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The State of Work in Manchuria

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THE STATE OF WORK IN MANCHURIA

1. After the Soviet Army completely liberated Manchuria on 15 August 1945 at various times the CCP CC sent 20,000 senior officials and 90,000 troops there. In December of that same year the Chairman of the CCP CC gave specific instructions on how to mobilize the popular masses of Manchuria, liquidate the enemy, create bases, and decide the question of war and peace. Unfortunately, at that time Cde. Peng Zhen, Secretary of the CCP CC Manchurian Bureau, violated the instructions of Cde. Mao Zedong and pursued a hostile policy of right-wing deviation, which harmed the work in Manchuria in the first period after the withdrawal of the Soviet troops from Manchuria and created a very dangerous situation after the evacuation of Changchun in May 1946. And, only after the CCP CC Manchurian Bureau was reorganized on 7 July 1946, was the danger of right-wing deviationism overcome inside the Party and the December instructions of Mao Zedong carried out; a similar situation was changed in a direction favorable to us. At the end of 1946 we halted the enemy advance and went over to a counteroffensive at the beginning of 1948. With the active support of the PLA through their operations in the interior of China, our counteroffensive soon became a developed offensive. As a result, Mukden [Shenyang] was liberated on 2 November 1948 and a historic task was completed - the complete elimination of the Guomindang armed forces in Manchuria and its complete liberation.

During this period we carried out land reform in the countryside and mobilized the peasant masses, and a result of this about 20 million poor peasants received land, livestock, food, and housing, and feudal and the landowners' influence was eliminated, and also their reactionary armed forces, and underground armed forces of the Guomindang and its intelligence organs were destroyed. The main thing is that with the active support of the personnel and material resources of the peasant masses who had acquired land (in three years 4,500,000 tons of food was delivered and 1,600,000 people joined the army), and a number of victories were won under correct military leadership; with from a small army of 90,000-plus men the PLA rapidly grew into a solid army of 1,200,000 men, killed up to 1,080,00 enemy troops, and seized a large amount of weapons and ammunition from the enemy. In the cities we have completely confiscated the enemy and puppet industrial enterprises and mines, and under the slogan of "Everything for the Front", we have created our own war industry of 60,000 workers, relying on the active support of the working class. With the aid of the Soviet comrades we have restored about 10,000 km. of railroad, an entire series of vitally important industrial enterprises and mines, developed domestic commerce, established trade with the USSR, solved very difficult wartime issues - the financial question and the question of supply - and have improved the level of supply of our army. Meetings of people's representatives were created in the cities and villages and the authority of the People's Government has been strengthened.

At the present time six provinces and four cities have been directly subordinate to the Manchurian Administrative Committee, the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia, and the special region of Port Arthur [Lüshun] and Dalian. With the exception of the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia and the special region of Port Arthur and Dalian 18 large cities, 165 uyezdneye cities, three special districts [okruga], 1,907 regions, and 32,227 villages are subordinate to the provincial Governments. Manchuria occupies a territory of 1,305,605 km² (including the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia with a territory of 419,648 km² and the special region of Port Arthur and Dalian of 3,399 km²). The population of Manchuria is 43,323,586 (including the population of the autonomous region of Inner Mongolia of 2,200,000 and the special region of Port Arthur and Dalian of 910,000). Of this population 1,065,792 are

Mongols and 1,109,492 Koreans.

We have created a base of Party organizations at the local level and in the army.

After the complete liberation of Manchuria the main forces of the PLA, amounting to 868,034 men, were sent to China; 229,518 of them are Party members. Right now the strength of the troops left in Manchuria is 289,289 (including all the rear installations).

This is just the first stage of the Chinese Revolution in Manchuria. The main task of this first stage is to overthrow the enemy government and establish a government of the people themselves. This task has already been accomplished right now. Based on the instructions of the CC of our Party the main task of our Party in Manchuria currently is the comprehensive expansion of economic development.

2. The conditions of economic development in Manchuria have some advantages compared to China. The production of the industry and agriculture of the entire country is respectively 10 and 90 percent. However, during the Manchukuo [Manzhouguo] period (for 1943) in Manchuria the production of industry and agriculture was respectively 55% and 45%. If one takes 1949 data as a base then the ratio of industry and agriculture will be 35% and 65%. In industry the ratio of state and private enterprises is respectively 6 to 1.

