

The Chinese Communist Party's Future Historical Tasks (July 5, 1951)

(I)

The rule of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism has been overthrown on the Chinese mainland, and the people's democratic dictatorship has already been established. This political power should be used to accomplish the revolutionary tasks ahead, and in the course of carrying out these tasks, this power should be continuously strengthened and consolidated.

1. **Imperialism** — Its control in military and political spheres has been overthrown. Its control in the economic and cultural realms has also been significantly weakened, but the enterprises it operates in these areas still exist. Diplomats and journalists from imperialist countries are still present. These issues must be resolved in order of urgency and priority.

Some issues have already been resolved; others still need to be addressed in the future.

The liberation of Taiwan remains a serious task.

The threat of imperialism still exists in a serious way: in Korea, Hong Kong, Japan, Vietnam, and other places. China has the task of assisting neighboring countries in their revolutions against imperialism.

This is an outline of a report delivered by Liu Shaoqi to a group of students at the Marxist-Leninist Institute on July 5, 1951.

China's economy is not yet truly independent. It will take a long time before the country is economically self-reliant and thus fully independent. (Foreign trade last year achieved significant success: large volume, a trade surplus, and over 60% of trade was with the Soviet Union and new democratic countries.)

2. **Feudalism** — Land reform can basically be completed nationwide by next year. But the anti-feudal struggle in ethnic minority areas remains a difficult task. Feudal gang leaders and underworld organizations in the cities still need to be eradicated. Reactionary influences from domestic and foreign enemies among the people remain significant, and only through long-term education and transformation of the people can these be eliminated. Economic and cultural backwardness cannot be quickly eradicated, and this gives feudalism a remaining market (e.g., sects like the "Yiguandao," emergence of new local bullies, old guild organizations).

The tasks of opposing imperialism and feudalism have not yet been fully completed. In order to continue accomplishing these tasks, to counter the threat of imperialism, and to advance backward economic and cultural conditions, it is necessary and possible to unite with the national bourgeoisie and establish an alliance of four classes.

The Korean War (Resist America, Aid Korea), the suppression of counterrevolutionaries, land reform, and other work are all aimed at fulfilling the above-mentioned tasks.

(II)

"Three years of preparation, ten years of construction." We must strive to realize this goal. This year, resolve the Korean issue. Try to resolve the Taiwan issue as much as possible. Land reform,

suppression of bandits, suppression of counterrevolutionaries, elections for people's governments, control of materials, organization of workers, management of factories, reduction of state expenditures, capital mobilization, cadre training, worker training... all of these are preparatory tasks. Strive for peace.

Compile statistics in all sectors and formulate an economic development plan.

Strive to move toward a planned economy—capitalists must submit to state planning, and small producers must come under state control. This will be a long-term struggle. From now on, economic development must occur under the unified leadership and planning of the state; it cannot be developed entirely freely. Completely free economic development, without or with lax and ineffective state control, is a mistake. That is the capitalist path, which in the end will undermine the people's democratic dictatorship. But excessively strict control is also inappropriate.

Steps of economic development:

First, restore agriculture and all industries that can be restored.

Next, develop agriculture and light industry, as well as a limited number of essential heavy industries.

Then, develop heavy industry.

Afterward, rely on the heavy industry that has been established to further develop agriculture and light industry.

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

Because we must rapidly raise the standard of living for the people. Because we must rely on agriculture and light industry to accumulate capital. The large-scale construction of heavy industry must come later.

Ways to raise capital: we can only rely on the people's savings, plus small loans from the Soviet Union and other countries. Colonial plunder, war reparations, or large-scale foreign loans—these are things we cannot have.

During the construction period, aside from necessary national defense, all work and other forms of construction must be aligned with economic development—everything must center on economic construction.

(III)

The five types of social-economic components and their interrelations will gradually change during the process of construction.

All five types of economies will develop—and should be allowed to develop—but their basic relationships will not undergo fundamental change.

However, the state will concentrate capital, manpower, and material resources to develop state-owned enterprises. Therefore, these enterprises will develop rapidly, and their proportion and role in the overall economy will grow increasingly larger. Their leading and controlling role will also grow.

The **cooperative economy** will also develop rapidly; its proportion and role will gradually expand.

The **private capitalist economy** will also develop—this is natural and unavoidable. Accordingly, the bourgeoisie will also grow somewhat. But its rate of development will be slower, and its relative proportion and role will actually decline. This situation may cause some capitalists to become dissatisfied, and even rebel—especially by secretly evading or sabotaging state supervision and

planning. However, another portion of capitalists will increase their cooperation with the state and will more fully transform into state capitalists.

The **component of state capitalism** will increase.

Individual economy will also develop and become more organized. In the countryside, it will be organized through mutual-aid teams and supply and marketing cooperatives. In handicrafts, it will gradually be organized through industrial cooperatives. Handicrafts are numerous and can be organized through cooperatives or joint operations companies.

