

**ELECTORAL LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
OF CHINA FOR THE ALL-CHINA PEOPLE'S  
CONGRESS AND LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES  
OF ALL LEVELS**

**AND**

**AN EXPLANATION OF THE ELECTORAL LAW**

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# ELECTORAL LAW OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF CHINA FOR THE ALL-CHINA PEOPLE'S CONGRESS AND LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES OF ALL LEVELS

## CHAPTER I GENERAL PROVISIONS

### Article 1

The All-China People's Congress and local people's congresses of all levels of the People's Republic of China shall be elected by the people of all nationalities on the basis of universal suffrage in accordance with Article 12 of the Common Programme of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference.

### Article 2

Deputies to the All-China People's Congress; deputies to the people's congress of a province, county, *hsiang* (or town); deputies to the people's congress of a municipality, district under a municipality, and deputies to the people's congress of a national autonomous region shall be elected in accordance with the existing divisions of administrative areas.

### Article 3

Deputies to the All-China People's Congress and deputies to the people's congress of a province, county or municipality with districts under it, shall be elected by the people's congress of the respective next lower level. Deputies to the people's congress of a *hsiang*, town, district under a municipality, or a municipality without districts under it, shall be elected directly by the electors.

### Article 4

All citizens of the People's Republic of China who have reached the age of eighteen shall have the right to elect and to be elected irrespective of nationality or race, sex, occupation, social origin, religion, education, property status, or residence.

Women shall have the right to elect and to be elected on equal terms with men.

### Article 5

Any one of the following shall have no right to elect and to be elected:

- (1) Elements of the landlord class whose status has not yet been changed according to law;
- (2) Counter-revolutionaries who have been deprived of political rights according to law;

- (3) Others who have been deprived of political rights according to law;
- (4) Insane persons.

### Article 6

Each elector shall have one vote only.

### Article 7

The people's armed forces and oversea-Chinese may conduct separate elections. Regulations governing such elections shall be made separately.

### Article 8

Election expenses for the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses of all levels shall be disbursed by the national treasury.

## CHAPTER II NUMBER OF DEPUTIES TO LOCAL PEOPLE'S CONGRESSES OF ALL LEVELS

### SECTION 1

#### HSIANG AND TOWNS

### Article 9

Number of deputies to the people's congress of a *hsiang* or town:

A *hsiang* or town with a population of not more than 2,000 shall elect fifteen to twenty deputies; with a population of more than 2,000, twenty to thirty-five deputies.

A *hsiang* or town with an exceptionally small population may elect less than fifteen, but not less than seven deputies; a *hsiang* or town with an exceptionally large population may elect more than thirty-five, but not more than fifty deputies.

### SECTION 2

#### COUNTIES

### Article 10

Number of deputies to the people's congress of a county:

A county with a population of not more than 200,000 shall elect 100 to 200 deputies; with a population of more than two hundred thousand, 200 to 350 deputies.

A county where the population and the number of *hsiang* is exceptionally small shall elect less than 100, but not less than thirty deputies; a county where the population and the number of *hsiang* is exceptionally large shall elect more than 350, but not more than 450 deputies.

#### Article 11

Number of deputies to be elected from a *hsiang* to a county people's congress:

A *hsiang* with a population of not more than 2,000 shall elect one deputy; with a population exceeding 2,000 and up to 6,000, two deputies; with a population of more than 6,000, three deputies. In counties where the population and the number of *hsiang* is exceptionally small, each *hsiang* where the population is below 2,000 may nevertheless elect two deputies.

One deputy shall be elected for every 500 of the population in cities and towns under a county and in important industrial and mining districts within the boundaries of a county. One deputy may nevertheless be elected in those places where the population is less than 500 but more than 250. A city or town under a county where the population and number of towns is exceptionally large may elect one deputy for every 1,000 of the population.

#### Article 12

The number of deputies to be elected from the people's armed forces to a county people's congress shall be from one to five.

### SECTION 3 PROVINCES

#### Article 13

Number of deputies to a provincial people's congress:

A province with a population of not more than twenty million shall elect from 100 to 400 deputies; with a population of more than twenty million, from 400 to 500 deputies. In a province where the population and the number of counties is exceptionally small, the number of deputies may be less than 100 but not less than fifty; where the population and the number of counties is exceptionally large, the number of deputies may exceed 500 but be not more than 600.

#### Article 14

Number of deputies to be elected from a county to a provincial people's congress:

A county with a population of not more than 200,000 shall elect one to three deputies; a county with a population exceeding 200,000 and up to 600,000 shall elect two to four deputies; a county with a population of more than 600,000 shall elect three to five deputies.

One deputy shall be elected for every 20,000 of the population in cities and towns under a province and in important industrial and mining districts within the boundaries of a province. One deputy may nevertheless be elected in those places where the population is less than 20,000 but more than 10,000.

#### Article 15

The number of deputies to be elected from the people's armed forces to a provincial people's congress shall be from three to fifteen.

### SECTION 4 MUNICIPALITIES

#### Article 16

Number of deputies to a municipal people's congress:

A municipality with a population of not more than 100,000 shall elect one deputy for every 500 to 1,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 100,000 and up to 350,000 shall elect one deputy for every 1,000 to 2,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 350,000 and up to 750,000 shall elect one deputy for every 2,000 to 3,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 750,000 and up to 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 3,000 to 5,000 persons; a municipality with a population exceeding 1,500,000 shall elect one deputy for every 5,000 to 7,000 persons.

The number of deputies to a municipal people's congress shall be not less than fifty and not more than 800. The number of persons represented by a deputy from a municipal suburban district shall be greater than the number of persons represented by a deputy from a municipal urban district.

#### Article 17

The number of deputies to be elected from the people's armed forces to a municipal people's congress shall be from two to ten.

#### Article 18

Number of deputies to the people's congress of a district under a municipality:

One deputy shall be elected for every 500 to 2,000 of the population, but the total number of deputies shall be not less than thirty-five and not more than 200.

### CHAPTER III NUMBER OF DEPUTIES TO THE ALL-CHINA PEOPLE'S CONGRESS

#### Article 19

Deputies to the All-China People's Congress shall be elected by the people's congresses of provinces,

municipalities directly under the Central People's Government, industrial municipalities with a population of more than 500,000 directly under a provincial government, by national minority administrative units directly under the Central People's Government, by the people's armed forces and by the oversea-Chinese.

