

Conscientiously Study the History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines

Editorial of "Renmin Ribao," "Hongqi" and "Jiefangjun Bao"

THE "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" made by Chairman Mao on March 5, 1949, and republished today is a Marxist-Leninist document of epoch-making significance. It summed up profoundly the struggle between the two lines in the Party during the period of the democratic revolution, analysed the new situation as regards class struggle following the basic victory of the democratic revolution, and put forward a great programme for advancing from the new-democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, for establishing and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and building socialism. It is a sharp ideological weapon for opposing revisionism and opposing "Left" and Right opportunist lines throughout the period of transition. This great revolutionary programme has lighted the way for the whole historical process of the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the past 19 years. The study of this report is of great significance for carrying out the tasks set by the Enlarged 12th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, for deeply understanding the history of the struggle between the two lines within the Party and Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, for thoroughly criticizing and repudiating Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist ideas and settling all accounts with the renegade, traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi for his towering crimes in betraying the Party and the country, and for carrying the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

Chairman Mao recently pointed out: **Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be talked over constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to talk them over with only a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses.** This most important instruction of Chairman Mao's points out that we must repeatedly and in a deep-going way educate the masses on the struggle between the two lines so that the revolutionary masses can firmly grasp Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and consciously criticize and repudiate Liu Shao-chi's

counter-revolutionary revisionist line and every erroneous trend.

Inner-Party struggle between the two lines is a reflection of the class struggle in society. The history of our Party is one of struggle between the two lines. The correct proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao has developed in the course of the struggle against erroneous bourgeois reactionary lines of all descriptions. Our Party has waged struggles against the erroneous Right or "Left" lines of Chen Tu-hsiu, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Wang Ming; particularly, it has waged repeated, prolonged struggles against the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi. It can be said that a sharp struggle has been waged between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi at every crucial moment and on every important question throughout the course of the Chinese revolution.

When the War of Resistance Against Japan started, Liu Shao-chi together with Wang Ming opposed the principle of independence and initiative within the Anti-Japanese National United Front put forward by Chairman Mao, and opposed leadership by the proletariat. Liu Shao-chi resorted to counter-revolutionary double-dealing tactics in a futile effort to help the Chiang Kai-shek reactionaries wipe out the Communist Party and the Liberated Areas. The correct line represented by Chairman Mao smashed the Right opportunist line of Wang Ming and Liu Shao-chi, thus carrying the War of Resistance Against Japan to victory. After Japanese imperialism was defeated in its war of aggression and announced its surrender, Liu Shao-chi immediately came out in opposition to the line of **boldly mobilizing the masses and expanding the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the aggressors and build a new China,** which was proposed by Chairman Mao and adopted at the Seventh National Congress of the Party. Liu Shao-chi babbled about the so-called "new stage of peace and democracy," in a vain attempt to demoralize and disintegrate the People's Liberation Army so as

to turn China over to U.S. imperialism, and in a futile effort to preserve the rule of the Chiang Kai-shek bandit gang so as to transform China into a colony of U.S. imperialism. Chairman Mao opposed this line of Liu Shao-chi's, a line of national subjugation. He called on the people of the whole country to smash the Kuomintang reactionaries' offensive, carry out a new great people's revolution and wage a great people's war of liberation in a resolute struggle to overthrow completely the reactionary rule of U.S. imperialism and Chiang Kai-shek. The brilliant victory of Chairman Mao's line led to the birth of the great People's Republic of China.

The Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, convened on the eve of country-wide victory in the great revolution of the Chinese people, marked the beginning of a new stage of the struggle between the two lines.

After the Chinese people led by the Communist Party of China overthrew the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang, what was the principal internal contradiction? What kind of state should we build? And what road should we take? An extremely acute struggle has been waged around these questions between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line represented by Liu Shao-chi.

In his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Chairman Mao, applying the Marxist-Leninist method of class analysis, scientifically and penetratingly analysed the classes, class contradictions and class struggle after the countrywide victory, and on all questions pointed out the fundamental difference between the correct line and the erroneous line. He pointed out that the basic internal contradiction would be the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie, and emphasized that we must wholeheartedly rely on the working class, and that after the victory of the people's democratic revolution, the state power of the people's republic under the leadership of the working class must not be weakened but must be strengthened. He emphasized that the People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force, and at the same time the People's Liberation Army is also a working force and should always maintain close ties with the masses. The report pointed out the necessity of taking the socialist road under the leadership of the proletariat. It specifically pointed out the road China must inevitably take to bring about socialist transformation, and laid down the extremely clear-cut line, principles and policies for the gradual realization of China's socialist industrialization and socialist transformation of agriculture,

handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce by the state.

