the results of the reform of the Party. The reform of the Party as effected during 1914 and 1924 had an important significance in Chinese history. As a result of the reform of the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914, the National Revolution continued and the Republic of China was saved. (to be continued on next page)

It was because of the reform of the Kuomintang in 1924 that the basis of the National Revolution could be broadened and the successes of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan could be achieved.

I, like other member of the Party, in deference to the will of Dr. Sun, accepted the revolutionary task and would never change the organization of the Party at free will. After the outbreak of the war with Japan in 1937, I set up the San Min Chu I Youth Corps, in order to appeal to the youth of the country to participate in the war. As the result of the utmost efforts rendered by both the Party and the Corps, the war against Japan came to a successful end, though under most difficult circumstances. An army, after having engaged in a fierce battle, should be regrouped before it can fight again. Since the purge of 1927, our Party has led the country during a period of ten years of political tutelage, four years of war against the Communists, and eight years of war against Japan. Hardly had the war against Japan been brought to a victorious end before the Soviet imperialists and their fifth-column--the Chinese Communists--taking advantage of the weakened condition of the country and the war-weariness of the people, started the total warfare. With the promulgation of the constitutionalism, our Party assumed the dual responsibility of carrying out constitutional government and waging the war against the Communists. Should our Party have a sound organization, observe a rigid discipline, and carry through the policies of the central authorities, I believe it would be in a better position to awaken the populace to mobilize against aggression and totalitarianism.

Unless our Party carries out further reform, it would not be able to shoulder such a heavy task and to complete such a dual mission. It was for this reason that the organization of the Party and the Youth Corps were merged in 1947. I have once and again told our comrades: "The amalgamation of the Party and the Youth Corps should be regarded as a revolutionary instead of a technical task." It was anticipated that after the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th C.E.C., the work of Party reform could be completed within six months and the 7th National Congress could be convened on May 5, 1948 to mark a new era of the Party. But actually the unification of the Party and the Youth Corps had not attained the end of revolutionary reform. On the contrary, it further aggravated the friction among the different cliques within the Party. Up to January, 1948, it was found out that the convocation of the 7th National Congress would conflict with that of the National Assembly. So the C.E.C. decided to postpone the date of its convocation. The efforts in unifying the Party and the Youth Corps by thoroughly reforming the Party ended in complete failure. Thus the Communists under the banner of "Democratic Coalition Government" began to spread the seeds of defeatism, dislocate the popular organs of various strata of the Party, infiltrate the administrative and military systems and even try to divide the highest political center, with the result that the Party was almost on the verge of total collapse. The disastrous military reverses on the mainland was not due to the overwhelming strength of the Communists which was strong enough to defeat our revolutionary army but due to the organizational collapse, loose discipline and low spirits of the Party.

In January, 1948, I retired from the presidency to gain a better position on the rear for national salvation by guiding the reform of our Party. But owing to Soviet domination, the situation has been continued on next page.

the Central Committee of the Party, I have now realized that I should resume the presidency to face the national crisis. On the eve of my resumption of office, I told the members of the Central Committee: "It is not yet known whether I shall leave or ruin the nation as I am resuming the presidency. This question cannot be answered by myself. If I had not retired at the beginning of last year, it would be beyond imagination that all the provinces on the mainland should be lost within one year. That was the result of my retirement, and it is painful to recall. Now that the nation is facing a grave danger, Taiwan would be gone within three months if I still refuse to shoulder the political and military responsibilities. I am sure that with my resumption of office, Taiwan will be safeguarded. But if the members of the Party fail to wake up to their past follies and unite in a common struggle, the situation would remain irretrievable even if I had again taken up my duties. The entire legal system of the Chinese Republic rests in the Constitution. I respect the Constitution and the democratic system. My only hope is that all members of the Party will behave like members of an ordinary political party so as to lead the government into the track of party politics. If no one is able to do so, it would be vain to talk about national salvation and the mission of a revolutionary party."

Four months have passed since my resumption of the presidency. Members of our Party now in responsible positions and myself have done our best in the political and military fields. The evacuation of our troops from Hainan and Chusan have completed according to plan. The defense of Taiwan and the outlying islands has been strengthened. Government finance has been further retrenched after two months' efforts. A program for the readjustment of the government operated enterprises has been enforced, and more measures are being adopted to develop foreign trade. Our economic difficulties are expected to be overcome one by one. But these measures are not sufficient to illuminate Taiwan as the lighthouse in the dark. We must have a high spirit and lofty ideals. We must amplify the hopes and expectations towards Taiwan from the entire people so that they will be crystalized into a force of anti-aggression and anti-totalitarianism. We must inherit our 5,000-year-old history and culture and make it a guidance in human progress. We must make Taiwan the base for national recovery, a vanguard for the struggle of the free peoples of Asia, and a champion of world peace. To achieve this, we must thoroughly reform our Party in order to reorganize our revolutionary machinery and to revive our revolutionary spirit. On the negative side, we must do away with the conflicts among the various cliques and factions as well as individuals within the Party. Any indiscipline and defiance to the Party organizations must be eliminated. We must not tolerate any longer the selfish behaviors and ideas which have caused the collapse on the mainland and may cause the collapse of Taiwan, if unchecked. At the present moment when an international crisis is brewing on the Pacific and in the whole Far East, we must uproot all psychology of complacency and opportunism and must be prepared for violent changes. We must realize that if we cannot maintain our position firmly or if we cannot endure the crisis, Taiwan will lose its political value to us even if it can be held militarily. We must demonstrate our fearless spirit of national independence and freedom before we can hold Taiwan as a base for national recovery. We must, therefore, redouble our efforts and thoroughly reform our Party. If we repeat our past mistakes and remain hesitant and compromising, we would be held responsible for the extinction of the Chinese race.

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Then even if we sacrifice ourselves, we would have regarded as guilty souls before Dr. Sun Yat-sen and our revolutionary martyrs.

Whether we shall succeed or fail in our revolution, it will be entirely our own choice. The only way out for us is to get rid of all factional and personal differences and start all over again by thoroughly reforming the Party. Concerning the procedure of the Party reform, I wish to explain the following three points: First, since 1947, all members of the Party have been hoping that the 7th National Congress of the Party would mark the rebirth of our Party and the beginning of a new era in our National Revolution, as the 7th National Congress would be empowered to effect reforms. But circumstances do not allow the convening of a National Congress. Though we are making preparations for the eventual convening of the National Congress, yet we cannot wait until then to start the Party reform.

