

MAO TSE-TUNG

**REPORT TO
THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION
OF THE
SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF
THE COMMUNIST PARTY
OF CHINA**

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The "Report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China" delivered by Chairman Mao Tse-tung on March 5, 1949, a Marxist-Leninist document of epoch-making significance, was republished on November 25, 1968. At the same time the important editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao* "Conscientiously Study the History of the Struggle Between the Two Lines", which conveys Chairman Mao's latest directive, was also published. Here we print the two articles.

Printed in the People's Republic of China

**A Quotation from
Chairman Mao Tse-tung**

Historical experience merits attention. Line and viewpoint must be explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to a few people; they must be made known to all the revolutionary masses.

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(March 5, 1949)

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— Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*, November 25, 1968 —

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REPORT TO THE SECOND PLENARY SESSION OF THE SEVENTH CENTRAL COMMITTEE OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHINA

March 5, 1949

Mao Tse-tung

I

With the conclusion of the Liaohsi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Peiping-Tientsin campaigns, the main force of the Kuo-mintang army has been destroyed. Only a million odd of its combat troops are left, dispersed over vast areas from Sinkiang to Taiwan and over extremely long fronts. From now

The Seventh Central Committee of the Communist Party of China held its Second Plenary Session in Hsipaipo Village, Pingshan County, Hopei Province, from March 5 to 13, 1949. Thirty-four members and nineteen alternate members of the Central Committee were present. This session, which was convened on the eve of the country-wide victory of the Chinese people's revolution, was extremely important. In his report delivered on March 5 at the session, Comrade Mao Tse-tung set forth policies to promote the speedy achievement of the country-wide victory of the revolution and to organize this victory. He explained that with this victory the centre of gravity of the Party's work should be shifted from the village to the city, defined the basic political, economic and foreign

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT
OF THE NATIONAL SECURITY AGENCY
DATE: 11/11/50
SUBJECT: CHINA

on there can be only three patterns for disposing of these Kuomintang troops — the Tientsin pattern, the Peiping pattern or the Suiyuan pattern. To dispose of the enemy forces by fighting, as we did in Tientsin, must still be the primary object of our attention and preparations. The commanders and fighters of the entire Chinese People's Liberation Army absolutely must not relax in the least their will to fight; any thinking that relaxes the will to fight and belittles the enemy is wrong. The possibility has increased for solutions on the Peiping pattern, that is, to compel enemy troops to reorganize peacefully, quickly and thoroughly into the People's Liberation Army in conformity with the latter's system. For the purpose of rapidly eliminating the vestiges of counter-revolution and liquidating its political influence, this solution is not quite as effective as the solution by fighting. However, it is bound to occur and is unavoidable after the main force of the enemy has been destroyed; furthermore, it is advantageous to our army and the people because casualties and destruction can be avoided. Therefore, the leading comrades of the various field armies should all pay attention to this form of struggle and learn how to use it. This is one form of

policies the Party should adopt after victory and set the general tasks and main course for transforming China from an agricultural into an industrial country, from a new-democratic into a socialist society. In particular, he analysed the current conditions in the different sectors of China's economy and the correct policies the Party had to adopt, pointed out the necessary ways to realize the socialist transformation in China, criticized various "Left" and Right deviations on this question and expressed the firm conviction that China's economy would develop at a comparatively high speed. Comrade Mao Tse-tung appraised the new situation in the class struggle both at home and abroad following the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution and gave timely warning that the "sugar-coated

struggle, a form of struggle without bloodshed; it does not mean that problems can be solved without struggle. The Suiyuan pattern is deliberately to keep part of the Kuomintang troops wholly or nearly intact, that is, to make temporary concessions to these troops in order to help win them over to our side or neutralize them politically. Thereby, we can concentrate our forces to finish off the main part of the remnant Kuomintang forces first and then, after a certain period (say, a few months, half a year or a year later), proceed to reorganize these troops into the People's Liberation Army in conformity with its system. That is another form of struggle. It will preserve more of the vestiges and political influence of counter-revolution than the Peiping form and for a longer period. But there is not the slightest doubt that they will eventually be eliminated. It must never be assumed that, once they yield to us, the counter-revolutionaries turn into revolutionaries, that their counter-revolutionary ideas and designs cease to exist. Definitely not. Many of the counter-revolutionaries will be remoulded, some will be sifted out, and certain die-hard counter-revolutionaries will be suppressed.

bullets" of the bourgeoisie would become the main danger to the proletariat. All this gives the document great significance for a long historical period. This report and his article *On the People's Democratic Dictatorship*, written in June of the same year, formed the basis for the policies embodied in the Common Programme adopted by the First Plenary Session of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference, which served as a provisional constitution after the founding of New China. The Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party adopted a resolution based on Comrade Mao Tse-tung's report. After the session, the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China moved from Hsipaipo, Pingshan County, Hopei Province to Peiping.