It is at turning points in the revolution that it is easiest to detect the real features of the revisionists. Soon after the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, Liu Shao-chi went to Tientsin and fraternized with the bourgeoisie. He clamoured wildly that there were "too few" capitalists in China and that the working class was "unreliable." He advocated depending on the bourgeoisie, developing capitalism and taking the capitalist road. Liu Shao-chi frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee in a vain attempt to deny that after the stage of the democratic revolution was in the main completed, the basic internal contradiction was that between the working class and the bourgeoisie. He asserted that for the capitalists "to exploit is to perform a service"; he wildly opposed agricultural co-operation, and desperately opposed advancing from the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution. This precisely proved him to be a faithful vassal of imperialism and its lackeys.

Chairman Mao points out: "In the cities we must learn how to wage political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie and also how to wage diplomatic struggles against the imperialists. We must learn how to carry on overt struggles against them, we must also learn how to carry on covert struggles against them. If we do not pay attention to these problems, if we do not learn how to wage these struggles against them and win victory in the struggles, we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail. After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly. If we do not now raise and understand the problem in this way, we shall commit the gravest mistakes."

This extremely important thesis of Chairman Mao's anticipated with Marxist-Leninist foresight the entire course of the socialist revolution over the past 19 years, and it can be regarded as the general programme for all our work. When we re-read this directive of Chairman Mao's after 19 years of practice, we feel it immensely close to us, as close as if it had been said for our current struggle. The history of these 19 years since the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat has been one in which the working class and the revolutionary masses have continued to carry out political, economic and cultural struggles against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie. As Chairman Mao has pointed out,

the struggle centres on the question of political power; and closely related to this is the question of the attitude taken towards the masses, the question of whether to recognize or negate the extremely great enthusiasm for socialism latent in the masses, and the question of whether to support or suppress the proletariat, the poor and lower-middle peasants and revolutionary intellectuals in carrying out the socialist revolution against the bourgeoisie. In the political, economic and cultural spheres, the counter-revolutionary Liu Shao-chi and his accomplices rabidly opposed the dictatorship of the proletariat and tried to suppress the socialist revolution. They are agents of the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bourgeoisie within the Party.

During the past decade and more, Liu Shao-chi and his gang of capitalist roaders in the Party, representing the interests of the bourgeoisie and the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, "struggled desperately" against Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line from the Right, or from the "Left" in form but Right in essence, on the question of the principal internal contradiction, on the question of taking the socialist road or the capitalist road and on the question of fighting against imperialism, revisionism and reaction, and during all the major historical periods: in the socialist transformation movements after we entered the cities in 1949; when the socialist transformation of agriculture, handicrafts and capitalist industry and commerce was completed in the main in 1956; when the Rightists launched frenzied attacks in 1957; at the Lushan Meeting in 1959; when our national economy encountered temporary difficulties from 1960 to 1962; in the socialist education movement in 1964 and in the great proletarian cultural revolution movement which started in 1966. Liu Shao-chi and his gang of capitalist roaders in the Party spread a great amount of counter-revolutionary revisionist rubbish in a vain attempt to obstruct the progress of the socialist revolution in our country and to make our country take a big step backwards from the socialist road on to the capitalist road. In the cities, they opposed Chairman Mao's line of relying on the working class and carrying out the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce, and advocated the revisionist theory of class collaboration. They made use of the superiority the bourgeoisie had in the cultural departments and pulled together a collection of renegades and enemy agents to impose a frenzied counter-revolutionary dictatorship on the proletariat in the field of culture so as to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. Following the failure of their opposition to Chairman Mao's line on socialist co-operation in the countryside, they schemed to "slash

back the co-operatives." After this plot was smashed by Chairman Mao's line, they waited for an opportunity and created pretexts to destroy the fruits of socialism, disintegrate the collective economy, and take a big step backwards to "the fixing of output quotas based on the household" and "the allocation of land to the household." This big retrogression that they tried to bring about could lead only to the totally dark semi-colonial and semi-feudal road of old China.

It is obvious that Liu Shao-chi and his gang denied class contradictions and class struggle during the period of transition precisely because they wanted to establish a counter-revolutionary theoretical basis for the support of the landlords, the bourgeoisie and all reactionaries in their ruthless suppression of the working class, the peasantry and the revolutionary intellectuals.

