

The Future Historical Tasks of the Chinese Communist Party

(July 5, 1951)

(I)

On the Chinese mainland, the rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism has been overthrown, and the people's democratic dictatorship has been established. This political power should be used to complete various future revolutionary tasks and to continuously strengthen and consolidate this power in the course of fulfilling these tasks.

1. **Imperialism** – Its military and political control has been overthrown. Its economic and cultural control has also been significantly weakened, though the economic and cultural undertakings it operated still exist. Diplomatic personnel and journalists are still present. These issues need to be resolved step by step and in order of priority.

Some issues have already been addressed, and more remain to be handled.

The liberation of **Taiwan** remains a serious task.

The threat of imperialism still exists significantly—in Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, Vietnam, and elsewhere. China has the task of aiding neighboring revolutions against imperialism.

(This was Liu Shaoqi's report outline delivered on July 5, 1951, to students of the first class at the Marxist-Leninist Institute.)

China's economy is still not truly independent. Only after a long period, when the economy no longer relies on foreign support, can true independence be achieved. (Foreign trade made great achievements last year: high volume, surplus, and trade with the Soviet Union and new democratic countries accounting for over 60%.)

2. **Feudalism** – Land reform can basically be completed nationwide by next year. However, in minority areas, the struggle against feudalism remains difficult. Feudal heads and gang organizations in the cities still need to be eliminated. The influence of reactionaries at home and abroad among the people is still significant. Long-term education and transformation of the people are needed to fully eliminate this influence. Backwardness in the economy and culture cannot be quickly eliminated, leaving room for feudalism to survive (e.g., Yiguandao, emergence of new bullies, old guild organizations).

The tasks of resisting imperialism and feudalism are not yet completed. To continue these tasks, to counter imperialist threats, and to promote economic and cultural advancement, it is both necessary and possible to unite with the national bourgeoisie and build an alliance of four classes.

The **Resist America, Aid Korea** campaign, suppression of counter-revolutionaries, land reform, and other work all serve the above tasks.

(II)

“Three years of preparation, ten years of construction.” We must strive toward this goal. Solve the Korean issue this year. Resolve the Taiwan issue if possible. Land reform, bandit suppression, crackdown on counter-revolutionaries, elections for people's governments, material control, labor organization, factory management, reduced national spending, capital mobilization, cadre preparation, and worker training—all these are preparatory tasks. Strive for peace.

Gather statistics and formulate economic development plans.

Aim to move toward **planned economy**—capitalists must obey state planning, and small producers must be regulated by the state. This is a long-term struggle. From now on, economic development must be under unified national leadership and planning. Total economic freedom is a mistake—it is a capitalist path and will ultimately destroy the people's democratic dictatorship. Overly strict control, however, is also inappropriate.

Steps for economic development:

First, restore agriculture and any industry that can be restored.

Next, develop agriculture and light industry along with some necessary heavy industry.

Then, expand heavy industry.

Eventually, rely on the developed heavy industry to further promote agriculture and light industry.

Because agriculture is the foundation of industry, and the countryside is the market for industrial goods.

Because raising people's living standards quickly is essential.

Because agriculture and light industry can accumulate capital.

Large-scale heavy industry development must come later.

Methods of capital accumulation: rely on the people's savings, plus limited loans from the Soviet Union and other countries. We cannot count on colonial plunder, war reparations, or large foreign loans.

During the construction period, aside from necessary national defense, all other work and development must align with economic construction—**everything centers around economic construction**.

(III)

The five types of socio-economic sectors and their interrelations will gradually change during construction.

All five economic sectors will develop, and we must promote their development. Their basic relationship will remain stable for a time.

However, the **state sector** will concentrate funds, manpower, and materials to develop national enterprises rapidly, increasing its proportion and role in the economy.

The **cooperative economy** will also develop quickly, with growing importance.

The **private capitalist economy** will inevitably develop as well, albeit more slowly. This will slightly strengthen the bourgeoisie, but its relative weight and influence will decrease. This may cause dissatisfaction or even resistance among some capitalists, especially covert sabotage of state supervision and planning. But others will increase cooperation with the state and become part of **state capitalism**.

The **state capitalist sector** will increase.

The **individual economy** will develop and become more organized:

- In the countryside through mutual-aid teams and supply and marketing cooperatives.

- In handicrafts via industrial cooperatives and joint ventures.
These can gradually organize the vast number of small-scale producers.

As a result, the following changes will occur:

1. The proportion of **industry** will gradually rise, while **agriculture** will relatively decline.
2. The share of **socialist and semi-socialist** economies will rise; **private capitalist and individual** economies will relatively shrink in share and influence.
3. These economic changes will lead to **corresponding shifts in the superstructure**—ideologically, politically, and organizationally. The role of the working class, the Communist Party, and the state will grow stronger.