#### Article 20

The number of deputies to be elected from a province to the All-China People's Congress shall be on the basis of one deputy for every 800,000 persons. The number of deputies from a province with an exceptionally small population shall be not less than three.

The number of deputies to be elected to the All-China People's Congress from a municipality directly under the Central People's Government and from an industrial municipality with a population of more than 500,000 directly under a provincial government shall be on the basis of one deputy for every 100,000 persons.

#### Article 21

The national minorities throughout the country shall elect 150 deputies to the All-China People's Congress.

#### Article 22

The people's armed forces shall elect sixty deputies to the All-China People's Congress.

#### Article 23

The oversea-Chinese shall elect thirty deputies to the All-China People's Congress.

### CHAPTER IV

#### ELECTIONS AMONG NATIONAL MINORITIES

#### Article 24

In deciding on the distribution of the 150 deputies to be elected to the All-China People's Congress by the national minorities throughout the country, the Central People's Government shall take into consideration the size of the population, distribution and other such factors relating to the national minorities.

Notwithstanding the provisions of the preceding paragraph national minority electors who are elected as deputies to the All-China People's Congress shall not be included in the figure of 150 hereinbefore mentioned.

#### Article 25

Election of national minority deputies to the All-China People's Congress:

Deputies from a national minority administrative unit directly under the Central People's Government shall be elected by the administrative unit; deputies

of a national minority in any other area shall be elected by the provincial or municipal people's congress.

#### Article 26

The number of deputies to a local people's congress as stipulated in the articles of Chapter II of this Law includes national minority deputies.

#### Article 27

Every national minority wherever concentrated shall each have its own deputy or deputies to the local people's congress.

(1) Where the total population of a national minority concentrated in an area exceeds 10 per cent of the total population of the area, the number of persons represented by each of its deputies shall be approximately equal to the number of persons represented by each other deputy to the local people's congress as stipulated in the provisions concerning the number of deputies in Chapter II of this Law.

(2) Where the total population of a national minority concentrated in an area is less than 10 per cent of the total population of the area, the number of persons represented by each of its deputies may be correspondingly less than the number represented by each other deputy to the local people's congress but in principle it shall be not less than one half. But even where the population is exceptionally small, the national minority shall elect one deputy.

(3) Where in accordance with the preceding clause the number of deputies to a local people's congress exceeds the number stipulated in the articles of Chapter II of this Law, the case shall be submitted for approval to the people's government of a higher level.

#### Article 28

The number of deputies to the people's congresses in a national autonomous region shall be appropriately determined in accordance with the administrative status of the region and the size of its population and shall be submitted for approval to the people's government of the next higher level.

#### Article 29

Article 27 shall apply to elections to the people's congresses in a national autonomous region of deputies from among the other national minorities concentrated in the area.

Where Hans are concentrated in a national autonomous region and in areas where national minorities are concentrated, elections to the people's congresses of all levels of Han deputies shall be similarly governed by Article 27.

#### Article 30

Dispersed groupings of all national minorities may take part in the election of deputies to the

people's congresses of all levels. The number of their deputies shall be proportionate to the population. The number of persons represented by each national minority deputy may be less than the number of persons represented by each other deputy to the local people's congress but in general it shall be not less than one half.

Where Hans are dispersed in a national autonomous region and in areas where national minorities are concentrated, elections to the people's congresses of all levels of Han deputies shall be governed by the above paragraph.

#### Article 31

Deputies to the people's congresses in a national autonomous region equivalent to people's congresses in *hsiang*, towns, municipal districts and municipalities without districts shall be directly elected by the electors. Deputies to people's congresses of other levels shall be elected by the people's congresses of the next lower level.

The above paragraph shall apply to the election of national minority deputies to the people's congresses of all levels in localities where national minorities are concentrated.

#### Article 32

The election of deputies to people's congresses in *hsiang*, towns, municipal districts and municipalities without districts where national minorities reside may be carried out by the national minority electors separately or jointly according to existing relations between the nationalities and their residential distribution.

Where Hans are concentrated or dispersed in a national autonomous region and in areas where national minorities are concentrated, elections to the people's congresses of all levels of Han deputies shall be governed by the above paragraph.

#### Article 33

Other matters relating to elections among national minorities shall be dealt with by referring to the relevant articles of this Law.

#### Article 34

In those national minority areas where conditions for universal suffrage do not yet exist, methods of election shall be stipulated separately by the people's government of a higher level.

### CHAPTER V

### ELECTORAL COMMITTEES

#### Article 35

Central and local electoral committees of all levels shall be set up under the Central People's

Government and the local people's governments of all levels. The central and local electoral committees of all levels shall be the organs dealing with all matters pertaining to the election of the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses of all levels.

The Central Electoral Committee shall be appointed by the Central People's Government Council. The local electoral committees of all levels shall be appointed by the people's government of the next higher level.

#### Article 36

Composition of the Central Electoral Committee and the local electoral committees of all levels:

- (1) The Central Electoral Committee: one chairman and twenty-eight members;
- (2) Provincial (or municipal) electoral committees: one chairman and eight to twenty members;
- (3) Electoral committees at the level of municipalities under a province, districts under a municipality, and counties: one chairman and six to twelve members;
- (4) Electoral committees at *hsiang* (or town) level: one chairman and four to eight members.

Staff for the central and local electoral committees of all levels shall be appointed by the electoral committees concerned.

#### Article 37

Functions of the Central Electoral Committee:

- (1) To direct and supervise the correct application of this Law throughout the country and to issue directives and decisions in accordance with the provisions of this Law;
- (2) To direct the work of the local electoral committees of all levels;
- (3) To prescribe the forms of the register of electors, electors' certificates and certificates of election to duly elected deputies of the people's congresses of all levels and the design of official seals of the electoral committees of all levels.
- (4) To deal with information concerning and charges of unlawful practices during elections and to decide on final measures to be taken;
- (5) To register the deputies duly elected to the All-China People's Congress, to publish a list of elected deputies and to issue them certificates of election.

#### Article 38

Functions of electoral committees at the level of province, county and municipality with districts:

- (1) To supervise the correct application of this Law in the areas under their respective jurisdictions;

(2) To direct the work of electoral committees at the lower levels;

(3) To deal with information concerning and charges of unlawful practices during elections in areas under their respective jurisdictions and to decide on measures to be taken;

(4) To register the deputies duly elected to the people's congresses at their corresponding levels, to publish lists of elected deputies and to issue them certificates of election.