Of the state enterprises, compared to light industry heavy industry is being restored somewhat more slowly. This is chiefly explained by the fact that heavy industry began to be restored only after the liberation of Mukden, but this means too short period of time. In 1949 the production of cast iron might reach 94,000 tons, which is 5.8% of the production of pig iron in Manchukuo for 1944, which was 1,700,000 tons. The production of steel might reach 82,756 tons, which is only 9.22% of steel production in Manchukuo for 1944, which was 869,000 tons. For this same period, compared to 1944, 77.8% of the yarn and 97.3% of the cotton fiber will be produced. A serious situation has been created in the area of the production of electric power. In 1949 we will be able to provide 866,032,000 kilowatt-hours of electric power, which is only 27.5% of the total amount of electric power produced in 1944, which was 3,152,000,000 kilowatt-hours. Right now there is barely enough electric power being produced. However, in view of the fact that electric power is being fed through only one line and there is no spare electrical equipment the transmission of electric power is therefore insufficiently safe. Electric power will already be insufficient this September during the continuing restoration of industry. In view of the fact that in the past the economy of Manchuria was of a colonial nature and in the area of machinebuilding machines were not produced for industrial and mining enterprises, right now we cannot manufacture the machines, electrical equipment, and electrical materials needed to restore numerous industrial and mining enterprises. Consequently, we cannot provide the equipment and materials to the industrial and mining enterprises being restored. In addition, in connection with the destruction and disassembly during the war rolling equipment and machines are completely lacking at large factories. As regards the mining of coal, then the situation with coal is comparatively better in view of the fact that the coal mines of Northern Manchuria were restored long ago; however, the equipment for sorting the coals is far from sufficient. This year it is expected to mine 10 million tons of coal, which is approximately 40% of the output in 1944, in the Manchukuo period. In the area of railroads, we have quickly repaired the railroads with the aid of the Soviet comrades. In 1949 it is expected to repair 87.3% of the entire length of the railroads which Manchukuo had in 1942.

However, during this same period, that is, in 1949, shipments were only 36.1% compared to 1942, under Manchukuo. This year 17 million tons will be transported by rail which, speaking from the point of view of current requirements, is extremely

insufficient. This is chiefly explained by the fact that the main railway lines have been made single-track, some railroad branch lines have been eliminated, there are not enough locomotives, passenger and freight cars, and there is also a lack of a sufficient quantity of the simplest train equipment. In the area of light industry an extremely serious situation has been created with raw material (cotton), materials (wire screens for producing paper, wool fabric, and sulfuric acid for example). In addition, the presence of a high cost of production and poor quality of products add to these main shortcomings. As regards the workforce, there is not yet a shortage of ordinary workers right now. However, there is an extreme shortage of skilled technical personnel and especially specialists, technicians, and engineers. It is hard to solve this problem for the present time. During the Manchukuo period the various skilled workers and engineering and technical staff were mainly Japanese. Right now all the Japanese, except an insignificant number who have remained in Manchuria, have returned to their homeland. These Japanese specialists are politically extremely unreliable; however, as specialists they are the only mainstay in our current industrial development. For example, in the war industry there are a total of 186 military and technical workers, of which 103 are Japanese, which is an extremely dangerous phenomenon.

Concerning state trade, the purchase of agricultural products and the production of the subsidiary farms is developing comparatively rapidly. The sale of various consumer goods and food is also going well. According to the plan in 1949 purchases equal to food in the amount of 986,000 tons of food should be carried out, but the amount of 3,824,000 tons will be sold. Consumer goods and food are mainly already in our hands. In the area of the regulation of prices, we can already influence the speculative activities of private traders and keep the initiative in our hands. In addition, the entry of our army into China, the establishment of peace and unity in Manchuria, and the equalization of expenses and income in the budget provided an opportunity to gradually stabilize prices beginning in April of this year. This situation will play a very important role in the business of further economic development. However, in view of the weakness of cooperatives (the number of members in cooperatives is 2,430,000), in the trading process petty and big merchants nevertheless stand between the state and petty peasant producers and they still have power to make a fortune at the expense of the state, petty peasant producers, and workers, and we constantly run into their resistance and hindrance in the business of organizing markets and the planned distribution of goods. State trading enterprises have an insufficient base [opora] in mass cooperatives, which is the weakest link in the state trading enterprises at the present time. Right now, when the entire country is being liberated, water and land communications are being restored, and a fluctuation of prices is also being observed in the liberated regions of China, all this exerts a great influence on Manchuria and increased the confusion in prices even more.

