The CPC Central Committee forwarded the Northeast Bureau's resolution (draft) on promoting agricultural cooperation

Date: May 10, 1952

The Northeast Bureau was merged with the central bureaus and branches, and transferred to the provincial, municipal and district party committees:

The Central Committee agreed to the Northeast Bureau's draft resolution on promoting agricultural cooperation. The draft resolution was then sent to all central bureaus, branches, and provincial, municipal, and district party committees for reference and imitation. This can be published in party publications.

Central China May 10th

Northeast Bureau Resolution on Promoting Agricultural Cooperatives (Draft)

Central:

Based on the findings of our survey of the rural economy in Northeast China, we have drafted a resolution on promoting agricultural cooperation, which we intend to submit to the expanded meeting of the Northeast Bureau in May for discussion. This document is not yet mature, and we request the central government to review and instruct it.

Northeast Bureau April 30

(1) On the basis of completing land reform, agricultural production in Northeast China has implemented Comrade Mao Zedong's policy of “organizing” the development of production, fully utilized the enthusiasm of the vast number of farmers for individual economic and labor mutual assistance, and has achieved rapid recovery and partial development. In 1951, Northeast China's agricultural GDP reached 110.5 percent of the highest production level in Northeast China's history. This marks that agricultural production in Northeast China has moved from a recovery phase to a new stage of step-by-step development. The rapid recovery and development of Northeast China's industry has promoted the rapid recovery and development of agricultural production, and the recovery and development of agriculture and the significant increase in farmers' purchasing power have opened up a broad path for industrial development.[1] In 1951, Northeast China's industrial GDP reached 87.6% of that of 1943. In comparison of the total value of industry and agriculture, industry accounts for 53% and agriculture accounts for 47%. The recovery and development of industry also requires the planned improvement of agriculture. In recent years, there have been basically two factors and trends in the development of Northeast China's agricultural economy: one is that due to the enthusiasm of farmers' individual economies, capitalist factors have spontaneously developed on the basis of the small-scale peasant economy. These are old roads and production methods that farmers are familiar with. Not only have usury, employment, and land sales increased year by year, but a small number of farmers have withdrawn from mutual aid cooperation groups “working alone”, and about one percent of farmers have become new rich farmers. According to a survey of 18 villages in Zhaoyuan District 7, which is developing rapidly, rich farmers now account for 1.8% of rural households, 2.6% of the population, 3.9% of the land, 6% of the farming and livestock, and 7.7% of the vehicles. Although the proportion of the rich peasant economy is small at present, it has a great influence on farmers because it adapts to the spontaneous development of the small peasant economy. The current new kulak economy is characterized by the use of a variety of exploitation methods, which are broken down into smaller parts, and by allowing a considerable number of kulaks to mix in mutual aid groups to conceal their exploitative activities.[2] Some party members and

district and village cadres have become rich peasants. The most dangerous thing is that many cadres leading rural work are completely unaware of the development of the rich peasant economy. Some comrades believed that the spontaneous power of peasants and class differentiation were inevitable and irresistible, and allowed them to develop freely, allowing capitalist factors to grow uncontrollably within the mutual aid groups, causing some mutual aid groups to disintegrate and deteriorate. This view and practice of allowing rich peasants to have their economic freedom run rampant without proper restraint is clearly wrong. This is the main bias at present. Of course, it is wrong to excessively restrict or not allow rich farmers to exist at all, and not allow them to develop under certain conditions, thereby affecting the enthusiasm of individual economies. It is equally wrong and unacceptable to ignore and rudely frustrate the enthusiasm of farmers for this individual economy, which would undermine the Party's policy of consolidating the alliance with the middle peasants and isolate the leadership of the working class in the countryside. Another situation is that, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong's unwavering “organized” policy, the enthusiasm of farmers for mutual labor assistance was greatly promoted among farmers and based on the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit; on the basis of individual economy, mutual assistance and cooperation economy was widely and extensively developed.In 1951, the number of households participating in the mutual aid and cooperation movement reached 70 to 80 percent of all farmers, giving mutual aid and cooperation production organizations an advantage in the rural economy. The content and form of mutual assistance and cooperation have also been continuously improved and expanded, gradually developing from primary to intermediate and advanced levels. In 1951, a few agricultural production cooperatives emerged that used new horse-drawn agricultural tools or improved agricultural tools and unified land management as the basic content. This type of agricultural production cooperative has the following characteristics:

(1) Using new or improved horse-drawn implements, changing old farming methods, and increasing yields;

(2) On the basis of the unchanged private land ownership system, the method of joint use and unified operation of land was adopted;

(3) This facilitated the unified planning of land planting and management, labor adjustment, and the integration of agricultural and sideline industries, thereby gradually overcoming the weaknesses of the smallholder economy in some aspects;

(4) As a result of co-production, a certain amount of public property has accumulated, increasing the socialist factor of the cooperative.

Because of these characteristics, it is the most life-enriching form of the current mutual aid and cooperation movement. This cooperation will be the basic form of the transition from a small-scale peasant economy to a socialist-style collective farm. Therefore, wherever there is a foundation for mutual assistance and cooperation, the masses have this requirement in production, and there are strong backbones who can directly take charge of leadership, agricultural production cooperatives should be developed step by step according to the principle of voluntary mutual benefit. The right-leaning ideology that emphasizes immature conditions and fails to actively develop agricultural production cooperatives in a step-by-step manner must be criticized and overcome. Of course, at present, especially in areas where the mutual aid and cooperation movement is poorly developed (such as South Manchuria), it is mainly necessary to set up temporary, seasonal small mutual aid and cooperation groups, mutual aid and cooperation groups in the three major seasons of agriculture, especially fixed mutual aid and cooperation groups that combine agriculture and sideline industries, so as to create more favorable conditions for the development of agricultural production cooperatives. If we do not actively create conditions or disregard

subjective and objective conditions, and adopt reckless and reckless methods, we will inevitably fail. The two factors and trends mentioned above are contradictory and mutually influential. This is a struggle between two futures that will become increasingly acute as the rural economy develops.

(2) In order to develop industrial and agricultural production in Northeast China in a planned manner and to control capitalism in rural areas, its primary task “is to gradually change the current smallholder economy to an agricultural cooperative economy, and to develop an agricultural cooperative economy, In addition to further strengthening farmers' education on socialism and collectivization and educating them through their own experience in running agricultural cooperatives, it is also necessary to systematically change past farming methods within five or six years by making new horse-drawn farm tools and some tractors widely used”. This means that in five or six years, in all areas of Northeast China that use new horse-drawn agricultural tools, agricultural production cooperatives will become the main form of mutual aid and cooperation movement to adapt to the new requirements of production tool reform. Therefore, in the next six years, the history of the mutual aid and cooperation movement in Northeast China will become an important historical stage in the cooperation of agricultural production in Northeast China. [3] Because it will not only gradually eliminate the economic and technological backwardness of agriculture; but will also gradually transition the small-scale agricultural economy to large-scale agricultural production, so as to supply the country's commodity food and industrial raw materials in large quantities and supply the industrial labor reserve army. At the same time, in this process, the small-scale agricultural economy will be gradually transformed, laying a solid foundation for future agricultural collectivization. If we do not do this, a mismatch between industry and agriculture will occur, lameness will occur, and it will be impossible to control capitalist factors and develop socialist factors in rural areas, thus making a historical mistake. As long as we spare no effort or time, excel at demonstrating and educating farmers, and resolutely and steadily lead the movement of mutual assistance and cooperation forward, this historical task will surely be achievable. However, to achieve this arduous and great historical task, we must make the greatest efforts and do a series of tasks well so that the promotion of new agricultural tools and the development of agricultural production cooperatives can move forward in a mutually reinforcing manner.

