

Central Committee of the Communist Party of China on the Cleanup of Counter-Revolutionaries in Enterprises such as Factories and Mines and the Implementation of Democratic Reforms in These Enterprises

(October 5, 1951)

After the liberation of various regions across the country, many state-owned enterprises, including factories, mines, and transportation sectors, have undergone several different forms of actions, such as registering reactionary party members, "digging out the roots of Chiang," personnel adjustments, and conducting various mass movements and administrative measures of differing scales for democratic reform and unity. These actions have, to varying degrees, struck against the counter-revolutionaries hidden within these enterprises and reformed the unreasonable exploitative systems and feudal practices established by imperialism and bureaucratic capitalism, thereby enabling various enterprises to achieve rapid recovery and smooth development. Especially since the Central Committee's Double Tenth directive in 1951, there have been movements to suppress counter-revolutionaries in factories, mines, and transportation sectors across the country. The remaining counter-revolutionary forces have suffered greater blows, and in some areas, the suppression of counter-revolutionaries has been appropriately combined with democratic reforms within enterprises, resulting in systematic cleanups of some factories, mines, and transportation enterprises, which has cleared out a large number of counter-revolutionaries, purified the working class, and brought about a new atmosphere in both political and production aspects. Workers have said, "The sun of Chairman Mao has shone into the factories."

However, to this day, there has not been a systematic cleanup in most public and private factories, mines, and other enterprises. There are still large numbers of reactionary party members, reactionary secret societies, and a few lurking landlords, bandits, bullies, spies, and agents mixed in. Some feudal leaders who previously colluded with the reactionary Kuomintang rulers have not yet received the punishment or reform they deserve. Some counter-revolutionaries have even infiltrated the Party and the Youth League or have taken control of labor unions. They engage in destructive activities from various angles, suppressing the political and production enthusiasm of workers.

Therefore, we must mobilize sufficient strength, rely on the working masses, and lead, plan, and step by step strive to systematically clean up the remaining counter-revolutionary forces in state-owned factories, mines, and transportation enterprises by the end of 1952, and carry out or further complete necessary and appropriate democratic reforms for the old systems left over in state-owned enterprises.

To this end, the Central Committee makes the following directives:

1. Due to the complex situation in mining enterprises, which is generally more complicated than that of party, government, military, and civilian agencies, and because the Party's leadership and mass base are weaker in enterprises, and each enterprise has its own characteristics, the cleanup work is also more complex than in agencies and is prone to deviations. It should be pointed out that the first key to successfully carrying out this movement is to ensure good leadership. For factories, mines, and transportation enterprises where the leadership is weak, the local Party committee should take responsibility, appoint capable personnel from various aspects, and form a specialized leadership body combined with the existing personnel in the enterprise to prepare for the work. The first step is to conduct systematic investigations and training of active workers and staff. With detailed investigations and the organization of active personnel, the administrative, party, labor union, and youth league cadres should then conduct systematic ideological mobilization among the workers and staff according to the ideological state of the masses in their units, clarifying the Party and the

people's government's policies, mobilizing to eliminate counter-revolutionaries, and encouraging those who are loyal and willing to confess to do so. Workers should be called upon to distinguish between friend and foe, reorganize their ranks, and enhance the purity of the working class both ideologically and organizationally. All those with issues should be encouraged to confess their history to their own country loyally and honestly. As long as they are loyal and honest, those with serious crimes may have their sentences reduced, those with lighter crimes may be exempted, and those without guilt may be relieved of their burdens.

The process of ideological mobilization and brewing is also a process of uniting the majority, forming a strong team, and prompting those with issues to confess and isolating the enemy. This is the second key in the movement.

Before leadership is strengthened and a group of active personnel has been cultivated among the workers and staff, large-scale movements should not be recklessly initiated. Especially in some mines where there are a large number of scattered soldiers, vagrants, and fleeing landlords, the situation is extremely complex, and the strength of the administration and the Party is very weak. In such enterprises, leadership should be strengthened first, and systematic investigations, reconnaissance, and arduous mass work should be conducted to find long-term workers with clear histories and political reliability, train them, and establish a backbone of leadership and a mass team.