II

The People's Liberation Army is always a fighting force. Even after country-wide victory, our army will remain a fighting force during the historical period in which classes have not been abolished in our country and the imperialist system still exists in the world. On this point there should be no misunderstanding or wavering. The People's Liberation Army is also a working force; this will be the case especially when the Peiping or the Suiyuan pattern of solution is used in the south. With the gradual decrease in hostilities, its function as a working force will increase. There is a possibility that before very long the entire People's Liberation Army will be turned into a working force, and we must take this possibility into account. The 53,000 cadres now ready to leave with the army for the south are very inadequate for the vast new areas we shall soon hold, and we must prepare to turn all the field armies, 2,100,000 strong, into a working force. In that event, there will be enough cadres and the work can develop over large areas. We must look upon the field armies with their 2,100,000 men as a gigantic school for cadres.

III

From 1927 to the present the centre of gravity of our work has been in the villages — gathering strength in the villages, using the villages in order to surround the cities and then taking the cities. The period for this method of work has now ended. The period of “from the city to the village” and of the city leading the village has now begun. The centre of

gravity of the Party's work has shifted from the village to the city. In the south the People's Liberation Army will occupy first the cities and then the villages. Attention must be given to both city and village and it is necessary to link closely urban and rural work, workers and peasants, industry and agriculture. Under no circumstances should the village be ignored and only the city given attention; such thinking is entirely wrong. Nevertheless, the centre of gravity of the work of the Party and the army must be in the cities; we must do our utmost to learn how to administer and build the cities. 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.

IV

On whom shall we rely in our struggles in the cities? Some muddle-headed comrades think we should rely not on the working class but on the masses of the poor. Some comrades

who are even more muddle-headed think we should rely on the bourgeoisie. As for the direction of industrial development, some muddle-headed comrades maintain that we should chiefly help the development of private enterprise and not state enterprise, whereas others hold the opposite view that it suffices to pay attention to state enterprise and that private enterprise is of little importance. We must criticize these muddled views. We must whole-heartedly rely on the working class, unite with the rest of the labouring masses, win over the intellectuals and win over to our side as many as possible of the national bourgeois elements and their representatives who can co-operate with us — or neutralize them — so that we can wage a determined struggle against the imperialists, the Kuomintang and the bureaucrat-capitalist class and defeat these enemies step by step. Meanwhile we shall set about our task of construction and learn, step by step, how to administer cities and restore and develop their production. Regarding the problem of restoring and developing production we must be clear about the following: first comes the production of state industry, second the production of private industry and third handicraft production. From the very first day we take over a city, we should direct our attention to restoring and developing its production. We must not go about our work blindly and haphazardly and forget our central task, lest several months after taking over a city its production and construction should still not be on the right track and many industries should be at a standstill, with the result that the workers are unemployed, their livelihood deteriorates and they become dissatisfied with the Communist Party. Such a state of affairs is entirely impermissible. Therefore, our comrades must do their utmost to learn the techniques of production and the methods of

managing production as well as other closely related work such as commerce and banking. Only when production in the cities is restored and developed, when consumer-cities are transformed into producer-cities, can the people's political power be consolidated. Other work in the cities, for example, in Party organization, in organs of political power, in trade unions and other people's organizations, in culture and education, in the suppression of counter-revolutionaries, in news agencies, newspapers and broadcasting stations — all this work revolves around and serves the central task, production and construction. If we know nothing about production and do not master it quickly, if we cannot restore and develop production as speedily as possible and achieve solid successes so that the livelihood of the workers, first of all, and that of the people in general is improved, we shall be unable to maintain our political power, we shall be unable to stand on our feet, we shall fail.