Foreign state trade (chiefly with the USSR) has developed rapidly in three years. In the past foreign trade has been a big help to the victory we have won. This trade will henceforth give even more help in the cause of our economic development. Right now we are exerting every effort to export agricultural products and raw materials and to import a large quantity of machines, equipment, needed raw materials, and manufactured goods. Foreign trade can help our agriculture and the development of our industry. Foreign trade is a firm foundation in the matter of planning the state economy. From the time of the liberation of Manchuria, 15 August 1945, to today, as a result of a policy of support to private industrial and commercial enterprises these private enterprises have developed more in comparison with the Manchukuo period, and private commercial enterprises have developed especially rapidly, rather than private industrial enterprises. A left-wing deviation, which caused harm to the industrial and commercial enterprises, appeared in the period of equal distribution of land, and private industrial and commercial enterprises suffered some harm. However, soon after this problem was settled industrial and commercial enterprises acquired their new development. In view of the economic instability created by the war, the fluctuation of prices, and other reasons, the capital of these private industrial

and commercial enterprises was more dispersed and volatile than in the Manchukuo period, which creates additional difficulties in the matter of state control. Recently, private capital is encountering difficulties in the area of additional orders and in speculation in the course of trade in view of the restoration and development of state enterprises, the organization of cooperatives which has begun, the termination of additional orders for military needs, and also in view of the stabilization of prices and other reasons. This is what is leading to private capital transferring from one sector to another, one more suitable to the new economic situation, that is, an appropriate policy course: "Consider the interests of the state and private capital", "Mutual benefits between labor and capital".

At the present time a total of about 800,000 workers are engaged in the industry of Manchuria. Of these 650,000 are engaged in state and 150,000 in private enterprises. Industrial activity has increased, everywhere competitions in production have developed, and labor productivity has increased in connection with the restoration of production, the increase of the number of workers, an increase in wages, and also in connection with the class education of workers by the Party. All this is a good prerequisite for the completion of the economic development plan.

However, right now there are insufficiently skilled workers, a lack of a specific organization of industrial competition, there is a tendency toward wage-leveling in the wage system, and there are also other impractical phenomena. All this requires an immediate resolution.

The CCP CC Manchurian Bureau [the Northeast Bureau] recently developed a draft two-year plan for the planned economic development of Manchuria (1949-1950) on the basis of the specific situation in Manchuria for the purpose of the economic development of Manchuria. The industrial enterprises construction plan occupies the main place in this plan. The plan places especial reliance on:

1. A comprehensive restoration of the steel-casting and coal industries, machinebuilding, the electrical industry, and the development of rail transport.
2. The development of foreign trade (chiefly with the USSR) and especially the comprehensive expansion of purchases of machines needed for the aforementioned industrial sectors which we still cannot build ourselves like, for example, heavy milling machines and electrical generators, and also the purchase of special materials, some electrical materials and copper mesh for producing paper.
3. An increase of the training of technical personnel and special technical workers, retraining and the use of existing technical personnel and, in addition, taking steps in the matter of inviting specialists from the Soviet Union.
4. Strengthening the organization of urban and agricultural consumer cooperatives, reinforcing the close economic ties between state commercial and industrial enterprises and cooperatives, and reinforcing the economic ties between workers and peasants.
5. Increasing economic responsibility at factories and enterprises, strengthening a policy of economy, fighting against waste, strengthening labor discipline, reducing the prime cost of production, improving production quality, and raising productivity in order that industry itself, especially light industry, becomes a source of capital formation.
6. An improvement of workers' lives, an increase in the political, cultural and technical education of workers, a correction of leveling tendencies in the payment of wages, a reexamination of the rules about wages, and an improvement of

organizational work in the production competition of workers.

7. The organization of private capital in the interests of the state and the people; taking steps to concentrate capital so that it develops and takes the route of state capitalism.

