

1949

Speeches/Documents

Title: Resolution of the Second Plenum of the Seventh CCP CC (Excerpt)

Author: CC

Date: 13 March 1949

Source:. Tony Saich, Benjamin Yang. The Rise to Power of the Chinese Communist Party: Documents and Analysis. Sharpe, 1996 pp.1338-1345

Description:.

The Second Plenum of the Seventh CC, in line with Comrade Mao Zedong's report, holds that the CC's leadership has been correct since the party's Seventh Congress, and adopts the following resolutions:

1) Since the three campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai, and Beijing- Tianjin, the main forces of the GMD have been destroyed. The GMD fighting units have only over 1 million troops left, scattered over vast areas and along the battle lines from Xinjiang to Taiwan. The ways to solve the problem of this million or so GMD troops will be none other than the three methods used in Tianjin, Beijing, and Suiyuan. Elimination of the enemy through fighting, as was the case in Tianjin, must still command our foremost attention and must be prepared for. No commanders and soldiers of the PLA should relax their will to fight in the slightest, and all ideas of relaxing their will to fight and underestimating the enemy are wrong. The possibility of solving the problem in line with the Beijing method has increased. This is to force the enemy troops to convert to PLA forces, peacefully, expeditiously, and thoroughly. This method of struggle is a bloodless one, but it does not mean that the problem can be solved without struggle. The Suiyuan method refers to deliberately keeping intact a part of the GMD reactionary forces, retaining their original form completely or not changing their basic form. This is to say that temporary concessions will be made to this portion of the troops, to win them over to our side politically or to ensure that they remain neutral, so that we can concentrate our forces on tackling the core of the GMD remnant forces first. Then, only after a quite long period of time (several months, half a year, or several years), will this body of troops be turned into PLA troops of the Wu Wenhua and Zeng Zesheng type in conformity with the PLA system.

2) The PLA will always remain a fighting unit. Even after the nationwide victory, our army will be a fighting unit in the historical period in which classes are not eliminated at home and the imperialist system exists in the world. There should be no misunderstanding and wavering on this point. At the same time, the PLA is a work-team. This is especially so in the various regions in the south where the Beijing and Suiyuan methods have been used. As the fighting gradually subsides, the role of the work-teams increases. There is the possibility that not long thereafter, all PLA units will be turned into work-teams. We must foresee this situation. The 53,000 cadres who are currently ready to follow the troops south are nowhere near enough to meet the demand in the extremely vast new regions that we shall soon occupy. We must be prepared to transform completely the 2.1 million strong field army units into work-teams. Then we shall have enough cadres, and work in the vast areas can be carried out. We must regard the 2.1 million-strong field armies as a huge cadre school.

3) From 1927 until now, the focus of our work has been in the countryside, concentrating forces in the countryside, surrounding the cities from the countryside, and finally seizing the cities. The period of using such a work method has ended. From now on, it is the period from the cities to the countryside and of the cities leading the countryside. The focus of party work has shifted from the countryside to the cities. In various parts of the south, the PLA will occupy the cities first and the countryside later. Attention must be paid to both the cities and the countryside, closely linking the

work then together—workers and peasants, industry and agriculture. The countryside should not be neglected in order to pay attention only to the cities. This kind of thinking is entirely wrong.....-

5) As circumstances in the south and north are different, the party's work tasks are naturally different. At present, the south is still under GMD rule. There, the task of the party and the PLA is to destroy the GMD reactionary armed forces in the countryside; build up party organizations; establish our political power; form trade unions, peasant associations, and other mass organizations; establish people's armed forces; mobilize the masses; eliminate the remnant forces of the GMD; and restore and develop production. In the countryside, the priority is to carry out the struggle against bandits, despots, and the ruling members of the landlord class step by step, and to finish preparations for the reduction of rent, so that one or two years after the PLA's arrival, the task of reducing rent can be completed, thus creating the precondition for the redistribution of land. At the same time, attention must be paid to maintaining the existing level of agricultural production and avoiding a decrease. Apart from a few areas, the situation in the north is completely different. Here, the GMD rule has been overthrown, the rule of the people established, and the land question fundamentally solved. The central task of the party here is to mobilize all forces to restore and develop production and to regard this task as the focus of all other work. At the same time, cultural and educational activities must be restored and promoted, remnant reactionary forces must be eradicated, and the whole north should be consolidated to support the PLA.