(1) The promotion of new agricultural tools is a major reform of current agricultural farming methods. It must undergo a typical trial, organize visits, and be gradually promoted to educate farmers. It should also be combined with long-term bank credit and first sold to mutual aid cooperation groups and agricultural production cooperatives at a lower price. Depending on the farmers' economic growth, such loans can fully recover principal and interest within two to three years. The new horse-drawn farm tools should be used as public property of all members of mutual aid groups and cooperatives. This will increase the socialist factors of mutual aid groups and cooperatives, change the economic disadvantage of poor farmers in the mutual aid and cooperation movement, and play a significant role in preventing the manipulation and control of the economy of rich farmers and avoiding the disintegration and deterioration of cooperatives.

(2) The promotion and use of new agricultural tools can only play a full role under the premise of land linkage and unified management (without changing the basis of private ownership). This will promote the current mutual aid and cooperation movement towards agricultural production cooperatives. Farmers who have connected their land should be recruited to participate based on the original mutual aid and cooperation groups, and the fragmented land use system should be gradually changed to the joint use and unified management of land through appropriate adjustment methods such as leasing and exchange, based on the principle of complete voluntariness of farmers. Some agricultural

production cooperatives that have emerged today adopt the above methods for production. The method of distributing fruits for production is mostly to rent out land for farming and livestock, implement remuneration based on work and dividends based on labor, or make land, farming and livestock, and labor all shares and dividends based on shares (but with the development of the entire national economy, the proportion of labor dividends should be gradually increased). The agricultural production cooperatives that were piloted in 1951 using the above methods all increased output and farmers' income, and initially demonstrated the superiority of agricultural production cooperatives. In 1952, each county must do a good job in piloting one to several agricultural cooperatives. These demonstration cooperatives must be personally controlled by the county's leading cadres to increase production and rationally distribute the fruits of production, so as to truly gain experience, train cadres, educate farmers, and create the necessary conditions for future large-scale development.

(3) Establish a considerable number of new agricultural implement extension stations and technical guidance stations as bases for the state to help the development of agricultural production cooperatives. In the northern regions, where there is more land and less population, and a cooperative can use a new set of horse-drawn agricultural tools, the promotion of new horse-drawn agricultural tools is mainly carried out through loans to agricultural production cooperatives; but in the southern regions, where there is less land and more population, one or two agricultural production cooperatives do not need a new set of horse-drawn agricultural tools. The main way to bring new horse-drawn agricultural tools to the countryside is through new agricultural tool promotion stations and through regular rental contracts It is leased to cooperatives for use, and technical guidance to cooperatives is strengthened to ensure that the output of cooperatives is higher than that of ordinary farmers of the same local level. Agricultural production cooperatives that provide their own new agricultural tools should give technical guidance with the same attention, so as to combine the introduction of new agricultural tools into rural areas with the introduction of agricultural science into rural areas. Each county shall choose a more suitable small iron factory from among the existing ones and systematically reorganize it into an agricultural implement repair factory, which shall be responsible for repairing new horse-drawn agricultural implements and improving agricultural implements, and establish close ties with new agricultural implement promotion stations and technology promotion stations to provide promotion services for new agricultural implements. It shall not be greedy for high profits and affect the promotion of new agricultural implements.

(4) Improving horse breeds and increasing horsepower is an important issue in solving the power problem of new horse-drawn farm tools. Emphasis should be placed on establishing horse breeding stations in a planned manner to breed and improve horse breeds in order to improve horse quality. In areas where the state is unable to establish horse breeding stations, local stallions with better quality can be selected and mass stallion mating stations can be established to make up for the shortage of horse breeding stations. In particular, in areas with a large number of cattle and donkeys and a shortage of horses, a plan should be formulated to adjust and develop farming horses To meet the needs of promoting new agricultural tools.