This development benefits the **whole people**, especially workers and the Communist Party, and aligns with our ideals—we must strive toward it. But for the bourgeoisie (large, medium, small), there are both favorable and unfavorable aspects. Their attitude will be mixed—supportive and resistant. Our policy must be one of **both unity and struggle**. In the later stages, **commercial capitalists** may face more challenges, requiring a policy of **both exclusion and accommodation**.

The above describes the situation during the entire **New Democratic stage**, estimated to last at least **10 years**, possibly **15 to 20 years**.

Here's the full English translation of the passage you provided, which appears to be an excerpt from a document on China's socialist transformation strategy, attributed to Liu Shaoqi:

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After this period, industry will have developed greatly, and agriculture will also have made great strides. The state's leadership over the economy will be further strengthened and become absolute. Economic management cadres will have matured and increased in number. The Party will have technical cadres, and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry will be consolidated both politically and economically. At that time, steps toward entering socialism will need to be taken.

The first step is the nationalization of industry. However, small industries and individual handicrafts cannot be nationalized. This is a serious step and cannot be taken lightly. Its nature is the beginning of the destruction of capitalist private ownership and will affect small capitalists, small property owners, rich peasants, and even middle peasants. The method cannot be decided now; the timing and manner of implementation will depend on the specific conditions and the attitude of the bourgeoisie at that time. A hostile attitude from the bourgeoisie may force us to implement this step earlier and in a more radical manner. But if we do a good job over a long period in educating and transforming the bourgeoisie, and if most capitalists adopt a better attitude, then this step could be implemented more slowly and in a more peaceful way. By "peaceful," it means providing compensation, assigning jobs, donations and acceptance, etc.

After this step, except for small industry, all industry will be state-owned or cooperative-owned. Commerce will be the same. In this way, we will have entered socialist society. The state will then be able to accelerate economic construction and industrial development.

After another period of consolidation and development, we can take further steps toward agricultural collectivization, and widely organize collective farms in rural areas. Agricultural

collectivization may be realized in several steps: first in the Northeast, then in North China, and later in other regions.

In order to gain experience and train cadres, some state farms and a few collective farms should be organized in various regions in advance. When all conditions are ready, collectivization can be carried out more broadly.

In agricultural collectivization, hired laborers and poor peasants will support it, rich peasants will oppose it, and middle peasants will initially waver and later agree to join. A few rich peasants (especially newly rich ones who have been educated) may support collectivization, but in general, rich peasants will oppose it. Therefore, there will be a serious struggle against rich peasants at that time. How to carry out such a struggle cannot be determined yet.

Time should be allowed for middle peasants to hesitate and think (joining must be completely voluntary). Therefore, in a given region, collectivization may take several years to be fully realized, achieving collectivization of the vast majority of peasants, while allowing a small number of individual farmers to continue farming independently.

Entering socialism mainly involves these two steps. Of course, there are many smaller and preparatory steps as well. These two main steps are the result of long-term preparation. Preparation led by us will, of course, be much faster and smoother than if led by the capitalists.

Why can these two steps be prepared for and carried out “peacefully”?

Because the proletariat-led state power is constantly strengthening. People's representative assemblies, state-owned economy, and cooperative economies are all being strengthened.

Among the people, it has been proven that the socialist economy is clearly superior to the capitalist economy. Party members have learned how to manage the economy. Therefore, the ideological leadership of the proletariat is also constantly strengthening, as is the worker-peasant alliance.

Economic cooperation and assistance from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will speed up our preparations and implementation of the two steps. Revolutionary movements in other countries will also help us.

Because of all these factors, we can take the above steps to launch an offensive against capitalism, which is already isolated politically, economically, and ideologically.

(5)

After the nationalization of industry, apart from small capitalists, the urban bourgeoisie will essentially be eliminated. After agricultural collectivization, the rural bourgeoisie (rich peasants) will also be eliminated, and small urban capitalists will eventually be eliminated as well. China will then become a country without capitalists. The economic components in China will consist only of three types: state-owned economy, cooperative economy, and individual economy—the first two being dominant and the last being minor. There will be no exploiters, only working people: workers, intellectuals, collective farmers, and a number of individual farmers and handicraft laborers. The state will be organized by them. The nature of the regime will be the dictatorship of the proletariat. The name “New Democracy” can be retained, but its content will change. Naturally, the class composition of the united front will change, and so will the democratic parties. Parties that represent the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will either change their class nature or be eliminated along

with the classes they represent. Those that change can enter socialism together with us—this is highly likely. Those that don't will dissolve.