V

Conditions in the south are different from those in the north, and the Party's tasks must also be different. The south is still under Kuomintang rule. There, the tasks of the Party and the People's Liberation Army are to wipe out the Kuomintang's reactionary armed forces in city and countryside, set up Party organizations, set up organs of political power, arouse the masses, establish trade unions, peasant associations and other people's organizations, build the people's armed forces, mop up the remnant Kuomintang forces and restore and develop production. In the countryside, our first tasks are to wage struggles step by step, to clean out the bandits

and to oppose the local tyrants (the section of the landlord class in power) in order to complete preparations for the reduction of rent and interest; this reduction can then be accomplished within a year or two after the arrival of the People's Liberation Army, and the precondition for the distribution of land will thus be created. At the same time care must be taken to maintain the present level of agricultural production as far as possible and to prevent it from declining. In the north, except for the few new Liberated Areas, conditions are completely different. Here the Kuomintang rule has been overthrown, the people's rule has been established and the land problem has been fundamentally solved. Here the central task of the Party is to mobilize all forces to restore and develop production; this should be the centre of gravity in all work. It is also necessary to restore and develop cultural and educational work, wipe out the remnants of the reactionary forces, consolidate the entire north and support the People's Liberation Army.

VI

We have already carried out extensive economic construction, and the Party's economic policy has been implemented in practice and has achieved marked success. However, there are still many muddled views within the Party on the question of why we should adopt this kind of economic policy and not another, *i.e.*, on a question of theory and principle. How should this question be answered? In our opinion, the answer should be as follows. Before the War of Resistance Against Japan, the proportions of industry and agriculture in the entire national economy of China were, modern industry

about 10 per cent, and agriculture and handicrafts about 90 per cent. This was the result of imperialist and feudal oppression; this was the economic expression of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of the society of old China; and this is our basic point of departure for all questions during the period of the Chinese revolution and for a fairly long period after victory. This gives rise to a series of problems regarding our Party's strategy, tactics and policy. An important task for our Party at present is to reach a clearer understanding of these problems and their solution. That is to say:

1. China already has a modern industry constituting about 10 per cent of her economy; this is progressive, this is different from ancient times. As a result, China has new classes and new political parties — the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, proletarian and bourgeois parties. The proletariat and its party, because they have been oppressed by manifold enemies, have become steeled and are qualified to lead the Chinese people's revolution. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit Right opportunist mistakes.

2. China still has scattered and individual agriculture and handicrafts, constituting about 90 per cent of her entire economy; this is backward, this is not very different from ancient times — about 90 per cent of our economic life remains the same as in ancient times. We have abolished, or will soon abolish, the age-old feudal ownership of land. In this respect, we have become, or will soon become, different from what we were in ancient times, and have or will soon have the possibility of modernizing our agriculture and handicrafts step by step. In their basic form, however, our agriculture and handicrafts today are still scattered and individual, somewhat as they were in ancient times, and they will remain so

for a fairly long time to come. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit "Left" opportunist mistakes.

3. China's modern industry, though the value of its output amounts to only about 10 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy, is extremely concentrated; the largest and most important part of the capital is concentrated in the hands of the imperialists and their lackeys, the Chinese bureaucrat-capitalists. The confiscation of this capital and its transfer to the people's republic led by the proletariat will enable the people's republic to control the economic life-lines of the country and will enable the state-owned economy to become the leading sector of the entire national economy. This sector of the economy is socialist, not capitalist, in character. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit Right opportunist mistakes.

4. China's private capitalist industry, which occupies second place in her modern industry, is a force which must not be ignored. Because they have been oppressed or hemmed in by imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism, the national bourgeoisie of China and its representatives have often taken part in the people's democratic revolutionary struggles or maintained a neutral stand. For this reason and because China's economy is still backward, there will be need, for a fairly long period after the victory of the revolution, to make use of the positive qualities of urban and rural private capitalism as far as possible, in the interest of developing the national economy. In this period, all capitalist elements in the cities and countryside which are not harmful but beneficial to the national economy should be allowed to exist and expand. This is not only unavoidable but also economically necessary. But the existence and expansion of capitalism in China will not be unrestricted and uncurbed as