6) We have already engaged in broad economic construction, and the party's economic policies have been implemented in actual work and achieved marked results. However, as regards the reasons for the adoption of these economic policies instead of others, there are still many confused ideas about theories and principles inside the party. How to answer these questions? We think that they should be answered in the following manner. The ratio between China's industry and agriculture in the national livelihood is approximately 10 percent industry and 90 percent agriculture. This is the consequence of the oppression of China by the imperialist and feudal systems. This is the economic form of semicolonial and semifeudal old China. This is and will be the basic point of departure for all issues in the Chinese revolutionary period and for a considerably long period after the revolutionary victory. Proceeding from this, a number of strategic, tactical, and policy questions have arisen for our party. Further precise understanding and solution of these questions are an important current task for the party. That is to say, first, China already has about 10 percent modern industrial economy. This represents an advance and is different from ancient times. Because of this fact, China already has new classes and new political parties, i.e., the proletariat and the bourgeoisie and a political party for the proletariat and political parties for the bourgeoisie. The Chinese proletariat and its party, the CCP, have been tempered by the oppression of several layers of enemies, and thus obtained the qualifications to lead the Chinese people's revolution. Whoever neglects and underestimates this point will commit right opportunist mistakes. Second, China still has about 90 percent scattered and private rural and handicraft economy. This is backward and is not very different from ancient times. We still have about 90 percent of our economic life stuck in ancient times. The feudal landownership system of ancient times either has been abolished by us now- or will be abolished soon. On this point, we have distinguished or will distinguish ourselves from the old times and have achieved or shall achieve soon the possibility of moving our agriculture and handicraft industry gradually toward modernization. Today and for a considerably long period of time in the future, the basic forms of our agriculture and handicraft industry still are and will be scattered and private, or similar to that of ancient times. Whoever neglects or underestimates this point will commit "left" opportunist mistakes. Third, although China's modern industry accounts for only about 10 percent of the total production output of the national economy, it is highly concentrated, and the largest and most important amounts of capital are concentrated in the hands

of the imperialists and their lackeys, the Chinese bureaucratic bourgeoisie. Confiscating this capital and returning it to the ownership of the People's Republic under the leadership of the proletariat will enable the People's Republic to control the lifelines of the country and become the leading component in the entire national economy. This portion of the economy is of a socialist, not a capitalist, character. Whoever neglects or under-estimates this point will commit right opportunist mistakes. Fourth, China's private capitalist economy occupies second place in the modern industrial economy, and it is a force not to be trifled with. The Chinese liberal bourgeoisie and its representatives often adopt the position of either participating or remaining neutral in the people's democratic revolutionary struggle, owing to the oppression or restrictions of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. Because of these facts, and the still backward situation of the Chinese economy at present, the enthusiasm of private capitalists in the cities and the countryside needs to be put to use to the fullest possible extent for a considerably long period of time after the victory of the revolution in order to promote the national economy. All elements of capitalism in the cities and the countryside that are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and develop. Free competition and free trade at home are not only inevitable but economically necessary. But the existence and development of Chinese capitalism and the existence and development of free competition and free trade will not be unrestricted and spread unchecked as in the capitalist countries. Yet, it will not be restricted and reduced to an extreme extent as in the East European new democratic states. They will follow China's own pattern. They will be restricted in several aspects: operational scope, taxation policies, marketing prices, and conditions of work. In all these aspects, appropriate and flexible policies for restriction should be adopted in light of the concrete conditions in each locality, each industry and trade, and each period. Sun Yat-sen's slogan of restricting capital is still useful, and we must use it. For the benefit of the entire national economy and the present and future interests of the proletariat and the working people, however, it is essential that private capital should not be restricted too much and must be permitted to exist and develop along the track of the economic policies...