#### Article 39

Functions of electoral committees at the level of *hsiang*, town, municipal district and municipality without districts:

(1) To supervise the correct application of this Law in the areas under their respective jurisdictions;

(2) To register the electors and to examine and publish the register of electors;

(3) To deal with objections to the register of electors in the areas under their respective jurisdictions and to decide on measures to be taken;

(4) To register and publish the list of candidates;

(5) To define the limits of electoral districts in accordance with the residential distribution of the electors;

(6) To fix the date and method of election and to convene and conduct election meetings;

(7) To issue electors' certificates;

(8) To count the ballot, determine who is elected, publish the list of deputies duly elected and issue them certificates of election.

#### Article 40

After an election an electoral committee shall transfer and give into the keeping of the people's government at the corresponding level all documents concerning the election and shall forthwith submit reports summing up the election to the people's government and to the electoral committee of a higher level.

#### Article 41

An electoral committee shall be dissolved after it has completed all its work.

### CHAPTER VI REGISTRATION OF ELECTORS

#### Article 42

An electoral committee of a *hsiang*, town, municipal district or municipality without districts shall register electors and issue them with electors' certificates before an election.

#### Article 43

An elector shall register once only.

#### Article 44

The register of electors shall be published thirty days before an election.

#### Article 45

An objector to the published register of electors may appeal to the electoral committee concerned, which committee shall make a decision within five days. An objector who is dissatisfied with any such decision may appeal to a people's tribunal or a people's court whose decision shall be final.

#### Article 46

An elector who changes his residence during the period of an election shall be transferred to the register of electors of the district he moves to after he has obtained a transfer certificate from the electoral committee of his former place of residence.

### CHAPTER VII NOMINATION OF CANDIDATES FOR ELECTION

#### Article 47

A candidate for election as deputy to the All-China People's Congress or local people's congress shall be nominated for an electoral district or electoral unit.

The Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties, the various people's organisations and electors or representatives who are not affiliated to the above-mentioned parties or organisations may all nominate candidates for election as deputies either jointly or separately for electoral districts or electoral units.

#### Article 48

A candidate for election as deputy to the All-China People's Congress or a local people's congress shall be eligible for election only in one electoral unit or in one electoral district.

#### Article 49

In electing deputies to a people's congress of a higher level, a local people's congress shall not limit the list of candidates for election to its deputies.

#### Article 50

The list of candidates shall be published in advance.

#### Article 51

An elector may vote in accordance with the list of candidates or for any other elector he may choose.

## CHAPTER VIII PROCEDURE OF ELECTIONS

### Article 52

Election of deputies to the people's congress of a *hsiang*, town, municipal district or municipality without districts shall be held at a fixed date in accordance with the decision of the people's government of a higher level.

### Article 53

Election of deputies to the people's congress of a *hsiang*, town, municipal district or municipality without districts shall be held at election meetings called separately in the various districts defined in accordance with the residential distribution of the electors.

### Article 54

An election meeting in a *hsiang*, town, municipal district or municipality without districts shall be held only in the presence of a representative of the electoral committee concerned. The presidium of an electoral meeting shall comprise three persons: the representative of the electoral committee shall be *ex-officio* chairman of the presidium; the other two members shall be elected at the meeting.

A local people's congress in electing deputies to a people's congress of the next higher level shall be presided over by its own presidium.

### Article 55

The election of deputies to the people's congress of a *hsiang*, town, municipal district or municipality without districts and the election of *hsiang* or town deputies to a county people's congress may be done by a show of hands or by secret ballot. Election of a people's congress above the county level shall be done by secret ballot.

An elector who is unable to write because of illiteracy or infirmity may ask any other elector to record his vote for him.

### Article 56

At an election meeting or people's congress, an election shall be held only when more than half of the electors or deputies are present. If the number of electors or deputies present is less than the required quorum, the electoral committee or the presidium shall fix a date for the convening of another meeting to proceed with the election. At the second meeting the election shall be held even if the number of electors or deputies present is less than half of the total.

### Article 57

When the voting is over, scrutineers elected by the meeting shall check the number of voters and

votes and draw up a report to be signed by the chairman of the meeting.

### Article 58

An election shall be invalid if the number of votes cast is more than the number of voters. It shall be valid if the number of votes cast is less than the number of voters.

A ballot shall be invalid if more candidates are voted for than the number stipulated. It shall be valid if fewer candidates are voted for than the number stipulated.

### Article 59

Candidates for election as deputies to a people's congress shall be elected if they receive more than half of the votes cast by the electors or deputies present. Another election shall be held if the number of votes received by the candidates is less than half of the number cast by the electors or deputies present.

### Article 60

Election returns shall be declared valid or invalid in accordance with this Law and announced by the electoral committee or the presidium.

### Article 61

During his tenure of office a deputy may be recalled and replaced in accordance with legal procedure if the majority of his voters or his electoral unit so desires.

## CHAPTER IX PUNISHMENT FOR SABOTAGING ELECTIONS

### Article 62

Unlawful practices such as violence, intimidation, fraud, bribery to sabotage an election or to prevent an elector from freely exercising his right to elect or to be elected shall be offences liable to punishment for a maximum period of two years to be imposed by a people's court or a people's tribunal.

### Article 63

Any member or employee of a people's government or an electoral committee who is found guilty of such offences as forgery of election documents, falsifying the number of votes, suppression of facts or deception shall be liable to punishment for a maximum period of three years to be imposed by a people's court or a people's tribunal.

### Article 64

All persons have the right to give information concerning and to bring charges of unlawful practices during an election before an electoral committee or

a judicial organ of a people's government. No organisation or individual shall suppress this right or take any measure in retaliation. Offenders shall be liable to punishment for a maximum period of three years to be imposed by a people's court or a people's tribunal.

## CHAPTER X SUPPLEMENTARY PROVISIONS

### Article 65

A provincial (or municipal) people's government may prescribe detailed regulations in accordance with

this Law for the carrying out of elections and shall submit such regulations to the Central People's Government for approval.

### Article 66

This Law shall be promulgated and put into effect upon adoption by the Central People's Government Council. The right of interpretation of this Law is invested in the Central Electoral Committee.