We are now educating the democratic parties in the hope they will enter socialism with us. The ones that will resist at that time are some capitalists. Some old landlords will no longer oppose.

The nationalization of industry is not implemented gradually, but rather gradually prepared and then implemented as a major step. The idea of implementing industrial nationalization through scattered methods like purchasing, squeezing out, confiscation, donations, etc., is incorrect. It should not be done in a fragmented way.

From now on, handicrafts can be gradually collectivized (not all at once). One way is to organize production cooperatives; another is to organize joint operating companies and gradually adopt machinery. Joint companies will ultimately also be nationalized.

The elimination of the bourgeoisie and rich peasants cannot be imagined without intense class struggle. At that time, we must rely on the working class, hired laborers, and poor peasants to build a broad anti-capitalist united front. Peaceful land redistribution is impossible. This is the dictatorship of the proletariat.

In agricultural collectivization, we must rely on the urban working class, rural hired laborers, and poor peasants, unite with the middle peasants, and oppose the rich peasants. Without the urban working class and a strong state-owned industry, agricultural collectivization cannot occur. The idea of relying solely on peasants for collectivization is incorrect—it is an illusion.

Agricultural collectivization must be achieved through a major movement, not gradually, slowly, one-by-one (unlike handicraft collectivization).

(6)

After land reform, rural development will initially show a strong spontaneous force of small peasant producers. This spontaneous force will promote production on one hand, but on the other hand, will cause re-emergence of class differentiation in the countryside. Some people will become impoverished again, turning into poor peasants or hired laborers (or moving to cities), and a few will become rich peasants. In new areas, old rich peasants make up 3-4% of the population, and in old areas, new rich peasants may develop to 2-3%. This spontaneous force is inevitable and unavoidable, and it is not something to be feared. Some people express fear about this and attempt to prevent or avoid it, which will lead to erroneous paths.

The Shanxi Provincial Committee's document *"Raise the Level of Mutual Aid Organizations in Old Liberated Areas"* is an example of this kind of error. This document expresses the following:

1. Fear of the spontaneous force of peasants;
2. Intention to combat this spontaneous trend;
3. The proposed method: "Raise agricultural production mutual aid organizations to a higher level to thoroughly reverse the trend of dispersion." This is pure fantasy. The higher the level of mutual aid organizations, the fewer in number they will be. They cannot stop, and will actually increase, the spontaneous trend.

4. Attempting to gradually shake, weaken, and ultimately deny private ownership within mutual aid groups, leading to collectivization. This is complete fantasy. The idea of gradually undermining and negating private ownership under current conditions is adventurous, “leftist,” and destructive—and in the future, would be considered rightist and reformist.
5. Current mutual aid groups or supply and marketing cooperatives cannot be gradually raised into collective farms. Collective farms are something entirely different and must be organized separately—they cannot “develop from” mutual aid groups or cooperatives.
6. For now, a few collective farms can be organized to show the peasants.
7. Mutual aid groups may combine with sideline production techniques and have some public property, but generally cannot and should not be developed into collective farms. Use the outstanding results of mutual aid groups, cooperatives, individual state farms, and collective farms to educate the broader peasant masses. Make them believe collective economy is superior to individual economy, and prepare them mentally to organize collective farms in the future. Cooperatives and mutual aid groups are organized for current benefit but can serve as education for the future.
8. How should we understand Chairman Mao’s view of “gradually advancing toward collectivization”?

Second example:

Letting the rural economy develop entirely freely is also wrong.

Use mutual aid groups to help peasants organize.

State trade, supply and marketing cooperatives, and pricing policies can guide peasants and limit rich peasants, placing limits on spontaneity.

State tax policy can also limit rich peasants.

Trade unions should be established in the countryside at an appropriate time.

Spontaneous development within limits is beneficial, not dangerous. Don’t fear it, and don’t try to stop it.

On one hand, there is the development of strong spontaneous forces and capitalist and rich peasant ideology in the countryside. On the other hand, there are mutual aid groups, cooperatives, state trade, progressive taxation on rich peasants, and also trade unions, political education by the Party, and collective ideology education. These two trends must develop and struggle simultaneously in the countryside. Ultimately, rely on the state and the working class to attract peasants into the collective economy and eliminate capitalism.

This means that in the countryside, we should neither prevent nor attempt to avoid the spontaneous trends of peasants, nor let them go uncontrolled, but rather lead them, appropriately control and limit them, and prepare for final victory.

Based on Liu Shaoqi's manuscript (Editor: Yueqi)