The result of this kind of development will bring about the following changes:

1. The proportion of industry will gradually increase, and the proportion of agriculture will relatively decrease.
2. The proportion of socialist and semi-socialist types of economies will gradually increase. The proportion and role of the private capitalist economy and the individual economy will relatively decrease.
3. These changes in the economic sphere will bring about corresponding changes in the superstructure. That is to say, ideologically, politically, and organizationally, the role of the working class and the Communist Party in all areas will be strengthened, and the role of the state will be strengthened.

This type of development is beneficial to the entire people, to the working class, and to the Communist Party. It accords with our ideals, and we must strive to develop in this direction. However, for the bourgeoisie (large, medium, and small), it has both advantageous and disadvantageous aspects. Their attitude will be both supportive (because they cannot help but support it) and opposed (though they cannot openly oppose it). Toward them, we must implement a policy of both unity and struggle. Among them, the **commercial bourgeoisie** will be in a worse position in the later stages of development. A policy of both exclusion and accommodation should be applied.

The situation described above pertains to the entire stage of **New Democracy**. This period is estimated to last at least ten years—possibly fifteen or even twenty years.

(IV)

After this period has passed, industry will have developed greatly, and agriculture will also have seen major development. The state's leadership over the economy will have grown stronger—becoming absolute. The cadres responsible for economic management will be more experienced and greater in number, the Party's technical cadres will also be in place, and the alliance between the working class and the peasantry will be consolidated both politically and economically. At that time, it will be necessary to take steps toward entering **socialism**.

The **first step** will be to implement **the nationalization of industry**. However, small-scale industries and individual handicrafts cannot be nationalized. This is a serious step and must not be taken lightly. Its nature lies in beginning to destroy the capitalist system of private ownership; it will affect petty capitalists, small property owners, rich peasants, and even middle peasants. The method for doing this cannot be decided now—the timing and manner will depend on the circumstances at the time and on the attitude of the bourgeoisie. If the bourgeoisie adopts a hostile attitude, we may be compelled to act earlier and more forcefully. However, if over a long period we succeed in educating

and transforming the bourgeoisie well, and most capitalists adopt a more cooperative stance, then this step may be taken more slowly and in a more peaceful manner.

The so-called "peaceful method" includes: providing some compensation, assigning them work, accepting donations, or gradual takeovers...

After this step, with the exception of small industry, **all industry will belong to the state or to cooperatives**, and commerce will be the same. At this point, the country will have entered **socialist society**. The state will then be in an even better position to accelerate economic development and the expansion of industry.

After another period of consolidation and development, it will be possible to move forward with **the collectivization of agriculture** by establishing collective farms throughout the countryside. Agricultural collectivization may be realized in stages—for example, starting in the **Northeast**, then in **North China**, and then in other regions.

To gain experience and train cadres, we should begin now by organizing **some state farms** and **a few collective farms** in various locations. Once all conditions are ready, broad collectivization can proceed.

During agricultural collectivization, **hired laborers and poor peasants** will support it; **rich peasants** will oppose it; **middle peasants** may waver at first but later support and join. A small number of rich peasants (especially newly educated ones) may also support collectivization, but in general, rich peasants will oppose it. Therefore, at that time, there will be a **serious struggle against the rich peasants**. How this struggle will unfold cannot be determined now.

Time must be given for **middle peasants to waver and consider** (participation must be entirely voluntary). Therefore, collectivization in any one region may take several years to complete before the vast majority of peasants have joined; any remaining small number of individual farmers may continue farming independently.

Entering socialism primarily involves these **two steps**. Naturally, there are many other smaller steps and preparatory measures. These two major steps are the result of long-term preparation. Preparation led by us will certainly be faster and smoother than if it were initiated by the capitalists themselves.

Why are we able to prepare and "peacefully" carry out these two steps?

- Because the **proletarian-led state power is continuously strengthening**.
- Because **people's congresses**, state-owned enterprises, and cooperative economies are growing stronger.
- Because the people have come to see that the **socialist economy is clearly superior** to the capitalist one.
- Because Party members have learned how to manage the economy.
- Thus, the ideological leadership of the proletariat continues to grow, as does the **worker-peasant alliance**.

The **economic cooperation and assistance** provided by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries will accelerate our preparations and help carry out the two steps. Revolutionary movements in other countries also support us.

All these factors enable us to take these steps in the struggle against capitalism—because **capitalism is already politically, economically, and ideologically isolated**.

(V)

After the nationalization of industry, **the urban bourgeoisie will be essentially abolished**, except for small capitalists. After agricultural collectivization, the **rural bourgeoisie (i.e., rich peasants)** will also be abolished. At that point, even **urban petty capitalists** will finally be eliminated. **China will have become a country without capitalists.**

The components of China's economy will then consist of **only three types**:

1. **State-owned economy,**
2. **Cooperative economy,** and
3. **Individual economy.**

The first two will account for a large proportion; the third will be small. There will be **no more exploiters**, only working people: workers, intellectuals, collective farmers, some individual peasants, and small 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" may be retained, but its content will change.

The class composition of the **united front** will naturally change. The **democratic parties** will also undergo changes. Those parties representing the bourgeoisie and petty bourgeoisie will either:

- **Transform their class character**, and thus join socialism, which is very possible; or
- **Be eliminated** along with the classes they represent.