*This law was adopted by the twenty-second session of the Central People's Government Council on the eleventh of February, 1953.—Ed.*

# An Explanation on the Electoral Law

A report delivered at the twenty-second session of the Central People's Government Council on February 11, 1953

**Teng Hsiao-ping**

*Vice-Premier and member of the Committee for Drafting the Electoral Law*

**C**OMRADE Chairman, Members of the Council and Comrades:

The Central People's Government Council, at its twentieth session on January 13, 1953, adopted the "Resolution of the Central People's Government Council on the Convocation of the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of All Levels." It decided to convoke this year "the people's congresses, to be elected by universal suffrage at *hsiang*, county and provincial (municipal) levels, and on this basis to follow with the convocation of the All-China People's Congress." At the same time, it resolved to set up a Committee for Drafting the Electoral Law. This Committee started work immediately after it was set up in accordance with the aforementioned resolution. We took as our basis the provisions of the Common Programme of the People's Political Consultative Conference relating to the question of universal suffrage, studied actual conditions under the Chinese people's democratic dictatorship during the past three years and more, drew on the experience of Soviet elections, solicited opinions from various quarters and, as a result of numerous discussions and revisions, have completed a Draft Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and Local People's Congresses of All Levels. The Committee for Drafting the Electoral Law has now appointed me to explain

this draft and submit it for the examination and approval of the Council.

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**T**HE general spirit of the Draft Electoral Law is to provide a genuinely democratic electoral system based on the concrete conditions now prevailing in China.

In his book *On New Democracy* written in 1940, Chairman Mao Tse-tung pointed out:

"China can now adopt a system of people's congresses—the All-China People's Congress, provincial people's congresses, county people's congresses, district people's congresses, down to *hsiang* people's congresses, which will elect the governments at the various levels. But the system of really universal and equal suffrage, irrespective of sex, religion, property and education, must be put into practice thus giving its due position to each revolutionary class in the state, expressing the people's will, directing the revolutionary struggles, and conforming to the spirit of New Democracy."

The universal character of electoral rights in China is expressed in the provision of the Draft Electoral Law which declares that every citizen of the People's Republic of China who has reached the age of eighteen will have the right to elect and to be elected irrespective of nationality or race, sex, occupa-



tion, social origin, religion, education, property status or residence. To ensure that this universal election is carried out, an explicit provision is added specifying the right of women to elect and to be elected. Express and necessary provisions have also been made for the people of the various nationalities, the people's armed forces and oversea-Chinese. Of course, in our system of universal suffrage, it is necessary that the electoral rights of a section of the people must be restricted. The Draft thus provides that landlords whose class status has not yet been changed according to law, counter-revolutionaries and other elements who have been deprived of political rights according to law, and insane persons shall not be entitled to elect and to be elected. However, these few categories of those who have no right to elect and to be elected constitute a tiny fraction of the total population. This means that the electorate in our country will constitute a very high percentage of the whole population. Our elections will be universal in the true sense of the term. Without doubt, the people's congresses of all levels elected on the basis of such universal suffrage will be most broadly representative of the people. The Draft provides that all citizens who have reached the age of eighteen shall be eligible for election as deputies to the people's congresses of all levels. This is because under present conditions, there is everything in its favour and nothing against electing the best elements of the youth, rich in revolutionary vigour, courageous in criticism and self-criticism and in exposing bad elements and activities to the people's congresses of all levels, especially at the basic level of state power. Regarding restrictions on the electoral rights of a section of the people such as landlords whose class status has not yet been changed, this is, of course, a provisional measure inevitable in the present historical conditions. In the near future, when conditions have changed, the restrictions now enforced will become unnecessary.

Equality of electoral rights is shown in the articles of the Draft Electoral Law which provide that every man and woman may take part in elections on an equal basis and that each voter is entitled to one vote. In other words, as regards citizens who have reached the age of eighteen, there is no restriction on their electoral rights, and their equal democratic rights are fully assured. The Draft Electoral Law also provides for the number of deputies to the All-China People's Congress and local people's congresses of all levels and their election, based on a fixed proportion to the population. At the same time, the Draft gives adequate consideration to the different areas and electoral units and establishes a different proportion as between the cities and the rural districts and as between the Hans and the national minorities. These disparities in electoral proportions mean in

certain respects absence of complete equality. Nevertheless, only such provisions can truthfully reflect actual life in China; only by such provisions can all nationalities and classes in China be represented in the people's congresses commensurate with their position. Consequently, the provisions are not only reasonable but absolutely necessary in the transition to more equal and then to completely equal elections.

The Draft Electoral Law provides for all election expenses to be disbursed by the national treasury. This measure is important as a material safeguard ensuring that both electors and candidates will in practice enjoy their right of free elections.

In the nomination of candidates and the election of deputies, the Draft Electoral Law provides that electors shall have perfect freedom in choosing those whom they consider satisfactory and indispensable and that they have the right to recall and replace their elected deputies in accordance with legal procedure. Special procedure is prescribed for filing of objections relating to the registration of electors and for severe punishment for acts sabotaging elections.

All these provide full safeguards for electors to exercise freely their electoral rights.

The Draft Electoral Law provides for direct elections at the basic level of state power in *hsiang*, towns, municipal districts and in municipalities without districts, and for indirect elections from the county level and above. The secret ballot will be used only in elections at the county level and above. At the basic level of state power, the method of voting by a show of hands will generally be adopted. In other words, our electoral system is not yet completely direct and the method of balloting is not yet fully secret. This was decided because of actual conditions such as the present situation in Chinese society, the fact that many lack experience in elections, many are illiterate and so on. If we ignore these actual conditions and arbitrarily lay down a method of election now which may appear perfect in form but is actually impracticable, the results will do nothing good except to add to the difficulties of an election and in effect restrict the electoral rights of many citizens.

It must be stressed that the essence of our Electoral Law is democracy in practice. Conditions vary in different parts of the country; this is the first time we are carrying out such nation-wide elections, and experience is lacking both in the case of the leadership and the masses. For these reasons some of the present provisions have been made only in general terms. The solution to many specific questions relating to the elections is left to the provincial and municipal people's governments which will make detailed regulations for the conduct of elections so that all kinds of specific conditions can be taken into account. There is no doubt that this is the practical and work-

able method for fully safeguarding the people's democratic rights under present conditions.