in the capitalist countries. It will be restricted from several directions — in the scope of its operation and by tax policy, market prices and labour conditions. We shall adopt well-measured and flexible policies for restricting capitalism from several directions according to the specific conditions in each place, each industry and each period. It is necessary and useful for us to apply Sun Yat-sen's slogan of "regulation of capital". However, in the interest of the whole national economy and in the present and future interest of the working class and all the labouring people, we must not restrict the private capitalist economy too much or too rigidly, but must leave room for it to exist and develop within the framework of the economic policy and planning of the people's republic. The policy of restricting private capitalism is bound to meet with resistance in varying degrees and forms from the bourgeoisie, especially from the big owners of private enterprises, that is, from the big capitalists. Restriction versus opposition to restriction will be the main form of class struggle in the new-democratic state. It is entirely wrong to think that at present we need not restrict capitalism and can discard the slogan of "regulation of capital"; that is a Right opportunist view. But the opposite view, which advocates too much or too rigid restriction of private capital or holds that we can simply eliminate private capital very quickly, is also entirely wrong; this is a "Left" opportunist or adventurist view.

5. Scattered, individual agriculture and handicrafts, which make up 90 per cent of the total value of output of the national economy, can and must be led prudently, step by step and yet actively to develop towards modernization and collectivization; the view that they may be left to take their own course is wrong. It is necessary to organize producers', consumers'

and credit co-operatives and leading organs of the co-operatives at national, provincial, municipal, county and district levels. Such co-operatives are collective economic organizations of the labouring masses, based on private ownership and under the direction of the state power led by the proletariat. The fact that the Chinese people are culturally backward and have no tradition of organizing co-operatives may confront us with difficulties, but co-operatives can and must be organized and must be promoted and developed. If there were only a state-owned economy and no co-operative economy, it would be impossible for us to lead the individual economy of the labouring people step by step towards collectivization, impossible to develop from the new-democratic society to the future socialist society and impossible to consolidate the leadership of the proletariat in the state power. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will also commit extremely serious mistakes. The state-owned economy is socialist in character and the co-operative economy is semi-socialist; these plus private capitalism, plus the individual economy, plus the state-capitalist economy in which the state and private capitalists work jointly, will be the chief sectors of the economy of the people's republic and will constitute the new-democratic economic structure.

6. The restoration and development of the national economy of the people's republic would be impossible without a policy of controlling foreign trade. When imperialism, feudalism, bureaucrat-capitalism and the concentrated expression of all three, the Kuomintang regime, have been eliminated in China, the problem of establishing an independent and integrated industrial system will remain unsolved and it will be finally solved only when our country has greatly developed economically and changed from a backward agri-

cultural into an advanced industrial country. It will be impossible to achieve this aim without controlling foreign trade. After the country-wide victory of the Chinese revolution and the solution of the land problem, two basic contradictions will still exist in China. The first is internal, that is, the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie. The second is external, that is, the contradiction between China and the imperialist countries. Consequently, 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. The two basic policies of the state in the economic struggle will be regulation of capital at home and control of foreign trade. Whoever overlooks or belittles this point will commit extremely serious mistakes.

7. China has inherited a backward economy. But the Chinese people are brave and industrious. With the victory of the Chinese people's revolution and the founding of the people's republic, and with the leadership of the Communist Party of China, plus the support of the working class of the countries of the world and chiefly the support of the Soviet Union, the speed of China's economic construction will not be very slow, but may be fairly fast. The day is not far off when China will attain prosperity. There is absolutely no ground for pessimism about China's economic resurgence.

VII

Old China was a semi-colonial country under imperialist domination. Thoroughly anti-imperialist in character, the Chinese people's democratic revolution has incurred the bitter