(5) Improve farmers' culture and cultivate agricultural technical talents. The current focus is on eliminating illiteracy among young and middle-aged farmers. Only with a minimum number of intellectuals in rural areas can they master new agricultural tools and establish the necessary management and accounting systems in agricultural production cooperatives, which are essential conditions for the development of agricultural production cooperatives. At the same time, after farmers master the tools of writing, they can further understand the Party's policies and absorb advanced experiences in agricultural production, especially in the cooperative movement, through the Party's newspapers. This

[is] of great significance for promoting agricultural cooperation. As Lenin said: “The condition for full cooperation is that it includes a high level of cultural literacy among the peasants (the true vast peasant masses), that is, without the entire cultural revolution, then full cooperation is impossible.” (Lenin, "On Cooperatives") To cultivate agricultural technical talents, in addition to establishing a certain number of advanced agricultural colleges in a planned manner, it is also necessary to have a certain number of technicians in each agricultural implement extension station and each production cooperative who can guide farmers in driving and repairing new horse-drawn agricultural implements. In addition, a group of management cadres should be trained to plan and control the production activities of the cooperative, and to scientifically adjust human and animal resources to increase the income of the agricultural production cooperative. Secondly, a group of accounting talents should be trained to handle the financial work of production cooperatives well and understand their income and expenditure. Finally, the leadership level of counties, districts, and villages must be further improved, and their business must be thoroughly studied to truly become “internal” leaders in agricultural production. Otherwise, it will be difficult to adapt to the development of the mutual assistance and cooperation movement. The main ways to improve are:

(a) Promote the study of agricultural science, hold regular business meetings, summarize agricultural technology and experience in the operation and management of production cooperatives, and train cadres in the workplace.

(B) Rotate and train cadres in counties, districts, villages and cooperatives to continuously improve their scientific level and ability to work with the masses. If we can do these things well and strive to double the total value of Northeast China's agricultural production in five years compared to 1952, so that agricultural production can adapt to the requirements of industrial development, we can change the economic landscape of rural areas and create a new situation that will bring general rural areas to the following levels:

1. Agricultural income has doubled compared to now, and side income has increased by one and a half to two times;

2. Make the majority of middle-class farmers richer, and raise the existing poor employed farmers to the level of middle-class farmers or higher;

3. The rural cooperative economy can have an advantage in the rural economy. Not only can the vast majority of agricultural production be organized, but the business of supply and marketing cooperatives can also account for more than 90% of rural purchasing power. At the same time, a [credit department] and credit cooperatives will be established in a planned manner, striving to implement low-interest lending in general within two to three years, eliminate the exploitation of usury in rural areas, and enable farmers to systematically invest their free money in expanding reproduction;

4. This will greatly improve the material and cultural life of farmers.

(3) The key to ensuring the achievement of the above tasks lies in strengthening the leadership of the Party. Therefore, in carrying out Party-wide education, Party organizations at all levels must make every grassroots organization and every Communist Party member clearly understand that the future direction of agricultural economic development is cooperation, and must carefully and actively guide the mutual assistance and cooperation movement in rural areas to develop into agricultural production cooperatives. The right-leaning ideology within the opposition party that is laissez-faire in mutual aid and cooperation work opposes the erroneous ideas that believe that class division in rural areas and the development of kulaks are inevitable and not scary, and that they can be allowed to develop and divide spontaneously. It even believes that developing kulaks can stimulate farmers' enthusiasm for production, thus ignoring the leadership of

the mutual aid and cooperation movement. These erroneous ideas are essentially about abandoning the leadership role of the working class over the peasants. If this right-leaning ideology is not eradicated, agricultural cooperation will never be discussed. Of course, it is also harmful to adopt a reckless attitude towards organizing agricultural production cooperatives without regard to the various necessary conditions for farmers' voluntary and economic preparation. A correct leadership approach should be a typical demonstration and gradual promotion method. It is to summarize experience at any time during the work process, praise the right things, and avoid repeating the wrong practices. As long as we adhere to the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit based on the needs of production, the awareness of the masses, and the conditions of cadres, we will surely be able to gradually improve the mutual assistance and cooperation movement and enable agricultural production cooperatives to develop gradually and in large quantities.