It is true that our electoral system is not as perfect as the electoral system of the Soviet Union. Everybody knows that the Soviet electoral system at all stages has always been the most democratic in the world. This is particularly so since the promulgation of the Stalin Constitution in 1936, under which the system of universal, equal, direct and secret ballot is perfectly realised in the Soviet Union. It is the best electoral system in the world. As we develop politically, economically and culturally, we shall certainly come to adopt a more perfect electoral system like that of the Soviet Union.

Nevertheless, no electoral system of any capitalist country can compare with the electoral system which we have just drawn up. Elections were held in this country both in the period of the Peiyang warlords and during the Chiang Kai-shek regime, but in both cases the elections were rotten, both in substance and in form. It is unnecessary to go into details because we are all very familiar with the matter.

Some people in this country were fascinated by the European and American bourgeois electoral systems. Most of them now know the fraudulent nature of the false democracy of the European and American bourgeoisie. But there may probably be a few who have still failed to see it.

What are the facts? Take the United States of America for example. According to American official statistics, there are in the U.S.A. more than fifty kinds of qualifications for electors (such as property, residence, education, higher voting age, religion, "good reputation," etc.).

The "election tax" or "poll tax" in the United States deprives the masses of poor, labouring people and the Negroes of the right to vote. According to 1942 figures, only 10 per cent of the Negroes above the age of twenty-one in the U.S.A. were in the register of electors, while only 1 per cent went to the polls.

As a result of the various restrictions, in the 1948 U.S. presidential election twenty million qualified voters were unreasonably deprived of the franchise, while in the presidential election of last year, according to an estimate made by the Associated Press, the figure would reach twenty-five million, that is, roughly one-fourth of the total number of people of voting age.

The above only refers to the right to vote. The right to be elected is completely controlled in the U.S.A. by a handful of multimillionaires. And this is true not only of the U.S.A. but also, in the last analysis, of the other capitalist countries. In many capitalist countries, women and people on active military service are totally or partially excluded from elections, while restrictions of nationality and race are also arbitrarily imposed. In some countries,

membership of the upper chambers is still by appointment or inheritance.

In capitalist countries, candidates have often to pay a large deposit and to bear the election expenses. This puts poor people on a completely unequal footing with the rich in the nomination of candidates.

Besides, the bourgeoisie practises bribery and uses its money to indulge in political bargaining and other corrupt practices in order to achieve its aim of monopolising the elections.

It is clear that the bourgeois electoral system can only be intended as a safeguard for the bourgeois system of exploitation and national oppression. It will never allow the people the right to be masters of the country. Even the pretentious and showy, formal trappings with which the bourgeoisie adorns its electoral system serve the purpose merely of deceiving the people and maintaining the rule of the privileged.

The capitalist countries can have no real democracy, nor do they dare to give genuine democracy to the people. As Lenin said: "Bourgeois democracy . . . remains, and under capitalism cannot but remain, restricted, truncated, false and hypocritical, a paradise for the rich and a snare and a deception for the exploited, for the poor."

But it is well known that even this hypocritical bourgeois democracy is being discarded step by step by the bourgeoisie in the capitalist countries, especially in the U.S.A. and in the countries under U.S. domination. In those countries, precisely as Comrade Stalin said, "Now not a trace remains of this liberalism."

In contrast with the capitalist countries, ours is a country where the people rule; our state power belongs to the people. All the people have the right to send their own representatives to manage the affairs of the state, while they themselves have every right and opportunity of constantly supervising the work of the state organs. Thus, the more fully we develop democracy, the more consolidated will be the people's democratic dictatorship, the closer will be the contact between the people's government and the people and the better will the government be able to fulfil every one of the concrete tasks of the state on the basis of the full development of the people's initiative.

This is the fundamental reason why our electoral system is fully democratic. This is the fundamental reason why our electoral system is hundreds of times superior to the bourgeois electoral system.

## II

**I**T is laid down in the Common Programme that "the state power of the People's Republic of China belongs to the people. The people's congresses and the people's governments of all levels are the organs

for the exercise of state power by the people." It is also stipulated in the Organic Law of the Central People's Government that "the Government of the People's Republic of China is a government of the people's congress system based on the principle of democratic centralism." In line with these provisions, people's congresses of all levels—organs for the exercise of state power by the people—will be elected on the basis of universal suffrage. Chapters II and III of the Draft Electoral Law prescribe the number of deputies to the people's congresses of all levels.

The number has been determined according to two principles. In the first place, the people's congresses must be competent working organs of state power which are in a position to call meetings and discuss and solve problems; secondly, they must have close ties with the people. The democratic classes in society and the various nationalities or races should be represented in the people's congresses commensurate with their respective status. At the same time, regional representative has also been taken into account. This will ensure that deputies at all times will be able to reflect the situation among the various nationalities, classes and areas and speedily transmit the resolutions of the people's congresses to the people of the nationalities, classes and areas, so that every resolution may be transformed into practical action by all the people.

In accordance with these principles, we consider that it is undesirable to have too many deputies in the state organs at the basic level of *hsiang*, towns and municipal districts. As intervals between sessions will be brief and the practical problems many, if we have too many deputies, it would make it difficult for them to discuss and solve problems in detail and would take too much time and energy. Therefore, the Draft Electoral Law provides that the number of deputies from each *hsiang* and town shall, in general, be from fifteen to thirty-five, and from each municipal district, from thirty-five to 200. This is adequate. When it is carried out, deputies from *hsiang*, towns and municipal districts with large populations may find it comparatively difficult to maintain close touch with the larger number of people they represent, but this can be solved by suitable means.

We also consider that it is undesirable to have too many deputies to the county people's congress because the problems they will be dealing with will be quite concrete, the number of meetings in a year will not be few, and they may also sometimes have to hold special meetings. It will, therefore, be inconvenient to have too large a number of deputies. The Draft Electoral Law provides in general that the number of deputies to the county people's congress shall be from 100 to 350 and may reach 450 in special cases, because some counties have a specially large

number of *hsiang* and each *hsiang* must be represented.

The number of deputies to the provincial and municipal people's congresses has been fixed comparatively high. This is because a province or municipality covers a relatively large territory and handles bigger problems. There has to be a suitable number of deputies so as to include deputies from all fields and districts to handle the rather complex problems. This will not cause much inconvenience although the number of deputies will be comparatively large because meetings of the provincial people's congresses will not be so frequent; and as to the municipal people's congresses it will be easy for them to call meetings. The Draft Electoral Law provides that the number of deputies to the provincial people's congress shall in general be from 100 to 500, and may reach 600 in special cases. The number of deputies to the municipal people's congress shall be not less than fifty and not more than 800. This is adequate.