2. In enterprises where there are residual reactionary forces and resolute counter-revolutionaries hated by the working masses, especially those with spies and bullies lurking, after completing the aforementioned preparations, workers should be mobilized to publicly accuse counter-revolutionaries from the bottom up, struggle against the feudal leaders and various bad elements that oppress workers, and the responsible authorities should timely punish those counter-revolutionaries who should and must be sentenced according to the law and publicly announce the execution. Experience has shown that this combination of bottom-up and top-down approaches, first striking at the principal offenders and eliminating residual reactionary forces, can quickly stimulate the fighting enthusiasm of the working masses, rapidly destroy the remnants of the Kuomintang's oppression of workers in factories, mines, and transportation enterprises, and quickly enhance workers' awareness of being masters and their production enthusiasm. However, the targets of the crackdown, that is, the objects of suppression and accusation, must strictly be limited to the five categories of resolute counter-revolutionaries, namely spies, bullies, bandits, reactionary party members, and reactionary secret societies. In particular, the objects of mass accusations should be strictly limited to those principal offenders with blood debts and significant public resentment. When executing sentences, for those who should be executed, it must be insisted that only one-tenth or one-twelfth of them are executed; for those who should be arrested, under the condition that the majority of the working masses do not oppose, only a portion should be arrested to avoid excessive arrests and deviations.

3. We should actively lead and support the struggle of the working masses against the rogue workers and staff who previously colluded with reactionary forces and oppressed workers. However, it is essential to distinguish between these struggle targets and the objects of suppression (resolute counter-revolutionaries). As long as they bow their heads and confess, showing repentance, and the public anger has subsided, they should not be arrested if they do not demand it. In particular, for those who have been "leaders" or "troublemakers," careful analysis should be conducted based on the severity of their crimes, the extent of their misdeeds, the size of their faults, and whether they have shown any signs of repentance after liberation, treating them differently and avoiding a blanket "overthrow all."

4. For those who have previously oppressed workers or have other minor misdeeds but are not counter-revolutionaries, such as old technical workers, technicians, experts, and senior staff, it is crucial to protect them at all stages of the movement and to pay attention to the attitude and methods used in dealing with them. If the working masses are dissatisfied with their conduct and demand struggle or accusations, we should lead and persuade the workers to resolve these issues based on the principle of unity, using criticism and self-criticism as a method, treating it as an internal issue of the working class.

The suppression of counter-revolutionaries and the implementation of democratic reforms are related but distinct. Confusing the two issues can lead to excessive suppression. Therefore, it is very important to strictly distinguish between counter-revolutionary issues and those internal issues of the working class and the reform of enterprise management systems, protecting and educating those skilled workers.

To prevent excessive suppression and significant fluctuations during the movement, especially the tendency of chaotic struggles and accusations, all lists of accused, struggle targets, and arrests should be approved in advance by the local Party's municipal committee or other appropriate Party committees.

5. To prevent counter-revolutionaries from causing destruction during their desperate struggles, before the movement begins, it is essential to tightly control the key departments of factories, mines, and transportation enterprises, transferring all suspicious elements from these departments and appointing reliable personnel, Party members, or revolutionary workers who are not in the Party to take charge.

6. The movement should be conducted during non-disruptive production intervals and should not halt production for the sake of the movement. After the ideological brewing and mobilization of the masses, the time for confession should not be prolonged unnecessarily to avoid adversely affecting production and causing a stalemate. A single movement cannot completely eliminate all counter-revolutionaries; it can only "catch one net at a time" and "peel one layer at a time." Therefore, it must be appropriately stopped and timely transitioned into deeper investigations and handling.