9) The people's democratic dictatorship based on the alliance between workers and peasants and under the leadership of the proletariat requires our party to unite resolutely with the entire working class, the entire peasant class, and the broad [stratum of] revolutionary intellectuals, who are leading forces and the foundation of this dictatorship. Without such unity, the dictatorship cannot be consolidated. At the same time, it requires our party to unite with as many petty-bourgeois and liberal bourgeois representatives who are able to cooperate with us as possible, and their intellectuals and political groups with an aim to isolating the reactionaries and completely overthrowing domestic reactionary forces and imperialist forces in the revolutionary period, and rapidly recovering and developing production, dealing with foreign imperialists, and enabling the steady transformation of China from an agricultural country into an industrial country, from a new democratic state into a socialist state after the revolution. Therefore, our party's policy of long-term cooperation with democratic personages outside the party must be affirmed in the thinking and work of the entire party. We must treat the majority of democratic personages outside the party as our own cadres, discuss and settle those issues that must be negotiated and settled in an honest and aboveboard manner, and give them work to do, granting them positions and power in their work and enabling them to achieve success in their work. Proceeding from, and to achieve the objective of, uniting with them it is necessary to make correct and appropriate criticism of or struggle against their mistakes and shortcomings. It is incorrect to adopt of accommodation toward their mistakes or shortcomings. Further, it is incorrect to adopt a closed-door and perfunctory attitude toward them. We should cultivate a group of independent personages who can cooperate with us and have prestige in every big and medium city, strategic area, and province. The incorrect closed-door style of

work toward the democratic personages outside the party that was fostered during the period of the land revolution was not entirely overcome in the period of resisting Japan, and it exploded again in various base areas during the period of land reform in 1947. This attitude will only isolate our party, obstruct the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship, and win allies for the enemy. Now, the first Chinese political consultative conference under the leadership of our party will be held, a democratic coalition government will be set up, and the revolution will triumph nationwide. The entire party must make a serious self-examination and have correct understanding on this issue, must oppose right accommodationism and the two "left" tendencies of closed-doorism and perfunctoriness, and adopt completely correct attitudes.

10) We shall win a nationwide victory soon. The victory will break through the eastern front line of the imperialists and has a great international significance. It will not be long or take very much effort before we achieve this victory. It will require a great deal of time and great efforts before we can consolidate this victory. The bourgeoisie suspects our capability for construction. The imperialists predict that, sooner or later, we shall have to go to them to beg for our survival. It is possible that arrogant sentiments, the airs of a hero and wanting to stop and make no more advances, of seeking pleasure and avoiding hardship will grow inside the party because of victory. Because of victory, people will be grateful to us, and the bourgeoisie will come and praise us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us. But the bourgeoisie's praises may conquer those in our ranks who are weak-willed. There may be some Communists who have not been conquered by the armed enemy. They are worthy of the title of hero in front of these enemies, but they cannot stand the attacks by people with sugarcoated bullets and will be defeated. We must guard against this situation. The achievement of a nationwide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 // . It is silly to pride ourselves on this first step. What is more worthy of pride still lies ahead. The Chinese revolution is a great one, but the road after the revolution is even longer and the work even greater and harder. This point must be made clear to the party now, so that comrades can continue to preserve the work-style of modesty, prudence, and no arrogance or rashness. Comrades must continue to keep the style of hard work and struggle. We have the Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad work-style and preserve a good work-style. We can learn what we did not know before. We should not only be capable of destroying an old world, but because of victory. Because of victory, people will be grateful to us, and the bourgeoisie will come and praise us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us. But the bourgeoisie's praises may conquer those in our ranks who are weak-willed. There may be some Communists who have not been conquered by the armed enemy. They are worthy of the title of hero in front of these enemies, but they cannot stand the attacks by people with sugarcoated bullets and will be defeated. We must guard against this situation. The achievement of a nationwide victory is only the first step in a long march of 10,000 // . It is silly to pride ourselves on this first step. What is more worthy of pride still lies ahead. The Chinese revolution is a great one, but the road after the revolution is even longer and the work even greater and harder. This point must be made clear to the party now, so that comrades can continue to preserve the work-style of modesty, prudence, and no arrogance or rashness. Comrades must continue to keep the style of hard work and struggle. We have the Marxist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad work-style and preserve a good work-style. We can learn what we did not know before. We should not only be capable of destroying an old world, but should also be capable of creating a new one. The Chinese people not only can survive without begging from the imperialists, but also will live better than those in the imperialist countries.