In the area of finance right now, although we are bearing a great burden in supplying our troops in China, however we are trying with all our might to increase income and reduce non-production expenses and waste in order to save funds to invest in industry. This year the income constitutes 8,000,000 tons, equated to food, but expenses are 10,000,000 tons. According to plan this year 4,550,000 tons will be invested in economic development, of which 3,000,000 tons [will be invested] in industry and 377,000 tons in the railroads. The deficit is 2,000,000 tons, of which it is expected to cover half with a loan from banks, but measures have not yet been taken with respect to the second half. Attracting free capital to industry received through the banks and credit system and through the issuance of loans also has very great importance. This year a premium loan was issued in the amount of 1.5 trillion Chinese dollars (or in food numbers in the amount of 375,000 tons) for economic development. The results of this loan are very good and we assume that this figure of the loan will be covered. As regards attracting private capital there are no results yet.

In the planning of the economy, although we do not have sufficient experience, and still do not have a clear plan, and there are shortcomings in communications between individual industrial sectors, however, if we apply all [our] efforts, especially in studying the experience of the Soviet comrades, then we will be able to overcome these difficulties and complete the task of planning. If the Soviet Union is able to help us solve the difficulties with regard to heavy machine tools, some special equipment, and special construction materials, give us help with their specialists in the field of economics, and with engineers and technicians, then we are confident that in three or four years we will be able to restore the industry of Manchuria to the level which it had under Manchukuo, fully take industry into our hands, and in some sectors even surpass the level of industry that Manchukuo had in the past.

We have recently paid the most serious attention to the fact that concealed spies and reactionaries at factories and mines have begun to step up their subversive activity in economic development.

After land reform the economy in the agriculture of Manchuria was very quickly restored. In three years the area of land being worked has increased (including neglected and virgin lands) by 2,116,818 xiang (a xiang is equal to 10,000 m²). Right now the entire area of land in Manchuria being worked has reached 17,222,000 xiang and lacks only a little more than two million xiang to reach the highest amount of land that was worked under Manchukuo, that is, the amount of 19,390,000 xiang. The yield has also increased. In 1947 1,500 ding (a ding is equal to 456 grams) of harvest was collected from each xiang; in 1948, 1,920 ding, and in 1949, with the lack of any special calamities it is expected to gather 2,000 ding from each xiang, that is, the yield from each xiang from Manchukuo times before 15 August 1945 will be achieved. If there are no special calamities then in 1949 it is expected to gather a harvest of 16,300,000 tons in Manchuria, that is, 1,700,000 tons short of the highest harvest yield under Manchukuo, which was 18,000,000 tons a year. The restoration of animal husbandry is going relatively more slowly. There is a total of 4,445,774 head of horses, cows, mules, and oxen in Manchuria. It turns out that there is one horse for every 5-8 xiang if one counts the number of horses as 2,984,257 head. However, the percentage of mortality among livestock is nevertheless great and therefore the number of draft animals is still insufficient. The production of industrial crops is just being restored. In Manchukuo times there were 220,000 xiang of cotton planted. This year we will be able to plant only 124,000 xiang, which is insufficient to meet the needs of the textile industry of Manchuria. The production of the subsidiary plots of the peasants in Manchuria is 20% of total agricultural production. In recent years the

subsidiary plots have developed comparatively faster and have rendered substantial aid in the improvement of the peasants' lives. Government monetary and food loans and a policy of various incentives have also facilitated the restoration and development of the economy in the countryside.