7. If organized resistance from counter-revolutionaries is discovered during the movement, causing others with issues to hesitate and not dare to confess, at an appropriate time, conclusions should be drawn for those who have voluntarily confessed their history, have minor crimes, and do not need to be punished, and this should be publicly announced. At the same time, for those with solid evidence who must be arrested and legally dealt with but refuse to confess, their charges should be announced, and they should be arrested. This can destroy the organized resistance of counter-revolutionaries and rapidly advance the movement. However, it is crucial not to arrest indiscriminately and not to arrest those whose evidence is insufficient or who are in a gray area.

8. Problems discovered during the cleanup process must be handled swiftly according to their nature and the circumstances of the confessions. Those who voluntarily confess should be treated leniently. Generally, there should be no cleansing of those who are not among those who should be punished or are dangerous. However, in all key factories, mines, and other enterprises (such as military, electricity, chemicals, etc.), and in key departments of ordinary factories, mines, and other enterprises (such as boiler rooms, engine rooms, etc.), no counter-revolutionaries or suspicious elements should be left. If such elements exist, the appropriate leadership body should be responsible for transferring or otherwise handling them.

9. After the completion of the loyal and honest movement, we should take the opportunity to conduct mutual criticism and self-criticism between the masses and the leadership to improve the relationships between leadership and the masses, staff and workers, and among workers, thereby strengthening internal unity within the working class, establishing new systems suitable for production needs, re-electing factory management committees and security committees, and establishing mass leadership bodies in factories, mines, and other enterprises, and conducting labor protection registration or review, and then relying on the reorganized workforce and the basis of mass management to organize and carry out production movements.

10. Regarding the cleanup work in private factories, mines, and other enterprises, due to various conditions, typical trials can only be conducted in larger private factories, mines, and other enterprises with a good Party foundation during this winter and next spring. When starting the cleanup, it is essential to first negotiate with the capital side to obtain consent, and then jointly form a leadership body with representatives from the Party, Youth League, labor union, public security departments, and the capital side, as well as non-Party staff and workers (a Party group may be established if necessary). During the movement, close consultation with the capital side should be maintained, especially focusing on eliminating resolute counter-revolutionaries and feudal remnants. If the capital side and its confidants have previously engaged in serious oppression and exploitation of workers, and workers are still very dissatisfied, they should be encouraged to admit their mistakes to the workers to seek to improve relations. For capitalists and their factory managers, as long as they are not resolute counter-revolutionaries and have no blood debts or other serious crimes, and their attitude towards workers has been relatively good after liberation, they generally should not be held accountable for past actions. Special attention should be given to capitalists who have cooperated with us.

For smaller private factories, mines, and other enterprises, due to their more complex situations and our inability to manage them all, they can generally be temporarily excluded from cleanup, and after the state-owned and larger private factories, mines, and other enterprises have been largely cleaned up, plans can be formulated based on the situation and experience at that time.

11. In summary, in all economic sectors such as factories, mines, and other enterprises, suppressing counter-revolutionaries and implementing democratic reforms must proceed more steadily. The general approach must adopt a method of typical demonstration and gradual promotion, starting with state-owned enterprises, then moving to private enterprises, starting with major enterprises and then to minor ones, and starting with enterprises in large cities and then moving to those in small and medium-sized cities and other areas. However, since the situations of various enterprises in different regions vary, and the conditions for struggle and historical development after liberation differ, as well as the preparedness of cadres and the masses, it is necessary to allow for specific methods and steps in handling various issues in different regions and enterprises, with necessary and appropriate flexibility. The so-called issue of "making up lessons" must be handled according to the different situations in each area, addressing what is lacking and how much is lacking. If these issues are viewed uniformly without regard to the actual conditions of various regions and enterprises, it is erroneous; but if there is a need to make up lessons and this is not done appropriately, that is also a mistake.

12. It is hoped that all Central Bureaus, Sub-bureaus, Provincial Committees, and Municipal Committees will report to the Central Committee by December of this year on the past work in this area and the plans for implementing the Central directives.