Secondly, we must rely on the development of our industry. In recent years, due to the recovery and development of heavy industry and machinery industry, it has become possible to produce a large number of new horse-drawn farm tools, and in the near future, a small number of tractors can be produced to supply agricultural needs. This is the material foundation for achieving agricultural cooperation, and it is the decisive condition for driving the progress of agriculture. Therefore, the development of local industries in all provinces and cities must overcome the one-sided profit viewpoint, start from the needs of the entire national economy, and especially from promoting the development of agricultural production, and produce new horse-drawn agricultural tools in a planned manner. New agricultural implements must be strong, durable, and meet specifications; they must be proven effective after repeated trials and rigorous testing before being mass-produced.

Third, proper state assistance is of great significance to the development of agricultural production cooperatives. In addition to supplying farmers with improved and new agricultural tools at lower prices, the state must also provide preferential treatment to mutual aid cooperation groups, especially agricultural cooperatives, in terms of loans, supply of means of production, and taxation. Without planned state aid, agricultural production cooperatives could not have developed into the main form of the Northeast Mutual Aid and Cooperation Movement within five or six years. However, the development of agricultural production cooperatives should be primarily driven by the economic power of the farmers participating in the cooperatives, with state aid being secondary. Relying solely on state aid, or using state machinery or loans without paying appropriate rent or interest, can foster a certain dependence among farmers, hinder the enthusiasm of agricultural production cooperatives to improve their operations, isolate them among the masses, and thus undermine the development of agricultural production cooperatives, as has been proven by experience.

Fourth, relying on state-owned farms, agricultural testing grounds, and breeding farms can truly serve as a model for advanced large-scale socialist agricultural production. Therefore, we must give full play to the role of mechanical agricultural tools, and make full use of the achievements in agricultural science and the experience in promoting excellent varieties and increasing unit output. Under the conditions of machinery and farmers' voluntary participation, the collective farms piloted in various provinces are socialist-style production organizations for the peasant masses and a basic form for the further development of agricultural production cooperatives. Under current conditions, it can only be controlled by the province, with individual trials to create experience and educate farmers so that it can be promoted in the coming years. Running state-owned farms and collective farms well will play a significant role in promoting rural cooperation. This is a task that sets an advanced standard in agricultural production, and therefore must be done well and not badly.

Fifth, it requires strong cooperation between supply and marketing cooperation and credit work. Through cooperation in the supply and marketing process, pre-purchase, ordering and supply and marketing contracts are promoted to consolidate the integration of national industry and rural economy, so that the production and sales of agricultural products can gradually increase in planning, and the means of production and living required by farmers can gradually be supplied in an organized manner. Through rural credit organizations, rural tourism funds are organized to invest in expanding reproduction, and temporary difficulties faced by farmers are addressed, eliminating usury that undermines agricultural production. Finally, the policy of capital control must be conscientiously implemented for the economy of rich peasants in rural areas, and they must not be allowed to proliferate freely. Usury in rural areas must be appropriately restricted. Specific policies suitable for the current rural economic situation should be proposed regarding rural employment relationships and the agricultural tax burden ratio for rich farmers. A land sales tax should be levied on land sales relationships. Within mutual aid cooperation groups and agricultural production cooperatives, the cooperative economic policy should be conscientiously implemented. Group members and members are not allowed to hire long-term workers to join the group or the cooperative, nor are mutual aid cooperation groups and agricultural production cooperatives allowed to collectively hire long-term workers.

IV) But does the realization of these things amount to socialism? Not yet. Our mutual-aid and cooperative movement still falls within the category of New Democracy. Nevertheless, the elements of socialism have developed significantly, creating the conditions for a future transition to collective farms. Therefore, we must unswervingly adhere to the policy of "getting organized," continue to vigorously develop the rural mutual-aid and cooperative movement on this foundation, and actively transform the small-scale peasant economy—all with the aim of guiding the broad masses of the peasantry—cautiously, gradually, and proactively—toward the path of agricultural collectivization! Notes (1) (2) (3) This sentence has been corrected in accordance with a rectification notice issued by the General Office of the Northeast Bureau on May 19, 1952.