hatred of the imperialists who have done their utmost to help the Kuomintang. This has aroused the Chinese people to even deeper indignation against the imperialists and deprived them of their last shred of prestige among the Chinese people. At the same time the whole imperialist system is very much weakened after World War II, while the strength of the world anti-imperialist front headed by the Soviet Union is greater than ever before. In these circumstances, we can and should adopt a policy of systematically and completely destroying imperialist domination in China. This imperialist domination manifests itself in the political, economic and cultural fields. In each city or place where the Kuomintang troops are wiped out and the Kuomintang government is overthrown, imperialist political domination is overthrown with it, and so is imperialist economic and cultural domination. But the economic and cultural establishments run directly by the imperialists are still there, and so are the diplomatic personnel and the journalists recognized by the Kuomintang. We must deal with all these properly in their order of urgency. Refuse to recognize the legal status of any foreign diplomatic establishments and personnel of the Kuomintang period, refuse to recognize all the treasonable treaties of the Kuomintang period, abolish all imperialist propaganda agencies in China, take immediate control of foreign trade and reform the customs system — these are the first steps we must take upon entering the big cities. When they have acted thus, the Chinese people will have stood up in the face of imperialism. As for the remaining imperialist economic and cultural establishments, they can be allowed to exist for the time being, subject to our supervision and control, to be dealt with by us after country-wide victory. As for ordinary foreign nationals, their legitimate interests will

be protected and not encroached upon. As for the question of the recognition of our country by the imperialist countries, we should not be in a hurry to solve it now and need not be in a hurry to solve it even for a fairly long period after country-wide victory. We are willing to establish diplomatic relations with all countries on the principle of equality, but the imperialists, who have always been hostile to the Chinese people, will definitely not be in a hurry to treat us as equals. As long as the imperialist countries do not change their hostile attitude, we shall not grant them legal status in China. As for doing business with foreigners, there is no question; wherever there is business to do, we shall do it and we have already started; the businessmen of several capitalist countries are competing for such business. So far as possible, we must first of all trade with the socialist and people's democratic countries; at the same time we will also trade with capitalist countries.

VIII

All the conditions are ripe for convening the Political Consultative Conference and forming a democratic coalition government. All the democratic parties, people's organizations and democrats without party affiliation are on our side. The bourgeoisie in Shanghai and in the Yangtse valley are trying to establish contacts with us. Navigation and postal communications between north and south have been resumed. The disintegrating Kuomintang has alienated itself from all the masses. We are preparing to have negotiations with the reactionary Nanking government. Its moving forces for negotiating with us are the warlords of the Kwangsi clique,

those factions of the Kuomintang favouring peace and the Shanghai bourgeoisie. Their aims are to obtain a share in the coalition government, retain as many troops as possible, preserve the interests of the bourgeoisie in Shanghai and the south and do their best to moderate the revolution. These groups recognize our eight terms as the basis for negotiations, but they want to bargain so that their losses will not be too great. Those trying to wreck the negotiations are Chiang Kai-shek and his sworn followers. Chiang Kai-shek still has sixty divisions south of the Yangtse and they are preparing to fight. Our policy is not to refuse negotiations, but to demand that the other side accept the eight terms in their entirety and to allow no bargaining. In return, we would refrain from fighting the Kwangsi clique and the other Kuomintang factions which favour peace, postpone the reorganization of their troops for about a year, allow some individuals in the Nanking government to take part in the Political Consultative Conference and the coalition government and agree to protect certain interests of the bourgeoisie in Shanghai and in the south. The negotiations are to be on an over-all basis and, if successful, they will reduce many obstacles to our advance into the south and to the take-over of the big cities there, which will have great advantages. If they are not successful, then separate negotiations on a local basis will be held after our army advances. The negotiations on an over-all basis are tentatively fixed for late March. We hope to occupy Nanking by April or May, then convene the Political Consultative Conference in Peiping, form a coalition government and make Peiping the capital. Since we have agreed to hold negotiations, we should be prepared for the many troubles which will arise after the success of the negotiations, and we should be ready with clear heads to

deal with the tactics the other side will adopt, the tactics of the Monkey who gets into the stomach of the Princess of the Iron Fan to play the devil. As long as we are fully prepared mentally, we can beat any devilish Monkey. Whether the peace negotiations are over-all or local, we should be prepared for such an eventuality. We should not refuse to enter into negotiations because we are afraid of trouble and want to avoid complications, nor should we enter into negotiations with our minds in a haze. We should be firm in principle; we should also have all the flexibility permissible and necessary for carrying out our principles.