Second, the term for members of the 6th Central Executive and Supervisory Committees was due over three years ago. It is regrettable that the 4th plenary session of the 6th Central Executive Committee failed to effect any reforms of the Party. Between January and March, this year, a group of Party members devoted their entire time and energy to drafting a program for Party reform and proposed the cessation of the functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the appointment of a Central Reform Committee. Presently, I have adopted this proposal. There are more than 500 members on the two committees. While there are many among these members who have worked hard and contributed greatly to the Party, I must admit that these members and myself must be responsible for the declining of the prestige of our Party during the past four years, particularly the sad failures during the past two years. In view of the present circumstances, I deeply feel that unless the existing Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee cease functioning, it would be difficult for any Party reform to produce any political effects. As a result, it would be hardly possible for our Party to shoulder the revolutionary responsibilities.

Third, Party reform is the unanimous demand of the members of the Party. Recently more than 200 members of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees sent me a joint letter, requesting me to effect Party reform immediately. The Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee specially delegated Messrs. Chu Cheng, Yu Yu-jen and Taou Lu to explain to me that Party reform is the fundamental measure we should take. At this time when the fate of our nation is at stake and our revolutionary cause may be disrupted, I have no other way than following Dr. Sun Yat-sen's spirit in reforming the Party in 1914 and 1924 and enforcing the powers entrusted to me by the General Regulations of the Party by appointing from 15 to 25 members to set up a Central Reform Committee to assist me in carrying out measures for the reform. At the same time, I shall appoint those members who render meritorious services to the Party or who enjoy great prestige in the country to be members of a Central Advisory Committee whose duties will be to supervise the enforcement of the reform measures. The Central Reform Committee, being a small body, will be able to centralize all functions of the Party and thus produce practical results. The Advisory Group will include all members of the Party and will absorb opinions and criticisms from all quarters. I shall supervise the enactment of the rules and regulations for the Central Reform Committee.

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Negatively speaking, in the present reform, all corrupt, reactionary, selfish and unstable elements will be strictly eliminated in order to revive the Party's revolutionary spirit. Positively, we must strengthen ourselves by uniting all the patriotic youth and loyal citizens both at home and abroad in the Revolution, and direct all anti-aggressive, anti-totalitarian and freedom-loving people to the road of San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles). Factionalism must be eradicated. New members must be enlisted from the anti-Communist and national salvation movement, while good workers must be trained through political and economic reforms. We must emphasize group action in order to influence individual activities. Every member of the Party must be organized into a basic unit which live in the masses. We must take the people's needs as the basis in formulating the political program of the Party and take the current social thought as the guide of our Revolution.

Today millions of people behind the iron curtain on the China mainland are suffering oppression and tyrannical rule by the Russian aggressors and the Chinese Communists. They have lost the protection of our government. They have lost freedom. And they have lost the very right of existence. Our Party should share such miseries with them for the sake of freedom and national salvation. Overseas Chinese are also eagerly hoping the recovery of the lost territory because they have suffered the consequences of Communist rule as their families in China and subjected to Communist tyranny. Fifty years ago, overseas Chinese were the cradle of the Chinese Revolution. The formation of the Hsing Chung Hui, the forerunner of the Kuomintang was made possible by their support. They will again form a main force in a struggle between patriotism and national betrayal, between democracy and totalitarianism, and between freedom and enslavement. Our Party should become an organization for a common struggle for the freedom-loving and patriotic overseas Chinese. People in Free China have been working hard in increasing production and many of them have joined the army. They will be further mobilized to help the armed forces in meeting the present crisis.

Our Party must live with the people, accept their demands and unite them into a force for national salvation. In view of the rising of the world-wide anti-aggression and anti-totalitarian tide, our Party should unite the entire nation in the spirit of universalism and under the Three People's Principles in a fight against Russia and communism in order to complete our Revolution. The Standing Committee of the C.E.C. made a preliminary study of "The Present Platform of Our Party" in July, 1949. In January, February and March, this year, members of the central committees revised the program in the light of the then existing circumstances, when they discussed the Outline for Party reform which will be made known upon the establishment of the Central Reform Committee.

I wish to particularly point out today that it is the consensus of opinion that our Party failed during the past four years because we failed to enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood. Every one now realizes that we must enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood to defeat the Communists. May I ask: During the past four years, has any village Party organ made a land survey? Has any municipal Party organ compiled labor statistics? Has any provincial Party organ submitted to the Central Party Headquarters any systematic social survey or economic research? The practice of the Principle of the People's Livelihood does not depend on theories or experiments alone; it must be based on facts.
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does not provoke class struggle, but promotes cooperation in order to improve social and economic relationships of the people. We must, therefore, abandon subjectivism and formalism and cultivate the scientific spirit in dealing with actual conditions. Only thus can we effect social reform based upon the principle of the People's Livelihood.

The Kuomintang has fought for more than 50 years for national independence and freedom and has a glorious history. We cannot tolerate the destruction of our revolutionary fruits by totalitarianism, and we must not allow this glorious history to be torn up in our own hands. One member of the Party may shirk the responsibility of failure or cover up his own weaknesses, but no one can deny that our past failures are the failures of the entire Party. It is my sincere hope that all members of the Party will disregard personal favor or hatred as well as personal position, and each as a member of the Party, plays his or her part with all his power in accordance with the Party reform program. At a time of life and death struggle for the entire nation, when the 7th National Congress of the Party cannot be convoked and the Party reform cannot be further delayed, I must take such drastic measures for the reform. I hope all members of the Party will work together with concerted efforts to push on with the reform in order to strengthen the Party organization, to revive the revolutionary spirit, to perpetuate the Party's 50 years glorious history, and to create a bright future for the Party and the nation.

II. Outline of the Party Platform

The Party is a revolutionary, democratic political party and Party believes in the Three People's Principles, leads the National Revolution, and is anti-aggression and anti-imperialism. Anything that undermines the Republic and the liberty of the people and obstructs the realization of the Party's principles will be eliminated so as to attain the following aims:

- (1) Internally
 - a. Racial equality.
 - b. Political equality.
 - c. Economic equality.
- (2) Internationally
 - a. World peace.
 - b. Cosmopolitanism.

