Recording of a conversation between the USSR Ambassador to the PRC N.V. Roshchin and the Deputy Chairman of the People's Government Committee of China, Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC Liu Shaoqi about the internal political situation in China, the prospects for military operations on the fronts of the civil war and party building

1949, October 25.

I 11 On October 25, 1949, at 8 o'clock in the evening (at the request of Liu Shaoqi), the ambassador paid an official visit to the Deputy Chairman of the People's Government Committee and Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPC Liu Shaoqi in the Yinyantang Reception Hall in Zhongnanhai

After the protocol questions, the Ambassador and Liu Shaoqi had a friendly and frank conversation on various issues of the domestic political situation in China, the prospects for military operations and party building, during which Liu Shaoqi said the following:

1. The military situation on all fronts of the civil war in China is developing extremely favorably in favor of the CPC and, with the exception of Formosa, the PLA command does not expect to encounter any serious resistance from the Kuomintang troops anywhere. The question of the liberation of the provinces of Guangxi, Guizhou, Yunnan and Sichuan is only a matter of time.

The strategic plan of the PLA high command envisages an offensive on the southwestern provinces of China on two fronts.

On the 12th, Liu Bocheng with an army of 500,000 advances directly to Kunming via Guilin and Guizhou in order to cut off the Sichuan armies' escape routes to the border with Burma and Annam. General He Long, commander of the front in the southwestern part of Shaanxi Province, with an army of 100,000 will advance on Sichuan from the north. Although there are serious disagreements among the Sichuan militarists, most of them express their readiness to go over to the PLA if it enters Sichuan. The dissatisfaction of the Sichuanese with the Chiang Kai-shek clique also plays into the hands of the PLA. Many Sichuan generals have already sent their representatives to the PLA command, through whom they have declared their determination to go over to the PLA. Some resistance in Sichuan can be expected only from the troops of Hu Zongnan and Zhu Shaoliang. The number of armed forces of the Kuomintang in Formosa fluctuates within 250 thousand people with fairly strong technical support.

- 2. The economic situation in southern China, contrary to all expectations, is not so bad. The rice harvest in Hunan Province this year is good and there is an opportunity to transfer part of the rice to Guangdong Province, where as a result of the summer flood almost the entire harvest was lost. The Kuomintang troops during their retreat to Guangdong Province did not cause such great destruction as in Hunan Province on the section between Changsha and Shaozhou. For example, the railway line between Canton and Shaozhou remained in complete order and of all the bridges on this line only one // secondary bridge was blown up. In Canton itself, only one bridge over the Pearl River was blown up. The government's task at present is to quickly restore the Canton-Hankow railway and develop industry and trade in southern China, including trade with Hong Kong.
- 3. The recently formed coalition government satisfies all the democratic parties. The CPC occupies all the leading posts in this government and can easily control the activities of the other democratic parties. In fact, all these parties cannot even be taken seriously, since the total membership of all

these parties throughout China is only 30,000 people, while the CPC has over 4 million members. However, since most of these democratic parties represent the Chinese bourgeoisie, for whose development the government is deliberately creating all the conditions, the CPC envisages a certain activation of these parties in the future. The CPC expects that the period of the coalition government in China will last 10-15 years, after which the need for cooperation with the bourgeoisie will disappear.

- 4. The government is currently experiencing an exceptionally great need for civilian personnel, which will not be fully satisfied before the end of the war. The PLA's operations to liberate Central and Southern China were carried out significantly earlier than originally planned, and therefore the training of administrative personnel for the newly liberated areas was not carried out in a timely manner. In order to urgently train personnel for Central China, the CPC recruited about 20,000 students in Manchuria, Northern and Central China, who, after completing 4-month political retraining courses, were sent to practical work. However, these personnel are far from sufficient. When agrarian reform was carried out in Manchuria, the CPC sent 20,000 of its best party workers to the villages. Now it is not yet possible to find so many communists for Central and Southern China, and even this number 20,000 people for Central and Southern China would be a drop in the ocean, considering the large population living there.
- 5. Along with the quantitative training of cadres, the CPC also works to raise the ideological level of communists. For example, special attention is paid to training propagandist cadres. Party education is divided into several links: senior students study 12 classic works of Marxism-Leninism, including a number of books by Comrade Mao Zedong. Middle-level students limit themselves to studying the most important books from the 12 for their practical work, and lower-level students, who are overwhelmingly illiterate, study specific issues such as agrarian reform, the relationship between labor and capital, the conditions of party work in the cities, etc.

The illiteracy of the overwhelming majority of CPC members, who come from the poorest peasantry, is a serious obstacle to establishing party education. In terms of class composition, the CPC is 70-80% poor peasants, 10% workers, and 10% intellectuals and people from other classes.

6. The lack of sufficient personnel is slowing down the implementation of agrarian reform in Central and Southern China. It will only be possible to implement agrarian reform there in 2-3 years, when the demobilized PLA soldiers and officers return. However, it is possible that the peasants in these areas will begin a spontaneous movement for land redistribution much earlier than this period, and the CPC will have to lead this movement.

In Manchuria and Northern China, the agrarian reform has already been completed. The government relies in the villages on the former poor peasant, who now, having received his long-awaited land from the hands of the People's Government, is ready to faithfully help the government fulfill government deliveries and pay taxes.

Moreover, in the Manchurian village there is already a new stratum of peasants, the so-called "new kulak" ("xinfunong"), who have emerged from among the poorest peasants; having received the landlord's land, they have energetically set about cultivating it and have attracted hired labor to work on their plot of land.

This "new kulak" is now completely on the side of the people's government, which has given them the land, is helping the government to increase the productivity of agriculture and is energetically promoting the implementation of the government's policy in the countryside. But it is possible that in

the future a class struggle will develop in the countryside between the farm laborers and these "new kulaks".

- 7. An urgent task of the government at the present time is also to strengthen friendship between China and the USSR. I, declared Liu Shaoqi, as chairman of the Sino-Soviet Friendship Society, promise that I will devote all my efforts to this work. Comrade Mao Zedong gave all communists a direct instruction
- to help Soviet comrades daily in familiarizing themselves with the situation in China. If the ambassador needs any materials on the situation of one or another branch of the country's political, economic, military or cultural life, we will gladly provide what is required, provided that these materials are not made widely public. We are also ready to provide our best professors-specialists to the embassy staff to give lectures on topics of interest to Soviet friends.
- -efforts to further strengthen the friendship between the two great nations the Soviet and Chinese.

Also present at the conversation were the embassy counselor S.L. Tikhvinsky and the head of the protocol department of the Chinese Ministry of Foreign Affairs Yan Baohan.

The conversation was translated by the embassy counselor S.L. Tikhvinsky.

USSR Ambassador to the PRC

N. Roshchin