IX

The people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, requires that our Party conscientiously unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; these are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship. Without this unity, the dictatorship cannot be consolidated. It is also required that our Party unite with as many as possible of the representatives of the urban petty bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who can co-operate with us and with their intellectuals and political groups, so that, during the revolutionary period, we can isolate the counter-revolutionary forces and completely overthrow both the counter-revolutionary and imperialist forces in China and so that, after the victory of the revolution, we can speedily restore and develop production, cope with foreign imperialism, steadily transform China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build China into

a great socialist state. Therefore, our Party's policy of long-term co-operation with non-Party democrats should be clearly established in the thinking and work of the whole Party. We must regard the majority of non-Party democrats as we do our own cadres, consult with them sincerely and frankly to solve those problems that call for consultation and solution, give them work, entrust them with the responsibility and authority that should go with their posts and help them do their work well. Proceeding from the desire to unite with them, we should carry out serious and appropriate criticism or struggle against their errors and shortcomings in order to attain the objective of unity. It would be wrong to adopt an accommodating attitude towards their errors or shortcomings. It would also be wrong to adopt a closed-door or perfunctory attitude towards them. In each big or medium city, each strategic region and each province, we should develop a group of non-Party democrats who have prestige and can co-operate with us. The incorrect attitude towards non-Party democrats, fostered by the closed-door style in our Party during the War of Agrarian Revolution, was not entirely overcome during the War of Resistance Against Japan, and it reappeared in 1947 during the high tide of the land reform in the base areas. This attitude would serve only to isolate our Party, prevent the consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship and enable the enemy to obtain allies. Now that China's first Political Consultative Conference under the leadership of our Party will soon be convened, that a democratic coalition government will soon be formed and that the revolution will soon be victorious throughout the country, the whole Party must make a serious and self-critical examination of this problem and understand it correctly; it must oppose the two deviations, the Right deviation of accommodation and the closed-

door and perfunctory "Left" deviation, and adopt an entirely correct attitude.

X

Very soon we shall be victorious throughout the country. This victory will breach the eastern front of imperialism and will have great international significance. To win this victory will not require much more time and effort, but to consolidate it will. The bourgeoisie doubts our ability to construct. The imperialists reckon that eventually we will beg alms from them in order to live. With victory, certain moods may grow within the Party — arrogance, the airs of a self-styled hero, inertia and unwillingness to make progress, love of pleasure and distaste for continued hard living. 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. There may be some Communists, who were not conquered by enemies with guns and were worthy of the name of heroes for standing up to these enemies, but who cannot withstand sugar-coated bullets; they will be defeated by sugar-coated bullets. We must guard against such a situation. To win country-wide victory is only the first step in a long march of ten thousand *li*. Even if this step is worthy of pride, it is comparatively tiny; what will be more worthy of pride is yet to come. After several decades, the victory of the Chinese people's democratic revolution, viewed in retrospect, will seem like only a brief prologue to a long drama. A drama begins with a prologue, but the prologue is not the climax. The Chinese revolution is great, but

the road after the revolution will be longer, the work greater and more arduous. This must be made clear now in the Party. 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. We have the Marxist-Leninist weapon of criticism and self-criticism. We can get rid of a bad style and keep the good. We can learn what we did not know. We are not only good at destroying the old world, we are also good at building the new. Not only can the Chinese people live without begging alms from the imperialists, they will live a better life than that in the imperialist countries.

CONSCIENTIOUSLY STUDY THE HISTORY OF THE STRUGGLE BETWEEN THE TWO LINES

— Editorial of *Renmin Ribao*, *Hongqi* and *Jiefangjun Bao*,
November 25, 1968 —

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 re-published 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 nineteen years. The study of this report is of great significance for carrying out the tasks set by the Enlarged Twelfth 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 explained constantly and repeatedly. It won't do to explain them only to 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 country-wide 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 whole-heartedly 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 nineteen 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 nineteen 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 nineteen years 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 since the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat. 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 Eleventh 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

still would 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 he has 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!

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 against transformation that is now going on, the transformation of all parts of the superstructure that do not conform with the socialist economic base, it's continuation of the struggle between the two lines. We must set this issue the high level of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism and we must insist that it is carried out thoroughly and well. In the course of study, struggle, criticism and self-criticism, the report made by Chairman Mao at the Second Plenary Session of the Party's Seventh Central Committee and his other latest speeches would be our best study material, our best guide and our best weapon.

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

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

毛泽东

在中国共产党第七届中央委员会
第二次全体会议上的报告

(附《人民日报》、《红旗》杂志、
《解放军报》社论《认真学习两条路线斗争的历史》)

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