The Party respects the position of, and cooperates with, all democratic political parties that are anti-communist in nature, in order to struggle together for the salvation of the country and the protection of democracy.

III. Components and Social Basis of the Party

The social basis of the Party is the working masses, including the youth, intellectuals, farmers and workers. The patriotic, revolutionary elements of them are to be united to form the components of the Party in order that they may struggle together for the nation and the welfare of the working masses.

III. Principles for the Organization of the Party

The organization of the Party is based on a democratic centralized system. Its officers are to be elected; its policies to be derived from discussion. Individuals are to obey the Organization which makes all decisions; the minority must obey the majority decisions; the lower ranks must obey their superiors. Free discussion is to be held before a resolution is passed, and once a decision is made, all members are to abide by it so that a unity of action and strength can be attained.

IV. Organization of the Party

6. Any Chinese citizen, upon reaching the age of 18, irrespective of sex and occupation, having belief in the Three People's Principles and the Party platform and policies, may apply, in accordance with Party regulations, as Party members.
7. Party members who remain ardent believers in the Party's principles, platform and policies and who are willingly to continue to work for the Party shall be allowed to retain their Party membership.
8. To eliminate corrupt Party elements and to strengthen the revolutionary front, Party members who fall into one or more of the following categories shall be expelled from the Party:
 - (1) Those who rebel against the nation and cooperate with the enemy.
 - (2) Those who betray the Party by joining another party.
 - (3) Those who violate Party discipline and act against the Party.
 - (4) Those who have corrupt practices and who failed to faithfully carry out their duties.

- (3) those who have acquired the knowledge and the skill to direct people to work;
 - (4) those who have acquired the spirit of impartiality and unselfishness;
 - (5) those who are hard-working and diligent.
17. Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be selected and instated according to their abilities and shall be fully backed by the Party during their work. They shall also be supervised to learn and improve themselves through hard work so as to build up their virtue of leadership.
18. The work and livelihood of Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be safeguarded by the Party in order that they can concentrate their efforts in revolutionary activities.

VI. Characteristics of the Party

19. To completely get rid of past mistakes, the Party should be readjusted on the following principles:
- (1) Party principles must be realized. Every Party member must study Party history and theories of the Revolution, and must struggle and sacrifice with courage for the realization of the Three People's Principles.
 - (2) Party organization must be respected. Every Party member must play his role in the organization, observe Party discipline, abide by the orders of the Party, and carry out the resolutions of the Party.
 - (3) Party policies must be carried out. Every Party member must strictly adhere to his position in the Party, be fully aware of the psychology of the masses, win the confidence of the people and conquer all difficulties in order to carry out fully the policies of the Party.
 - (4) The Party must mix with the people. Every Party member must form for himself a conception to render service to the people, and to mix with the people. He should go to the masses and to the villages, propagate to them the Party platform and policies, and to convey to the Party the feelings and wishes of the people in order that Party policies will represent the interests of the people and Party members will be able to fight for the welfare of the people. The organization and leadership of the Party among the masses can only thus be strengthened.
 - (5) Efficiency must be maintained. Every Party member must be exact and scientific in his work in order that Party policies will yield definite results.
 - (6) The Party must be united. Every Party member must get rid of all prejudices as reflected in the formation of cliques and internal factions within the Party. In order to attain improvement through criticism and unity through review of past mistakes, he should concentrate his mind on Party work and contribute his energy to the Party.

VII. Party Leadership

20. The relations between Party leaders and Party officials, between higher and lower ranks, between Party officials and Party members, and between Party members and the masses, should be improved on the basis of the following principles:

- (1) General principles
 - a. To coordinate the work and life of the party through the exchange of opinions.
 - b. To select personnel in conformity with policies.
 - c. To effect promotion and demotion of party members according to merit.
 - d. To settle disputes by factual presentation.
- (2) Organized Leadership
 - a. Everything must go through the organization, and the organization will decide everything.
 - b. The Party leaders are to adopt the resolutions of the organization, and Party officials are to carry out to the full the wishes of the leaders.
 - c. Policies are to be decided by the organization and politics are to be guided by the policies.
- (3) Democratic leadership
 - a. The opinions of the lower ranks are to be conveyed to the higher ranks; the opinion of the higher ranks are to be made known to the lower ranks.
 - b. To seek a unified opinion through free discussion; to seek agreement through persuasion.
 - c. To gain sympathy through publicity; to gain confidence through work.

VIII. Privileges and Obligations of Party Members

21. A Party member has the following obligations:

- (1) To study revolutionary theories and to propagate party principles;
- (2) To pay regularly fees to the party, attend meetings of sub-district committee meetings or section meetings, and to actively participate in party work and other social activities led by the party.
- (3) To obey party regulations; observe the rules of discipline, take orders from the party and to carry out the resolutions of the party.
- (4) To master his own profession, strictly adhere to his position, abide by the policies of the party, safeguard the foundation of the party, and to fight to the finish against anti-revolutionary parties.
- (5) Socially, to mix with the people render service to the people, understand the needs of the people, and promote the execution of party policies.
- (6) To safeguard party secrets against Communist agents.

22. According to party regulations, a party member has the following privileges:

- (1) The right to elect, to be elected, and the right of recall within the party.
- (2) The right to submit a resolution and to vote in party meetings to which he attends.
- (3) The right to be nominated and supported by the party in any competent election.
- (4) The right to be supported by the party in his career.
- (5) The right to receive relief and pensions from the party if he is wounded, dead or crippled as a result of working for the party.

IX. Party Discipline

23. Implementation of party control upon its members are as follows:

- (1) Generalship by members of the higher rank.
 - (2) Discussions among members of the same rank.
 - (3) Accusation by members of the lower rank.
24. Party members who fall under any of the following categories are considered as violating party discipline:
- (1) Those whose conducts are specified in point 8 of this Outline.
 - (2) Those who disclose party secret.
 - (3) Those who organize factions or cliques within the party.
 - (4) Those who disobey party policy and orders.
 - (5) Those who fail to pay the party fees and who fail to attend the meetings of the sections.
25. Those who are nominated and supported by the party but fail to carry out party policy or to obey party resolution after being elected to be members of people's representative bodies or appointed to be political officials are considered violating party discipline.
26. Party sanctions are as follows:
- (1) Warning.
 - (2) Suspension of membership privileges.
 - (3) Expulsion from the party.
 - (4) Dissolution of the whole organization in case of mass violation of party discipline.
27. The Party may adopt the following measures to sanction the party members who violate party discipline:
- (1) To indict in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (2) To remove from the present duty in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (3) To criticize openly and to appeal to public opinion.