If the former, they can enter socialism together with us. If the latter, they will dissolve.

Starting now, **we must educate all democratic parties**, so they may transition with us into socialism. Those who resist at this point will include **some capitalists**, while **some former landlords will no longer resist**.

The **nationalization of industry** will not be carried out gradually, but will be **gradually prepared** and then implemented as a **serious, singular step**. The idea of achieving industrial nationalization through scattered methods like piecemeal purchases, economic squeezing, confiscations, and donations is incorrect. It must not be handled in a fragmented way.

Handicrafts can begin to be **gradually collectivized now** (they cannot be collectivized all at once). This can be done by:

1. Organizing **production cooperatives**, and
2. Establishing **joint operating companies**, with gradual adoption of machinery.

Eventually, these joint operating companies will also be **nationalized**.

The **elimination of the bourgeoisie and the 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 **form a**

broad anti-capitalist united front. A peaceful redistribution of land is not possible. This is the **dictatorship of the proletariat.**

Agricultural collectivization must rely on **urban workers, rural hired laborers, and poor peasants, and unite with middle peasants** to oppose the **rich peasants.** Without **urban industrial workers** and a **powerful state-owned industrial sector,** agricultural collectivization is impossible. The idea of relying solely on peasants to collectivize agriculture is **wrong—a fantasy.**

Agricultural collectivization must be achieved through a **mass movement,** not bit by bit, slowly, one by one (unlike the collectivization of handicrafts).

(VI)

After land reform, the development of the countryside will initially be marked by a strong **spontaneous force among small peasant producers.** This spontaneous force, on the one hand, will promote production, but on the other hand, it will also lead to the **reemergence of class differentiation** in the countryside. Some people will become poor again, turning into poor peasants or hired laborers (or moving to cities), while a few will become **rich peasants.** In new liberated areas, old rich peasants make up about 3–4% of the population, and in old liberated areas, new rich peasants may develop to comprise 2–3% of the population.

This spontaneous force **cannot be prevented or avoided,** and it is **not something to fear.** Some people are frightened by it and attempt to block or avoid it. As a result, they end up taking the **wrong path.**

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

1. It expresses **fear of the peasants' spontaneous force.**
2. It argues that **the spontaneous tendencies of the peasants must be overcome.**
3. Its method is: "*Raise agricultural mutual aid organizations to a higher form, in order to completely reverse the trend of disunity.*" This is **pure fantasy.** The higher the form of agricultural mutual aid, the fewer the organizations will be in number. This absolutely **cannot stop** and may even **intensify** the peasants' spontaneous tendencies.
4. It **seeks to gradually shake, weaken, and ultimately negate private ownership within mutual aid teams,** thereby moving toward agricultural collectivization. This is complete **fantasy.** The idea of gradually weakening and negating private property or its foundations is, **at present,** a **reckless, "leftist," and destructive** idea; **in the future,** it would become **rightist and reformist.**
5. At present, **neither mutual aid teams nor supply and marketing cooperatives can be gradually elevated into collective farms. Collective farms are a different matter altogether** and must be organized **separately;** they **cannot develop out of** mutual aid teams or supply and marketing cooperatives.
6. **It is possible now to organize some individual collective farms to show to the peasants.**
7. Mutual aid teams can be combined with sideline production and technical skills, and may possess some common property, but **generally they cannot and should not develop into collective farms.** By using the **clear achievements** of mutual aid teams, supply and marketing

cooperatives, individual state farms, and collective farms, we can **educate the peasant masses** to believe that **collective economies are superior to individual economies**, thereby preparing them ideologically to form collective farms in the future. **Cooperatives and mutual aid teams are organized for immediate benefit**, but they can also **serve an educational purpose** for the future.

8. How should we understand **Chairman Mao's idea** of "gradually advancing toward collectivization"?

A **second example**:

Allowing the rural economy to develop **entirely freely** is also incorrect.

We can **help organize the peasants** through **mutual aid teams**.

State trading organs, supply and marketing cooperatives, and pricing policies can be used to guide peasants and **restrain rich peasants**, placing **limits on spontaneity**.

The **state's taxation policy** can be used to restrain rich peasants.

Peasant trade union organizations should be established at an appropriate time.

Spontaneous development within a certain scope **has benefits and is not dangerous**. We **should not fear it**, and we **must not try to block it**.

On one side, there will be the development of **broad spontaneous forces in the countryside** as well as **capitalist and rich peasant ideology**; on the other side, there will be the development of **mutual aid teams, cooperatives, state trade, progressive taxation of rich peasants**, as well as **political education** and **education in collectivism** provided by the Party. These **two currents will develop and struggle simultaneously** in the countryside. Ultimately, we must rely on the state and the working class to **draw the peasants into collective economies**, thus **eliminating capitalism**.

In other words, **we should neither block nor try to avoid** the peasants' spontaneous tendencies, **nor should we let them run unchecked**. Rather, we must **guide them**, apply **appropriate control and limitation**, and **prepare for final victory**.

Printed according to Liu Shaoqi's manuscript.