Calculated on the basis of Chapter III of the Draft Electoral Law, the total number of deputies to the All-China People's Congress will be approximately 1,200. Though a little less than the total number of deputies of the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R., this is far larger than that of the parliament of any other country. This is appropriate for a country like ours under the present conditions.

It should be pointed out that in most cases the number of deputies to the people's congresses of all levels as laid down in the Draft Electoral Law is less, or even much less, than the number of representatives to the present people's representative conferences of all circles. A larger number of deputies would make it inconvenient for the people's congresses to exercise their powers and functions although they would help in the work of publicity, in mobilising the masses and training cadres.

It should also be noted that the number of deputies to the provincial and county people's congresses has been fixed rather flexibly in the Draft Electoral Law. For example, the number of deputies in provinces with a population below twenty million will be from 100 to 400. This is because there is a difference in the number of the population in the different provinces and counties, in the number of units under their jurisdiction, in the distribution of the nationalities and in the ratio between the urban and rural population. The Draft had to take into consideration conditions in the different areas and, in prescribing the number of deputies, allow appropriate flexibility suitable to these conditions.

In line with the afore-mentioned stipulations, the Draft prescribes the number of deputies to be elected for the people's congresses.

It prescribes the number of deputies to be elected from different areas on the basis of population, while,

at the same time, account is taken of regional needs. Election of deputies to the people's congresses in *hsiang*, towns and municipal districts is based entirely on population. This means that deputies in the people's congress of a *hsiang*, town or municipal district will each represent an equal number of persons. At the county and provincial level, consideration has to be given to the fact that every *hsiang* or county subordinated thereto must be represented and also that the total number of deputies in the people's congresses is limited. It is therefore provided that the number of deputies to be elected to a county people's congress from the biggest *hsiang* shall not be more than three and the deputies to be elected to a provincial people's congress from the biggest county shall not be more than from three to five. The number of deputies to be elected to the All-China People's Congress is also based on population, while account is taken of regions and units. Naturally, the number of deputies from provinces and municipalities with large populations will be far greater than the number from provinces and municipalities with small populations. At the same time, the Draft also gives special consideration to the smallest provinces, prescribing that the number of deputies of any one province shall be not less than three. In fact, most of the small provinces are located in the Northeast, Northwest and Southwest. Most of those in the Northeast will be compensated by representation of their industrial cities. Most of those in the Northwest and Southwest will be compensated by representation of their national minorities. So on the average the number of deputies from these provinces will not be small. For instance, the number of deputies from Sinkiang and Kansu will be equal to that from Shensi. Five deputies will be elected from Ningsia with a population of only just over 900,000 people. The above, we think, is reasonable.

The Draft provides that deputies elected from cities will represent a different number of the population from those elected from the rural areas. It stipulates that in a province a deputy is to be elected to the All-China People's Congress for every 800,000 persons; while in industrial cities a deputy is to be elected for every 100,000. Similar provisions have been made regarding election of deputies to the provincial, municipal and county people's congresses. Municipalities are political, economic and cultural centres where workers and industries are concentrated. The provision that the number of persons represented by each deputy will vary between city and rural area in fact reflects the leading role played by the working class in the state and, at the same time, indicates our country's development towards industrialisation. Thus, this provision fully corresponds to the political system and the actual

conditions in our country and is entirely necessary and correct.

The Draft prescribes an appropriate number of deputies to the people's congresses of all levels from the national minorities and the people's armed forces. It also provides that thirty deputies are to be elected to the All-China People's Congress from oversea-Chinese, totalling some eleven million people. This reflects the special concern of the Motherland for the oversea-Chinese. It should be pointed out also that although the Draft does not prescribe the number of women deputies, special consideration should be given to electing an appropriate number of women deputies to the people's congresses. A people's congress cannot be considered widely representative if it does not have an appropriate number of women deputies.

As already mentioned, the people's congress of all levels elected according to the provisions of the Electoral Law will truly reflect the actual situation and class relations in our country. The various nationalities and classes are enabled to send an appropriate number of deputies commensurate with their respective status to the people's congresses, which will thus be widely representative. Such people's congresses will reflect and bring together the requirements of the various nationalities and thus fully guarantee the interests of the entire people under the leadership of the working class.

### III

**T**HE Draft Electoral Law has devoted a special chapter to elections among the national minorities.

Ours is a big country with many nationalities. The people of all nationalities have contributed—some more, some less—to the building of the Motherland. As a result of the full application of the policy towards nationalities of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China during the past three years and more, the situation wherein national oppression and national discrimination long existed in old China has been fundamentally changed and genuine national equality has been or is being achieved. Thus the People's Republic of China has become a big family of friendship and co-operation among all its nationalities. Undoubtedly, our Electoral Law should reflect the relations of friendship and solidarity among the nationalities and consolidate these relations.

The national minorities total about one-fourteenth of the country's population. The Draft provides that the number of their representatives to the All-China People's Congress shall be 150. Furthermore, besides this fixed number, if yet more national minority electors are elected as deputies to the All-China People's Congress, they will not be included in the 150.

Thus, we estimate that the number of deputies from the national minorities to the All-China People's Congress will actually be nearer one-seventh of the total number of deputies. We believe that this provision is reasonable. As there are numerous national groups extensively distributed throughout the country, it is necessary to give them special consideration so as to enable the national minorities to have an adequate number of deputies in the All-China People's Congress.

For the same reasons, the number of deputies from the national minorities to the local people's congresses had also to be prescribed in the same spirit.

That is why the Draft provides: "Every national minority wherever concentrated shall each have its own deputy or deputies to the local people's congress."

This is also the reason for the provision in the Draft that "where the total population of a national minority concentrated in an area is less than 10 per cent of the total population of the area, the number of persons represented by each of its deputies may be correspondingly less than the number represented by each other deputy to the local people's congress but in principle it shall be not less than one half."

Suppose there is a county with a population of 100,000 and it is stipulated that every 1,000 persons shall elect one deputy: If the population of a certain national minority concentrated in an area is less than 10,000, then they may elect deputies, each of whom may represent less than 1,000, but not less than 500 persons.