I. Party Secret Organization

28. The system, the ways of operation, the procedure to induce new members to join the party etc. of the party's secret organization in the areas behind Chinese Communist front curtain or in areas where open activities are impossible or where secrecy is necessary shall be prescribed in special resolutions by Central Executive Committee in accordance with General Regulations of the Party. All provisions in the General Regulations not applicable to the party's secret organization may be suspended temporarily.

II. Relations between Party and Government

29. Party policies shall be enforced; policies shall be formulated in conformity with principles; selection of personnel shall be based upon the policies so as to control party members by the Party organization.
30. The congresses of the various ranks and committees of all ranks shall be the policy making organ. Party members who are in government service and are members of the people's representative bodies should exert their utmost to carry out the Party's policies.
31. The Party's policies should be incorporated in law and executive orders through the Party members who are members of people's representative

bodies and are in Government service
the Party should nominate Party members to become Government officials
should do so in accordance with the Party's principles
the Party should guide the Party members who are in Government service
or are members of the people's representative bodies on policy matters,
but should not interfere with their functions as prescribed by law.
All nominees for Government officials or for members of the people's
representative bodies should be nominated in accordance with rules and
procedures of the Party. Committees of all ranks shall support the
nominees during the election and supervise their work.

III. Measures and Procedure of the Reform

1. For the enforcement of the reform, the following measures shall be adopted:

(1) The 5th Central Executive Committee and the 5th Central Supervisory Committee shall cease functioning.

(2) A Central Reform Committee shall be established to exercise the powers and functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The Central Reform Committee shall be composed of from 15 to 25 members, to be appointed by the Tsungtsai (Director General of the Party).

(3) Departments or committees shall be established under the Central Reform Committee to be charged with the work of party reform. Members for the said departments and committees shall be selected by the Tsungtsai from among those who have a fighting and determined spirit and from those who are young and able.

(4) The Party shall establish a Central Advisory Committee whose members shall serve as advisors to the Tsungtsai and shall be responsible for the supervision of the party reform. These members shall be appointed by the Tsungtsai.

(5) The various grades of the Party organs in Taiwan and abroad as well as the Party organs in the various occupational groups shall continue to function as usual and shall receive orders from the Central Reform Committee for the enforcement of party reform.

(6) All members of the Party shall retain their party membership, but corrupt and reactionary elements shall be eliminated.

2. The appointment of the members of the Central Advisory Committee and the Central Reform Committee shall be announced in due course.

3. Upon the announcement of the appointment of the members of the Central Reform Committee, the following procedure shall be followed:

(1) Members of the Central Reform Committee shall be sworn in. (2) The Central Reform Committee shall announce the political platform of the Party. (3) The Central Reform Committee shall enact the organizational regulations for the central and local reform committees.

4. The Central Reform Committee shall take over the functions and properties of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the subsidiary enterprises of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate regulations for the scrutiny of the members of the Party and the enlistment of new members.

6. The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate the procedure for the reform of the Party organs of the various grades both at home and abroad and establish reform committees of the various grades.

7. Upon the completion of the reform of the Party organs in the hsien and districts and upon approval by superior reform committees, election of members of the committees for the hsien and districts shall be held and hsien and district headquarters shall be established. Provincial and municipal headquarters shall be established after the establishment of the hsien and district headquarters.

8. Upon the establishment of a certain number of provincial, municipal, overseas and occupational party headquarters, the Central Reform Committee shall request the Tsungtsai to convoke the National Congress of the Party.

THE STAFF OF THE KUOMINTANG

A resolution introduced by President Chiang Kai-shek
and adopted at a meeting of the Standing Committee
of the Central Executive Committee held on July 22, 1950

Introduction

In order to meet the needs of the present stage of Sun Revolution and to answer the request of many Party comrades to draw up a reform program for the Party in July, 1949, and presented it to the Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee. It is the opinion of the Standing Committee that, with the exception of those matters which should be decided by the National Congress, all the rest in the Outline of the Reform Program can be put into execution. The Committee then distributed the Outline of the Reform Program to the Party organs in various localities for study.

Since then, the provinces on the Chinese mainland fell to the Communists one after another. With the changed situation, not only the work of Party reform had been brought to a standstill, but the entire program though adopted by the Standing Committee of the C.E.C. should be revised. In January this year, I gathered some members of the Central Committees and discussed with them the program all over again, with the original program and the opinions as suggested by various grades of the Party organs and their members as the basis. Now that I have revised the whole program, with the exception of those parts which should be reserved for discussion and decision by the National Congress of the Party, as they require the revision of the General Regulations of the Kuomintang. Today I submit the revised Outline of the Reform Program, together with the measures and procedure for the reform and propose that they be passed and promulgated.

For 40 years Dr. Sun led the National Revolution. Whenever the very existence of the country was at stake and the success of the Revolution in peril, he effected a reform of the Party. Under his leadership, the name of the Party changed five times and the Party was also reorganized five times. We should particularly be benefited by the lessons we learned from the reforms in 1914 and 1924. With the failure of the Second Revolution, Yuan Shih-kai dissolved the Parliament, discarded the Provisional Constitution, and finally restored the monarchical system by changing the name of the country. Most of the Party members either surrendered or sought for personal interest at the expense of the Party. Some of them were so disappointed that they either stopped talking of the Revolution altogether or waited for 20 more years before they talked about it again. Dr. Sun then proceeded to organize the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914 which adopted secret organization and with rigid discipline engaged itself in the revolutionary movement. It was only then that the monarchical system was overthrown and the Republic safeguarded. During the campaign against Chen Chun-ming, Dr. Sun returned to Canton. In the North he was oppressed by such warlords as Wu Pei-fu, in the East obstructed by Chen Chun-ming. Foreign imperialists threatened from without and such commercial groups as led by Chen Lien-po obstructed from within. But Dr. Sun addressed himself wholeheartedly to the reform of the Kuomintang, paying special emphasis to publicity and popular movement so as to lay a deep foundation for the Three People's Principle among people. On the other hand, he established the Whampoa Military Academy, trained military personnel and laid the foundation of the revolutionary army. In the 25 years that followed, the successes of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan were the results of the reform of the Party. The thorough reform of the Party as effected during 1914 and 1924 had a far-reaching significance in Chinese history. As a result of the reform of the Chinese Revolutionary Party in 1914, the National Revolution continued and the Republic of China was proclaimed.