The lives of the overwhelming majority of the peasantry have improved in connection with the economic revival in the countryside after land reform. This year the production activity of the peasants has improved considerably and many poor peasants have already become middle peasants. The seeds of a new class stratification in the countryside and new kulaks have also appeared. Of the poor peasants who have received land and livestock an insignificant number have gone broke, and lost the land and livestock. Many working peasants who received land have left for factories and mines as a consequence of the development of industry in the cities. New relations have also appeared in the area of leases and loans. The organizations of mutual labor aid in which the peasants have been exchanging farm implements and helping one another in work for some time have proliferated comparatively greatly among the peasants in connection with the atomization in agriculture. Rural consumer cooperatives which sell manufactured and buy up agricultural goods have also proliferated. However, in connection with insufficient attention to these organizations from the management, the number of these organizations is small and their organizational quality is not at the proper level. Those landowners and kulaks who suffered during land reform can be divided into three categories: some who well understood themselves that there was no longer a return to the past and actively join in production in order to make a fortune and get rich; others who still nourish the hope of a return to the past and reluctantly join in production in order to maintain their lives; and still others who, to be sure are not many, use each suitable occasion to get in touch with Guomindang intelligence and pursue subversive activity. They recently used feudal religious organizations with this purpose to implement their reactionary plot. With respect to agriculture we are holding to a policy of mobilizing all the peasants to take an active part in agricultural production and for the Government to give the poor peasantry all sorts of assistance in order to raise the labor productivity of the peasants, improve the lives of the overwhelming majority of the peasants, and at the same time for the peasants to organize mutual assistance in work as they wish, organize and develop rural consumer cooperatives, but small-scale peasant economics are combined with the state economy. We are not interfering administratively in the development of capitalism in the countryside. With respect to the landowners and kulaks who suffered we are holding to this principle: if you want to work, work, if you don't want to work, we'll force [you], but with respect to the reactionaries we will take measures of repression and liquidation.

With respect to agriculture for 1950-1951 we are providing for the restoration of the planted area and the production of crops to the very highest level which Manchukuo had. We still have much to do in the area of the development of agricultural technology and crops, in the expansion of the planting of industrial crops, especially cotton and bean plants, in the development of subsidiary plots and animal husbandry, especially an increase of the number of horses and cows, and also the matter of halting the morbidity of livestock and the improvement of the irrigation system. The plan for the agricultural development of Manchuria is the most important constituent part of the plan for the economic development of Manchuria.

This is the point of departure and our main task in the present economic development of Manchuria.

3. Economic development is inseparable from other areas of work. First of all, it is tied to cultural development in the closest manner.

Right now there are 208 secondary schools in Manchuria with 162,727 students. There are 28 higher specialized educational institutions with 35,097 students.

However, although the number of students is greater compared to the Manchukuo period, the cultural level of the students is still very low. For three years study in the secondary and higher educational institutions of Manchuria has chiefly had as its goal to give the students a political education in the shortest possible period and to send them to military and political work on the conclusion of the course. There are more than 50,000 such students mobilized for work. Right now more time will be needed to train specialists for economic development. We are just applying efforts toward normalization, specialization, and differentiation in the schools by professional categories and we are placing [our] main reliance on training personnel for economic development. However, difficulties are being encountered with instructors, educational materials, textbooks, and training equipment. Therefore in future work [we] will have to apply much more effort to overcome these difficulties.

Right now military forces are being formed anew to protect economic and cultural development.

At the present time, of the armed combat forces left in Manchuria there are eight infantry divisions (two of them Korean) with a total strength of 82,094 men, five cavalry divisions, and three cavalry regiments (two Chinese and one Mongolian) with a total strength of 11,061 men; and four artillery regiments (two anti-aircraft and two heavy artillery), numbering 6,076 men. There are still 13 regiments of the second line, numbering 34,219 men, which are designated to replenish the above eight divisions.

In addition, there are the military political academy, the combat engineer school, artillery, naval, and aviation schools, an automotive school, a quartermaster school, a signals school, and topographic school, and courses to train special workers. There are a total of 17,061 men in these schools. There are 37,045 in rear establishments, including the military district, the military industry directorate, and the directorate of the quartermaster service. Thirty-nine thousand, three hundred and sixty-three men are engaged in all the military establishments. The task right now is to create a modern army for the defense of the country from the 130,000-man-plus combat army, and to strengthen the cultural, technical, and political education in the army, carry out strict military training, create a regular system and organization, eliminate guerilla warfare so that the army becomes a regular one. It has been decided to join training establishments together into one infantry school except military and naval schools. [Translator's note: according to a bilingual native speaker the first half of this sentence is "too erroneous to be translated correctly". I have translated it as best I can from context] A needed improvement in the equipment of schools and a strengthening of the leadership of the schools are required in order to train military and technical personnel to a suitable modern level, and to pay special attention to the training of aviators and artillerymen.