However, this provision is unsuitable for places where the national minority population is relatively large. In Kwangsi, for instance, the total population of the province is approximately twenty million, of whom over eight million are national minorities. If this provision were applied, then the Hans electing one deputy per 100,000 would elect 120 deputies while the national minorities, electing one deputy per 50,000 would elect 160 deputies. This would obviously be unreasonable. Therefore the Draft also provides: "where the total population of a national minority concentrated in an area exceeds 10 per cent of the total population of the area, the number of persons represented by each of its deputies shall be approximately equal to the number of persons represented by each other deputy to the local people's congress . . . ."

Since the population of the various national minorities varies in number and they are widely distributed in areas, some being densely and some thinly populated, the election of national minority deputies to the people's congresses should be based on the situation among the national minorities of the areas

within the respective jurisdictions of the people's congresses. A unified method of taking a census of the population and working out the distribution of deputies to be elected should be adopted so as to avoid errors arising from mismanagement.

As different conditions have been fully taken into account in the Draft, it therefore only makes general provisions for elections among the various nationalities. Concrete measures concerning the election and the distribution of deputies will be prescribed by the people's governments of all levels and by the electoral committees on the basis of the local conditions.

Undoubtedly the various articles concerning elections among national minorities provided in the Electoral Law will be enthusiastically supported by all the national minorities. The Electoral Law will greatly consolidate the results of national unity achieved in the past three years. It will enable all nationalities throughout the country to make further progress in the political, economic and cultural fields under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China.

#### IV

**T**HE sixth, seventh, eighth and ninth chapters of the Draft Electoral Law make specific provisions regarding the procedure and methods of election. These fully guarantee the rights of electors during elections.

The Draft Electoral Law provides that after electors have been registered and the lists made public, any objector to a published list of electors may appeal to the electoral committee concerned which must make a decision within five days. If the objector is dissatisfied with the decision, he may bring the case to a people's court. This will ensure careful handling of the registration of electors by the people's governments and the electoral committees at the basic level. At the same time, the Draft provides that the lists of electors shall be made public thirty days before an election. This will give objectors ample opportunity to file appeals or charges and give the electoral committees and the people's courts more time to deal satisfactorily with the appeals and charges relating to qualifications of electors.

The Draft Electoral Law provides that the Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties, the various people's organisations and electors or representatives who are not affiliated with the above-mentioned parties or organisations may nominate, jointly or singly, lists of candidates for electoral districts or electoral units. Of course, joint nomination by the Communist Party of China, the various democratic parties and the various people's organisations in fact should be and can be the main form for submitting lists of candidates to the people's congresses. However, it is provided also that electors or

deputies have the right to nominate candidates separately, so that electors or deputies will have more opportunities to voice their opinions. Under present conditions this is all to the good. On the basis of experience acquired in past elections, the lists of candidates must be made public in advance after they are submitted so that exhaustive discussion can be held among groups of electors in electoral districts at the basic level and among groups of deputies in the people's congresses. Through such democratic discussion, the electors will be able to know the facts about the candidates and form their opinions on the suitability of individual candidates which will serve as the basis for revising the lists of candidates before the elections. The Draft also provides that at an election, electors may cast their votes according to the lists of candidates or may also vote for other electors of their own choice. By this procedure the opinions of the electors can be fully expressed and the election completely successful.

The Draft Electoral Law provides that at the basic level, *hsiang*, towns, municipal districts and municipalities without districts may be divided into a number of electoral districts according to the residential distribution of the electors for the holding of separate election meetings and elections, so that polling may be held near the homes of the electors. This will make it convenient for all electors to take part in elections.

The Draft Electoral Law also contains necessary clauses to prevent unlawful practices during elections. It provides that the people's court and the people's tribunal shall punish those who are guilty of sabotaging elections or preventing electors from freely exercising their right to elect and to be elected by means of violence, intimidation, fraud, bribery or other unlawful acts—especially for those who are guilty of forging election documents, falsifying the number of votes and other acts of deception. It also provides punishment for members and employees of a people's government or electoral committee who resort to repressive or retaliatory measures against those who bring charges. To prevent and take timely action against unlawful practices that might occur in the course of elections, the work of the people's courts and the people's tribunals must be strengthened. The people's courts should organise and send out various people's tribunals as required to work alongside electoral districts at the basic level in order to guarantee the successful carrying out of election work.

The above-mentioned provisions demonstrate that our electoral system fully represents the interests of the people. The superiority of this system lies not only in the fact that it amply sets out democratic principles but also in that it provides for practical,

effective and concrete measures in all stages of election work which fully guarantee the carrying out of these principles.

## V

THE work involved in elections to the people's congresses of *hsiang*, towns, municipal districts, and municipalities without districts is the foundation of the work of electing the All-China People's Congress and the local people's congresses of all levels. Success in carrying out elections at this basic level will make elections above the county and municipal level relatively easier.

On the basis of developing democracy to the full, all cadres in the basic units of state power, of the Communist Party of China and of people's organisations will, in this election campaign at the basic level, under the close supervision and judgment of the masses, receive a profound education so that the serious phenomenon of commandism and the numerous violations of law and discipline which are found in organisations and among their cadres at the basic level may be avoided. Through the full operation of democratic elections, bad elements, violators of law and discipline and those who are guilty of serious commandism and with whom the masses are extremely dissatisfied in the various basic units will be removed from their posts. Those who are esteemed by the masses and are linked closely with the masses will be elected to positions in these organisations. Through this election campaign, we shall strengthen the ties between the people's government and the people and attain the aim of improving the cadres' style of work. In addition, since elections to the local people's congresses of all levels are calculated on a population basis, we shall, at the same time as we carry out the registration of electors, be conducting a census on a national scale.