It was because of the slogan of the mainline of 1927 that the success of the National Revolution could be secured and the success of the Northern Expedition and the war against Japan could be achieved.

Other member of the Party, in deference to the will of Sun, accepted the revolutionary task and would never change the organization of the Party at free will. After the outbreak of the war with Japan in 1937, I set up the San Min Chu Yi Youth Corps, in order to appeal to the youth of the country to participate in the war. As the result of the utmost efforts rendered by both the Party and the Corps, the war against Japan came to a successful end, though under most difficult circumstances. An army, after having engaged in a fierce battle, should be regrouped before it can fight again. Since the purge of 1927, our Party has led the country during a period of ten years of political tutelage, four years of war against the Communists, and eight years of war against Japan. Hardly had the war against Japan been brought to a victorious end before the Soviet imperialists and their fifth-column--the Chinese Communists--taking advantage of the weakened condition of the country and the war-weariness of the people, started the total warfare. With the promulgation of the constitutionalism, our Party assumed the dual responsibility of carrying out constitutional government and waging the war against the Communists. Should our Party have a sound organization, observe a rigid discipline, and carry through the policies of the central authorities, I believe it would be in a better position to awaken the populace to mobilize against aggression and totalitarianism.

Unless our Party carries out further reform, it would not be able to shoulder such a heavy task and to complete such a dual mission. It was for this reason that the organization of the Party and the Youth Corps were merged in 1947. I have once and again told our comrades: "The amalgamation of the Party and the Youth Corps should be regarded as a revolutionary instead of a technical task." It was anticipated that after the 4th Plenary Session of the 6th C.E.C., the work of Party reform could be completed within six months and the 7th National Congress could be convened on May 5, 1948, to mark a new era of the Party. But actually the unification of the Party and the Youth Corps had not attained the end of revolutionary reform. On the contrary, it further aggravated the friction among the different cliques within the Party. Up to January, 1948, it was found out that the convocation of the 7th National Congress would conflict with that of the National Assembly. So the C.E.C. decided to postpone the date of its convocation. The efforts in unifying the Party and the Youth Corps by thoroughly reforming the Party ended in complete failure. Thus the Communists under the banner of "Democratic Coalition Government" began to spread the seeds of defeatism, dislocate the popular organs of various strata of the Party, infiltrate the administrative and military systems and even try to divide the highest political center, with the result that the Party was almost on the verge of total collapse. The disastrous military reverses on the mainland was not due to the overwhelming strength of the Communists which was strong enough to defeat our revolutionary army but due to the organizational collapse, loose discipline and low spirits of the Party.

In January, 1949, I retired from the presidency, span on the measure of national salvation, and study in the Communist Party. Following to the purge of the Party (to be continued on next page)

the program for Party reform failed to materialize and I had to resume the presidency to face the national crisis. On the eve of my resumption of office, I told the members of the Central Committees: "It is not yet known whether I shall save or ruin the nation as I am resuming the presidency. This question cannot be answered by myself. If I had not retired at the beginning of last year, it would be beyond imagination that all the provinces on the mainland should be lost within one year. That was the result of my retirement, and it is painful to recall. Now that the nation is facing a grave danger, Taiwan would be gone within three months if I still refuse to shoulder the political and military responsibilities. I am sure that with my resumption of office, Taiwan will be safeguarded. But if the members of the Party fail to wake up to their past follies and unite in a common struggle, the situation would remain irretrievable even if I had again taken up my duties. The entire legal system of the Chinese Republic rests in the Constitution. I respect the Constitution and the democratic system. My only hope is that all members of the Party will behave like members of an ordinary political party so as to lead the government into the track of party politics. If no one is able to do so, it would be vain to talk about national salvation and the mission of a revolutionary party."

Four months have passed since my resumption of the presidency. Members of our Party now in responsible positions and myself have done our best in the political and military fields. The evacuation of our troops from Hainan and Chusan have completed according to plan. The defense of Taiwan and the outlying islands has been strengthened. Government finance has been further retrenched after two months' efforts. A program for the readjustment of the government operated enterprises has been enforced, and more measures are being adopted to develop foreign trade. Our economic difficulties are expected to be overcome one by one. But these measures are not sufficient to illuminate Taiwan as the lighthouse in the dark. We must have a high spirit and lofty ideals. We must amplify the hopes and expectations towards Taiwan from the entire people so that they will be crystallized into a force of anti-aggression and anti-totalitarianism. We must inherit our 5,000-year-old history and culture and make it a guidance in human progress. We must make Taiwan the base for national recovery, a vanguard for the struggle of the free peoples of Asia, and a champion of world peace. To achieve this, we must thoroughly reform our Party in order to reorganize our revolutionary machinery and to revive our revolutionary spirit. On the negative side, we must do away with the conflicts among the various cliques and factions as well as individuals within the Party. Any indiscipline and defiance to the Party organizations must be eliminated. We must not tolerate any longer the selfish behaviors and ideas which have caused the collapse on the mainland and may cause the collapse of Taiwan, if unchecked. At the present moment when an international crisis is brewing on the Pacific and in the whole Far East, we must uproot all psychology of complacency and opportunism and must be prepared for violent changes. We must realize that if we cannot maintain our position firmly or if we cannot endure the crisis, Taiwan will lose its political value to us even if it can be held militarily. We must demonstrate our fearless spirit of national independence and freedom before we can hold Taiwan as a base for national recovery. We must, therefore, redouble our efforts and thoroughly reform our Party. If we repeat our past mistakes and remain hesitant and compromising, we would be held responsible for the extinction of the Chinese race. (Continued on next page)

Then even if we sacrifice ourselves, we would be regarded as guilty souls before Dr. Sun Yat-sen and our revolutionary

Whether we shall succeed or fail in our revolution, it will be entirely our own choice. The only way out for us is to get rid of all factional and personal differences, and start all over again by thoroughly reforming the Party. Concerning the procedure of the Party reform, I wish to explain the following three points: First, since 1947, all members of the Party have been hoping that the 7th National Congress of the Party would mark the rebirth of our Party and the beginning of a new era in our National Revolution, as the 7th National Congress would be empowered to effect reforms. But circumstances do not allow the convention of a National Congress. Though we are making preparations for the eventual convention of the National Congress, yet we cannot wait until then to start the Party reform.