After peace and unity were established seeds of bureaucratic tendencies appeared in government bodies and cities and villages, and there were also noticed many cases of moral decay and bribery. Therefore for today it is especially important to fight manifestations of bureaucratism, decay, and bribery by reviving meetings of people's representatives in the cities and villages, the organization of popular democracy, and the enlistment of workers and peasants in active participation in government bodies so that they learn to manage and control their own country. We have still done very little in this regard. Very hazy ideas have appeared among senior officials and among the masses in connection with our victory over the enemy, the enemy's shift from a legal to an illegal fight, and other reasons about how after victory there would no longer be a class struggle or they turn a blind eye to this. Consequently revolutionary vigilance has weakened or has been totally lost. In reality, according to the information of the state security organs 1,634 Guomindang spies and saboteurs are still hiding in Manchuria and there are still many of these spies whom we have not yet uncovered. Not at all long ago spies of American imperialism and the Guomindang were infiltrated into Manchuria from South Korea and the Guomindang regions. These

spies are engaged in subversive activity on railroads and other important enterprises. They have been especially active recently and their subversive activity in the area of agricultural production with the aid of religious organizations has spread comparatively more. Considering the new conditions we are instilling in our personnel a spirit in heightening vigilance and are shifting the focus of their work to industrial enterprises and mines, medium-sized and large cities, and also to railroads and seaports. There are 62,910 state security troops in all of Manchuria.

Trade unions have extremely great importance in economic development. Unfortunately, at the present time only 35% of the workers of enterprises are in trade unions and still fewer workers of private enterprises. Trade unions have achieved some results in the matter of the management of worker's organizations and competitions of workers' trade unions, but this management is insufficiently specific. Trade unions pay attention to the improvement of worker's lives, however all the same there exist tendencies toward wage-leveling in the payment of workers. Insufficient attention is still paid to close ties between the improvement of worker's lives and raising labor productivity. Trade unions pay much attention to the abstract political education of workers and stimulate the cultural and technical education of the workers little. There are insufficiently close ties between the trade unions and working masses.

Right now in Manchuria a new democratic organization of youth among manual laborers, students, and office workers has begun to be created in the cities. There are a total of 60,000 members in the youth organization right now. Youth organizations have only just begun to be created in important rural localities. Members of the youth organization have organized lively activity among workers, and in institutions and schools of the cities of Manchuria.

Some words about the Party. The central task of the Manchurian Party organization at the present time is: how to manage all the Party comrades, and [how] to switch from a policy of "overthrowing the old government" to a policy of economic development. The greatest difficulty for us in this regard is the lack of experience in economic development, mainly in the cities. We are not at all experienced in questions of industry, trade, finance, money, cooperatives, etc. We do not have enough specialists for economic development, and insufficient knowledge in modern science and culture. The only solution is to try our utmost to gain knowledge in practical work and learn from the Soviet Union.

There are 360,711 Party members in Manchuria at the present time. Of them, 26,710 are workers, 60,546 are in the army, 74,165 are in Party and administrative institutions, and 199,290 are in rural localities. Hence it is obvious that the number of Party members in rural localities is large and the number of Party members among the workers is extremely small. In some regions work to enlist new Party members from among the workers still has been insufficiently organized. In rural localities the growth of Party members is also not going evenly. In Northern Manchuria Party cells have already been created in more than 2/3 of the villages of all the provinces and the number of Party members there is already 2% of the total population, but in Southern Manchuria there are no Party organizations in 2/3 of the villages of all the provinces, and in places where there are Party members the Party members constitute only .005 of the population. Therefore it is extremely important to plan work in the matter of enlisting Party members, especially from among the workers.

Recently the CCP CC sent 16,000 Party workers to Manchuria to work in the newly liberated regions of China. Three thousand four hundred and sixty of them are senior Party workers when they arrived from China. Right now very few senior Party workers have remained in China, especially as few are left who have cultural and scientific knowledge and will be able to deal with economic work. At the present time a quite small number of the senior Party cadre in Manchuria who are holding economic posts know their business. Every measure is being taken right now to educate the new

Party cadre, however, all this lags far behind the objective needs of the current period. Marxist-Leninist ideology is still being insufficiently cultivated in the Party ranks. Party members and senior officials still display insufficient interest in theoretical knowledge. Guidance from the Party is also insufficient in this respect. Party schools are functioning in all provinces and the main goal of these schools is the instruction of low-level personnel.

These are the questions and the state of the main work in the matter of economic development in Manchuria.

17 June 1949

Authenticated: [signed:] Andreyev [typed:] (S. P. Andreyev)

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