The most arduous task at the basic level is the registration of electors. Because the number of electors is very great and a census will be taken, enormous manpower is needed to make the registration successful. In registering electors, the biggest problem is to determine their qualifications as electors. In this connection, there are many unsettled questions arising from the series of democratic reforms in both the urban and rural areas, and these will now have to be solved. As regards elements of the landlord class, for example, we must ascertain who have been reformed through five years and more of labour, have become completely law-abiding and have committed no reactionary acts and therefore should have their class status changed and be given political rights according to law; and we should also ascertain who have not fulfilled these conditions and should therefore not have their class status changed. As regards

sons and daughters of landlords, we should ascertain who have not taken part in direct exploitation, have faithfully obeyed the government's laws and decrees and therefore should be given political rights; and we should also ascertain who have not fulfilled these conditions and therefore should not be given political rights. As regards rich peasant elements, the question of whether they have political rights does not, generally speaking, arise. That is to say, they have political rights; but in the old liberated areas, the question of whether those elements classified as rich peasants possess political rights should be examined and determined according to the Resolution passed by the Government Administration Council of the Central People's Government on August 4, 1950.\* As regards counter-revolutionaries under public surveillance, strict examination and sorting out should be conducted so as to determine who should continue under public surveillance; who, in the light of their appreciable reformation, may have their term of public surveillance reduced or have their public surveillance removed though not yet given political rights; who, in the light of their still greater reformation, may have their public surveillance removed and be given political rights; and who have been unjustifiably placed under public surveillance and therefore should have their political rights restored to them. At the same time, during the registration of electors, counter-revolutionaries who escaped former investigations must, when discovered, be put under public surveillance and deprived of their political rights. In a word, the registration of electors is a very serious affair. We cannot permit counter-revolutionaries or elements of the landlord class whose class status has not been changed, unlawfully to usurp the sacred political rights, nor can we permit a citizen to be erroneously deprived of his sacred political rights.

The work connected with elections at the basic level, whether it concerns the registration of electors and the taking of a census, or the handling of appeals relating to the qualifications of electors, or the drawing up and discussion of the lists of candidates, or the determination of electoral districts and the convening of electoral meetings, is a matter of the utmost importance, to be given the most scrupulous attention. In all work connected with elections, a resolute struggle must be waged against elements guilty of commandism, violators of law and discipline and elements who attempt to sabotage elections, so as to ensure the operation of full democracy and to draw the broad masses of electors into active participation in the elections. Therefore, elections at the basic level must be carried out under guidance

\* See supplement to *People's China*, Vol. II, No. 8, October 16, 1950.

of work teams sent by electoral committees of the higher levels, and the chairmanship of electoral committees at the basic level must be filled by competent non-local cadres appointed by electoral committees of the higher levels. Only when large numbers of cadres who have been given specialised training take part in and guide the work connected with elections at the basic level, will the strict application of the Electoral Law at the basic level be guaranteed.

## VI

**E**LECTORAL committees at the central and local levels shall be formed immediately following the adoption and promulgation of the Electoral Law in order to supervise and guide its strict application, and necessary offices set up to conduct the work of elections, under the leadership of people's governments of the same levels and under the guidance of electoral committees of the higher levels.

The Draft Electoral Law has made clear-cut, detailed provisions for the organisation and tasks of the electoral committees at the central and local levels. To facilitate their work, the number of members on the committees shall not be too large. Even so, the total membership of committees throughout the country will come to approximately two million. As this is our first election and the work is complex and heavy and there is a lack of experience, electoral committees will be unable to perform their tasks if they are not highly competent. Thus, the key to the smooth running of the elections is the selection for the electoral committees of people who are honest, fair and are closely linked with the masses.

As regards the question whether members of electoral committees can be nominated as candidates, that is, whether they should be debarred from being elected, we considered it unnecessary to work out provisions to debar such people from being elected. This is because in the main the elections to be carried out will be indirect. Elections at the people's congresses of all levels will not be conducted by electoral committees but by the presidiums of the congresses. And at the basic level, elections will take place under the supervision and guidance of the working teams sent by the electoral committees of the higher levels.

The various electoral committees should on their formation work out their working procedures and, under the leadership of the local people's governments and with the full co-operation of the relevant departments, immediately begin publicising the Electoral Law, study concrete methods to put it into effect in the localities, work out their plans to be approved by the organisations at the higher levels, etc. But it should be noted that the main task of the electoral

committees above the county and municipal levels is to direct the election work of the committees at the basic level, primarily the work of choosing and training working teams. Once we have well-trained working teams fully acquainted with the policy and the Electoral Law, and adopt the method of conducting elections by way of experiment in specific areas and widely apply the experience so gained step by step, and complete the whole work in stages, we will be able successfully to finish the work of election at the basic level in a few months. The successful carrying out of election work at the basic level will lay the foundation for the successful fulfilment of election work as regards the people's congresses above the county level.

All the above is an explanation of the Draft Electoral Law.

**T**HE adoption and publication of the Electoral Law of the People's Republic of China for the All-China People's Congress and local people's congresses of all levels is an event of great, historical significance in the political life of our country. While the beginning of the first five-year plan of national construction of our country marks a new stage in our economic and cultural development, the promulgation of the Electoral Law will mark a new stage in the political development of people's democracy in our country.

Comrade Stalin declared in March, 1936, that the new electoral system of the Soviet Union was bringing a new tempo into all government departments and people's organisations which would compel them to improve their work; that the system of universal, equal, direct and secret ballot in the Soviet Union

would become a whip in the hands of the people for driving the organs of state power whose work was unsatisfactory.

Undoubtedly, our Electoral Law at present is not so perfect as the electoral system of the Soviet Union after 1936, but still it will in general produce the same effect. It will greatly heighten the working efficiency of the people's governments of all levels. Bureaucrats, those guilty of commandism and violators of law and discipline will be exposed. It will further strengthen the ties between the people's governments and the people and perfect the state system of the people's democratic dictatorship. It will reinforce the unity of the various nationalities in the country and further consolidate and develop the people's democratic united front.

It is also beyond doubt that our Electoral Law will greatly develop the initiative and creativeness of the masses and enable the whole nation to rally even more closely round Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the Communist Party of China and the Central People's Government in striving for complete victory in the struggle to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and for the fulfilment of the national construction plans and thus leading our country steadily towards Socialism.

Our Electoral Law is the fruit of victory achieved after long years of hard and bitter struggle by the Chinese people under the leadership of Chairman Mao Tse-tung and the Communist Party of China. People throughout the country will welcome its birth with rejoicing and will strive for its application through their practical actions.

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## Explanatory Notes

*Hsiang*: an administrative unit below the county level. It is composed of several villages.

*Municipality without districts*: a large town without administrative subdivisions.

*Hans*: the largest of the nationalities in China (generally known as Chinese).

*Peiyang warlords (Northern warlords)*: a group of warlords mainly dominating North China from the last days of the Ching (Manchu) Dynasty up to the middle of the nineteen-twenties.