Second, the term for members of the 6th Central Executive and Supervisory Committees was due over three years ago. It is regrettable that the 4th plenary session of the 6th Central Executive Committee failed to effect any reforms of the Party. Between January and March, this year, a group of Party members devoted their entire time and energy to drafting a program for Party reform and proposed the cessation of the functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the appointment of a Central Reform Committee. Presently I have adopted this proposal. There are more than 500 members on the two committees. While there are many among these members who have worked hard and contributed greatly to the Party, I must admit that these members and myself must be responsible for the declining of the prestige of our Party during the past four years, particularly the sad failures during the past two years. In view of the present circumstances, I deeply feel that unless the existing Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee cease functioning, it would be difficult for any Party reform to produce any political effects. As a result, it would be hardly possible for our Party to shoulder the revolutionary responsibilities.

Third, Party reform is the unanimous demand of the members of the Party. Recently more than 200 members of the Central Executive and Supervisory Committees sent me a joint letter, requesting me to effect Party reform immediately. The Standing Committee of the Central Executive Committee specially delegated Messrs. Chu Cheng, Yu Yu-jen and Esou Lu to explain to me that Party reform is the fundamental measure we should take. At this time when the fate of our nation is at stake and our revolutionary cause may be disrupted, I have no other way than following Dr. Sun Yat-sen's spirit in reforming the Party in 1914 and 1924 and enforcing the powers entrusted to me by the General Regulations of the Party by appointing from 15 to 25 members to set up a Central Reform Committee to assist me in carrying out measures for the reform. At the same time I shall appoint those members who render meritorious services to the Party or who enjoy great prestige in the country to be members of a Central Advisory Committee whose duties will be to supervise the enforcement of the reform measures. The Central Reform Committee, being a small body, will be able to centralize all functions of the Party and thus produce practical results. The advisory group will include senior members of the Party and will absorb opinions and views from all quarters. It shall supervise the enactment of the rules and regulations for the Central Reform Committee.

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Negatively speaking, in the present reform, all corrupt, reactionary, selfish and unstable elements will be strictly eliminated in order to revive the Party's revolutionary spirit. Positively, we must strengthen ourselves by uniting all the patriotic youth and loyal citizens both at home and abroad in the Revolution, and direct all anti-aggressive, anti-totalitarian and freedom-loving people to the road of San Min Chu I (Three People's Principles). Factionalism must be eradicated. New members must be enlisted from the anti-Communist and national salvation movement, while good workers must be trained through political and economic reforms. We must emphasize group action in order to influence individual activities. Every member of the Party must be organized into a basic unit which live in the masses. We must take the people's needs as the basis in formulating the political program of the Party and take the current social thought as the guide of our Revolution.

Today millions of people behind the iron curtain on the China mainland are suffering oppression and tyrannical rule by the Russian aggressors and the Chinese Communists. They have lost the protection of our government. They have lost freedom. And they have lost the very right of existence. Our Party should share such miseries with them for the sake of freedom and national salvation. Overseas Chinese are also eagerly hoping the recovery of the lost territory because they have suffered the consequences of Communist rule as their families in China are subjected to Communist tyranny. Fifty years ago, overseas Chinese were the cradle of the Chinese Revolution. The formation of the Hsing Chung Hui, the forerunner of the Kuomintang was made possible by their support. They will again form a main force in a struggle between patriotism and national betrayal, between democracy and totalitarianism, and between freedom and enslavement. Our Party should become an organization for a common struggle for the freedom-loving and patriotic overseas Chinese. People in Free China have been working hard in increasing production and many of them have joined the army. They will be further mobilized to help the armed forces in meeting the present crisis.

Our Party must live with the people, accept their demands and unite them into a force for national salvation. In view of the rising of the world-wide anti-aggression and anti-totalitarian tide, our Party should unite the entire nation in the spirit of universalism and under the Three People's Principles in a fight against Russia and communism in order to complete our Revolution. The Standing Committee of the C.E.C. made a preliminary study of "The Present Platform of Our Party" in July, 1949. In January, February and March, this year, members of the central committee revised the program in the light of the then existing circumstances, when they discussed the Outline for Party Reform, which will be made known upon the establishment of the Central Reform Committee.

I wish to particularly point out today that it is the consensus of opinion that our Party failed during the past four years because we failed to enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood. Every one now realizes that we must enforce the Principle of the People's Livelihood to defeat the Communists. May I ask: During the past four years, has any village Party organ made a land survey? Has any municipal Party organ compiled labor statistics? Has any provincial Party organ submitted to the Central Party Headquarters any systematic social survey or economic research? The practice of the Principle of the People's Livelihood does not depend on theories or experiments alone; it must be based on facts. It (continued on next page)

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does not provoke class struggle, but promotes cooperation in order to improve social and economic relationships of the people. We must, therefore, abandon subjectivism and formalism and cultivate the scientific spirit in dealing with actual conditions. Only thus can we effect social reform based upon the Principle of the People's Livelihood.

The Kuomintang has fought for more than 50 years for national independence and freedom and has a glorious history. We cannot tolerate the destruction of our revolutionary fruits by totalitarianism, and we must not allow this glorious history to be torn up in our own hands. One member of the Party may shirk the responsibility of failure or cover up his own weaknesses, but no one can deny that our past failures are the failures of the entire Party. It is my sincere hope that all members of the Party will disregard personal favor or hatred as well as personal position, and each as a member of the Party plays his or her part with all his power in accordance with the Party reform program. At a time of life and death struggle for the entire nation, when the 7th National Congress of the Party cannot be convoked and the Party reform cannot be further delayed, I must take such drastic measures for the reform. I hope all members of the Party will work together with concerted efforts to push on with the reform in order to strengthen the Party organization, to revive the revolutionary spirit, to perpetuate the Party's 50 years glorious history, and to create a bright future for the Party and the nation.

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I. Outline of The Party Platform

1. General Principles

1. The Party is a revolutionary, democratic political party.
2. The Party believes in the Three People's Principles, leads the National Revolution, and is anti-aggression and anti-totalitarianism. Anything that undermines the Republic and the liberty of the people and obstructs the realization of the Party's principles will be eliminated so as to attain the following aims:
 - (1) Internally:
 - a. Racial equality.
 - b. Political equality.
 - c. Economic equality.
 - (2) Internationally:
 - a. World peace.
 - b. Cosmopolitanism.
3. The Party respects the position of, and cooperates with, all democratic political parties that are anti-communist in nature, in order to struggle together for the salvation of the country and the protection of democracy.