At every turning point in class struggle, Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee, like a monster-detector, exposed the counter-revolutionary features of these ghosts and monsters and enabled us to see things more clearly. We must seriously re-study the history of these struggles, repudiate and discredit Liu Shao-chi and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line still more thoroughly and eliminate its poison; at the same time, we must draw lessons from the history of the struggle between the two lines so as to enhance our consciousness in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

The great proletarian cultural revolution which Chairman Mao personally initiated and is leading and in which hundreds of millions of people are taking part, is the great decisive battle in the prolonged struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the counter-revolutionary revisionist line represented by Liu Shao-chi. At the 11th Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee, Chairman Mao made public his great historic big-character poster "**Bombard the Headquarters**" which took the lid off the struggle that had been going on for a long time in the Party between the two lines and the two headquarters, stripped away Liu Shao-chi's disguise as a revolutionary and proclaimed the bankruptcy of his counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Following the revolutionary course charted by Chairman Mao in his big-character poster "**Bombard the Headquarters**," the armymen and civilians throughout the country, after repeated trials of class strength, eventually ferreted out Liu Shao-chi, that most insidious and vicious counter-revolutionary chieftain, along with the handful of his counter-revolutionary accomplices, and smashed his bourgeois headquarters.

The class struggle advances in waves and the agents of the bourgeoisie invariably mount the political stage and dish up their reactionary line. It is impossible to prevent them from making a show of themselves. Liu Shao-chi is no exception. Although Chairman Mao warned him time and again, and his schemes were defeated over and over again by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, he still would not give up; he invariably wanted to oppose the line Chairman Mao laid down in the report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee; he would never go against the logic of **make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom.** Like all other reactionaries, Liu Shao-chi always overestimated his strength and underestimated the strength of the masses. But Mao Tse-tung's thought is all-conquering; people armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought are invincible; finally, the renegade Liu Shao-chi could not avoid his complete downfall.

Chairman Mao recently taught us: **"The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."**

From Chairman Mao's report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee in 1949 to his **"Bombard the Headquarters"** in 1966, through the period of socialist revolution right up to the beginning of the great proletarian cultural revolution there runs a red line.

As we review the soul-stirring struggles waged by the Party and the revolutionary masses against Liu Shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line over the past decades and especially since the founding of the People's Republic of China, we see more clearly the great historic significance of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, and gain a deeper understanding of the incomparable correctness of the theory, line, principles and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat for which Chairman Mao laid the foundation in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee and which have been constantly enriched and developed in the ensuing years.

Chairman Mao pointed out to the masses of revolutionary cadres at that time: **"With victory, the people will be grateful to us and the bourgeoisie will come forward to flatter us. It has been proved that the enemy cannot conquer us by force of arms. However, the**

flattery of the bourgeoisie may conquer the weak-willed in our ranks." How brilliant and correct is this instruction of Chairman Mao's and how much solicitude he shows for the revolutionary cadres! Chairman Mao stressed the need of "guarding against" attacks with sugar-coated bullets by the bourgeoisie and this has been fully confirmed by the subsequent history of the class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. At the present time, when the great proletarian cultural revolution has won great and decisive victory, we must all study again this instruction of Chairman Mao's so as to gain great enlightenment and sharply raise our revolutionary vigilance. **"The comrades must be helped to remain modest, prudent and free from arrogance and rashness in their style of work. The comrades must be helped to preserve the style of plain living and hard struggle."** Revolutionary comrades must never forget this teaching of Chairman Mao's.

We must unite closely around the proletarian headquarters with Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader, and continue to carry out revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation in a more deep-going way by using to the full China's Khrushchov, Liu Shao-chi, that teacher by negative example; in the course of this we should earnestly study the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines in the Party and study well the whole series of Chairman Mao's latest instructions, so as to arm ourselves further with Chairman Mao's theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and heighten our awareness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines. We must soberly recognize that the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines will continue for a long time. The struggle-criticism-transformation that is now going on, the transformation of all parts of the superstructure that do not conform with the socialist economic base, is a continuation of the struggle between the two lines. We must see this from the high level of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, and we must ensure that it is carried out thoroughly and well. In the course of study, struggle, criticism and transformation, the report made by Chairman Mao at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee and his many other important works are our best study material, our best guide and our best weapon.

Let us deepen the nationwide movement to study the history of the struggle between the two lines!

Long live the victory of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line!

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