II. Components and Social Basis of the Party

4. The social basis of the Party is the working masses, including the youth, intellectuals, farmers and workers. The patriotic, revolutionary elements of them are to be united to form the components of the Party in order that they may struggle together for the nation and the welfare of the working masses.

III. Principles for the Organization of the Party

5. The organization of the Party is based on a democratic centralized system. Its officers are to be elected; its policies to be derived from discussion. Individuals are to obey the Organization which makes all decisions; the minority must obey the majority decisions; the lower ranks must obey their superiors. Free discussion is to be held before a resolution is passed, and once a decision is made, all members are to abide by it so that a unity of action and strength can be attained.

IV. Organization of the Party

6. Any Chinese citizen, upon reaching the age of 18, irrespective of sex and occupation, having belief in the Three People's principles and the Party platform and policies, may apply, in accordance with Party regulations, as Party members.
7. Party members who remain ardent believers in the Party's principles, platform and policies and who are willingly to continue to work for the Party shall be allowed to retain their Party membership.
8. To eliminate corrupt Party elements and to strengthen the revolutionary front Party members who fall into one or more of the following categories shall be expelled from the Party:
 - (1) Those who rebel against the nation and cooperate with the enemy;
 - (2) Those who betray the Party by joining another party;
 - (3) Those who violate Party discipline and act against the Party;
 - (4) Those who have corrupt practices and who failed to faithfully carry out their duties;

(5) Those who lead a notoriously corrupt life;

(6) Those who abandon their duties and who have no sense of responsibility;

(7) Those who are not firm in their belief and who slacken in their own work;

(8) Those who engage into illegitimate business for the sake of personal profit.

9. The Party is to set up different ranks of committees, namely the Central Committees, the Provincial Committees (municipalities directly under the Executive Yuan fall into this category), the Hsien (including municipalities) Committees, the District Committees, and the sub-District Committees. Under the sub-district committees section may be created each to be headed by a section chief. In cities and municipalities the sections are to be differentiated chiefly according to the occupations and professions of Party members with localities to which the Party members belong as secondary consideration. In villages the sections are to be differentiated chiefly according to the localities to which Party members belong with occupations and professions of Party members as secondary consideration. Members attached to a sub-district committee with sections must join one section under the sub-district committee.

Party organizations under the hsien committees are to be kept secret.

The different grades of Party organizations overseas, of various occupational groups, once in Communist-controlled areas are to be established according to actual needs.

10. For the whole nation, the highest organ of authority is the national congress; for provinces and Hsien, the provincial or Hsien congress; for districts, the district congress or district member's general meeting; and for sub-districts, the sub-district member's general meeting. The different grades of committees are the highest organs of authority during the adjournment of respective congresses or member's general meetings.
11. Members of district and sub-district Party organizations are to be elected from respective Party congresses or members' general meetings. Members of provincial and Hsien committees are to be elected respectively from provincial and Hsien congresses. Members of the central committees are to be elected from the national congress.
12. The provincial and Hsien committees each have a chairman, while the other committees each have a standing committee elected from the committees.
13. Resolutions of different grades of congresses, committee meetings and standing committee meetings are to be carried by secret ballot.
14. The different ranks of committees direct the work of the Party by a conformity of purpose and action of all Party members.

V. Party Officials:

15. Officials of different ranks of the Party are the mainstays of such organizations in the making of Party policies, and publicity and enforcement of Party resolutions as well as in the planning, supervision and review of Party activities.
16. The Party, through its organization and work, shall select members of the following calibre as officials in different ranks of the Party:
 - (1) Those who are faithful to the country and to the Party and who are unquestionably loyal to the revolutionary cause;
 - (2) Those who are close to farmers, laborers and youths and who fight for their welfare;

(3) Those who have acquired the knowledge and the skill to direct people to work.

(4) Those who have acquired the spirit of impartiality and unselfishness.

(5) Those who are hard-working and diligent.

17. Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be selected and instated according to their abilities and shall be fully backed by the Party during their work. They shall also be supervised to learn and improve themselves through hard work so as to build up their virtue of leadership.

18. The work and livelihood of Party officials of different ranks of the Party shall be safeguarded by the Party in order that they can concentrate their efforts in revolutionary activities.

VI. Characteristics of the Party

19. To completely get rid of past mistakes, the Party should be readjusted on the following principles:

(1) Party principles must be realized. Every Party member must study Party history and theories of the Revolution, and must struggle and sacrifice with courage for the realization of the Three People's Principles.

(2) Party organization must be respected. Every Party member must play his role in the organization, observe Party discipline, abide by the orders of the Party, and carry out the resolutions of the Party.

(3) Party policies must be carried out. Every Party member must strictly adhere to his position in the Party, be fully aware of the psychology of the masses, win the confidence of the people and conquer all difficulties in order to carry out fully the policies of the Party.

(4) The Party must mix with the people. Every Party member must form for himself a conception to render service to the people, and to mix with the people. He should go to the masses and to the villages, propagate to them the Party platform and policies, and to convey to the Party the feelings and wishes of the people in order that Party policies will represent the interests of the people and Party members will be able to fight for the welfare of the people. The organization and leadership of the Party among the masses can only thus be strengthened.

(5) Efficiency must be maintained. Every Party member must be exact and scientific in his work in order that Party policies will yield definite results.

(6) The Party must be united. Every Party member must get rid of all prejudices as reflected in the formation of cliques and internal factions within the Party. In order to attain improvement through criticism and unity through revision of past mistakes, he should concentrate his mind on Party work and contribute his energy to the Party.

VII. Party Leadership

20. The relations between Party leaders and Party officials, between higher and lower ranks, between Party officials and Party members, and between Party members and the masses, should be improved on the basis of the following principles:

- (1) General principles:
 - a. To coordinate the work and life of the Party through the exchange of opinions.
 - b. To select personnel in conformity with policies.
 - c. To effect promotion and demotion of Party members according to merits.
 - d. To settle disputes by factual presentation.
- (2) Organized Leadership
 - a. Everything must go through the organization, and the organization will decide everything.
 - b. The Party leaders are to adopt the resolutions of the organization, and Party officials are to carry out to the full the wishes of the leaders.
 - c. Policies are to be decided by the organization and politics are to be guided by the policies.
- (3) Democratic leadership
 - a. The opinions of the lower ranks are to be conveyed to the higher ranks; the opinion of the higher ranks are to be made known to the lower ranks.
 - b. To seek a unified opinion through free discussion; to seek agreement through persuasion.
 - c. To gain sympathy through publicity; to gain confidence through work.

VIII. Privileges and Obligations of Party members

21. A Party member has the following obligations:

- (1) To study revolutionary theories and to propagate Party principles;
- (2) To pay regularly fees to the Party, attend meetings of sub-district committee meetings or section meetings, and to actively participate in Party work and other social activities led by the Party.
- (3) To obey Party regulations, observe the rules of discipline, take orders from the Party and to carry out the resolutions of the Party.
- (4) To master his own profession, strictly adhere to his position, abide by the policies of the Party, safeguard the foundation of the Party, and to fight to the finish against anti-revolutionary parties.
- (5) Socially, to mix with the people render service to the people, understand the needs of the people, and promote the execution of Party policies.
- (6) To safeguard Party secrets against Communist agents.

22. According to Party regulations, a Party member has the following privileges:

- (1) The right to elect, to be elected, and the right of recall within the Party.
- (2) The right to submit a resolution and to vote in Party meetings to which he attends.
- (3) The right to be nominated and supported by the Party in any open election.
- (4) The right to be supported by the Party in his career.
- (5) The right to receive relief and pensions from the Party in case he is wounded, dead or crippled as a result of working for the Party.

IX. Party Discipline

23. Implementation of party control upon its members are as follows:

- (1) Supervision by members of the higher rank
 - (2) Discussion among members of the same rank
 - (3) Accusation by members of the lower rank
24. Party members who fall under any of the following categories are considered as violating party discipline
- (1) Those whose conducts are specified in Point 8 of this Outline.
 - (2) Those who disclose party secret.
 - (3) Those who organize factions or cliques within the party.
 - (4) Those who disobey party policy and orders.
 - (5) Those who fail to pay the party fees and who fail to attend the meetings of the sections.
25. Those who are nominated and supported by the party but fail to carry out party policy or to obey party resolution after being elected to be members of people's representative bodies or appointed to be political officials are considered violating party discipline.
26. Party sanctions are as follows:
- (1) Warning
 - (2) Suspension of membership privileges.
 - (3) Expulsion from the party.
 - (4) Dissolution of the whole organization in case of mass violation of party discipline.
27. The Party may adopt the following measures to sanction the party members who violate party discipline.
- (1) To indict in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (2) To remove from the present duty in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
 - (3) To criticize openly and to appeal to public opinion.

I. Party Secret Organization

28. The system, the ways of operation, the procedure to induce new members to join the party etc. of the Party's secret organization in the areas behind Chinese Communist iron curtain or in areas where open activities are impossible or where secrecy is necessary shall be prescribed in special resolutions by Central Executive Committee in accordance with General Regulations of the Party. All provisions in the General Regulations not applicable to the party's secret organization may be suspended temporarily.

II. Relations between Party and Government

29. Party policies shall be enforced; policies shall be formulated in conformity with principles; selection of personnel shall be based upon the policies so as to control party members by the Party organization.
30. The congresses of the various ranks and committees of all ranks shall be the policy making organ. Party members who are in government service and are members of the people's representative bodies should exert their utmost to carry out the party's policies.
31. The Party's policies should be incorporated in law and executive orders through the Party members who are members of people's representatives.

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bodies and who are in Government service.

The Party, when nominating Party members to become Government officials, should do so in accordance with the Party policies.

The Party should guide the Party members who are in Government service or are members of the people's representative bodies on policy matters but should not interfere with their functions as prescribed by law.

32. All nominees for Government officials or for members of the people's representative bodies should be nominated in accordance with rules and procedures of the Party. Committees of all ranks shall support the nominees during the election and supervise their work.

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III. Measures and Procedure for the Reform

1. For the enforcement of the reform, the following measures shall be adopted:

- (1) The 5th Central Executive Committee and the 6th Central Supervisory Committee shall cease functioning;
- (2) A Central Reform Committee shall be established to exercise the powers and functions of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee. The Central Reform Committee shall be composed of from 15 to 25 members, to be appointed by the Tsungsai (Director-General of the party).
- (3) Departments or committees shall be established under the Central Reform Committee to be charged with the work of party reform. Members for the said departments and committees shall be selected by the Tsungsai from among those who have a fighting and determined spirit and from those who are young and able.
- (4) The Party shall establish a Central Advisory Committee whose members shall serve as advisors to the Tsungsai and shall be responsible for the supervision of the Party reform. These members shall be appointed by the Tsungsai.
- (5) The various grades of the Party organs in Taiwan and abroad as well as the Party organs in the various occupational groups shall continue to function as usual and shall receive orders from the Central Reform Committee for the enforcement of party reform.
- (6) All members of the Party shall retain their party membership, but corrupt and reactionary elements shall be eliminated.

2. The appointment of the members of the Central Advisory Committee and the Central Reform Committee shall be announced in due course.

3. Upon the announcement of the appointment of the members of the Central Reform Committee, the following procedure shall be followed:

- (1) Members of the Central Reform Committee shall be sworn in.
- (2) The Central Reform Committee shall announce the political platform of the Party.
- (3) The Central Reform Committee shall enact the organizational regulations for the central and local reform committees.

4. The Central Reform Committee shall take over the functions and properties of the Central Executive Committee and the Central Supervisory Committee and the subsidiary enterprises of the Central Executive Committee.

5. The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate regulations for the scrutiny of the members of the Party and the enlistment of new members.

The Central Reform Committee shall enact and promulgate the procedure for the reform of the Party organs of the various grades both at home and abroad and establish reform committees of the various grades.

7. Upon the completion of the reform of the Party organs in the hsien and districts and upon approval by superior reform committees, election of members of the committees for the hsien and districts shall be held and hsien and district headquarters shall be established. Provincial and municipal headquarters shall be established after the establishment of the hsien and district headquarters.

8. Upon the establishment of a certain number of provincial, municipal, overseas and occupational Party headquarters, the Central Reform Committee shall request the Tsungsai to convoke the national congress of the Party.