

CORRECTLY IMPLEMENT THE PARTY'S CLASS LINE
- Second Discussion of the Party's
Class Line -

Following is a translation of an article by the
Commentator of the Chinese-language newspaper
Ping-t'uan Chan-pao, Peiping, in No 4, 16 Decem-
ber 1966, p. 3.

Our party's class line is the result of the summary of several decades' experience in the Chinese Revolution. It is the basic political and organizational line personally adopted by the party Central Committee and Chairman Mao. Only a proletarian party can have such a great mass line.

Said Chairman Mao, "Who are our enemies? Who are our friends? These are the first questions to be answered in our revolution." In each revolutionary period we must first clarify these primary questions. The party's class line is precisely the concrete manifestation of this great strategic thought.

The strength and objects of the revolution change with each different historical period, and so the presentation of the party's class line concretely varies; but the spiritual substance never changes. Our practical experience proves that the party's class line is always applicable to, and required by, each revolutionary period.

What is the party's class line in the great Cultural Revolution?

The sixteen articles have stated it very clearly. To sum up, it is the resolute reliance on the left wing of the

revolution, winning of the middle-of-the-roaders, unification of the great majority, and concentration of strength on attacking the handful of most reactionary bourgeois rightist elements and counterrevolutionary revisionists.

The three things referred to here in connection with the party's class line--whom to rely on, whom to unite, and whom to attack--are of basic importance, and none of them is dispensable. In a word, the party's class line is to mobilize the masses, unite all the forces that can be united, and attack the reactionaries, all for the revolution.

In the great Cultural Revolution, whether the party's class line can be correctly implemented depends on whether the masses can fully be mobilized, whether the sixteen articles can be correctly enforced, whether the struggle, criticism, and transformation can be smoothly carried on, and, in a word, whether the party's class line can be correctly implemented concerns the destiny of this great Cultural Revolution.

The class line is the primary question in the revolution. If this question cannot be solved, it is equally impossible to solve all other questions.

How can the party's class line be correctly implemented? We think that to this end the first requirement is to have the correct understanding, to study the three old articles thoroughly, to raise high the great flag of Chairman Mao's five conditions concerning the successors, to have a grip on the Marxist class viewpoint and method of class analysis, to implant the correct mass viewpoint and the revolutionary thinking of service for the people, and to conduct all business strictly and solemnly according to the party's class policy.

The party's class policy has, first, its content; does not, secondly, merely have its content; and lays stress, thirdly, on the manifestation of political thinking. This is an important step toward the correct implementation of the party's class line. Without the class policy and the class line, there is no correct implementation to speak of; without the class line and the class policy, the whole thing becomes aimless. Therefore when we talk about the party's class line, we must talk about its class policy. But we should not interpret the party's class policy to be its class line.

Each revolutionary must follow the party's class line, make class analyses according to the party's class policy, obtain therefrom correct class appraisals, discover and organize real left-wing ranks and rely on them; win over the

majority of middle-of-the-roaders and unite them; thoroughly isolate the reactionary bourgeois right wing and attack it with concentrated strength.

What is the left wing?

The standards of the left wing are very high, and its conditions very numerous. They may be summed up in the following three points: Study Chairman Mao's books, listen to his words, and conduct business according to his directives. The experience of the revolution tells us that this is a reliable standard for measuring the left wing of the revolution.

Some regard those with a good background as the legitimate "left wing," as natural power-wielders, and as heaven-born revolutionary rebels. In our view this is mistaken, and it is the fallacy of the "naturally red." It is metaphysical idealism, the philosophy of the landlord class, and the tune played by the aristocrats. We object to this view.

Who are the middle-of-the-roaders?

In the revolutionary movement those who vacillate and can turn either eastward or westward, either to the left or to the right, are the middle-of-the-roaders. They form a substantial group, and whether it is possible to unite this part of the masses directly concerns the success or failure of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

In the class struggle friend and foe must be clearly distinguished.

Struggle with the foe, and contend with the friend.

Struggle without contention is untenable.

At the same time that the struggle is carried on against the foe, we must see to it that the middle-of-the-roaders are won over, and that the great majority are united. Only thus can our revolution organize an impressive army of thousands and thousands strong and plunge the enemy into the engulfing sea of the broad masses.

Under the influence of the bourgeois reactionary line, which is "leftist" in form but right in fact, background alone occupies an important place in the eyes of some of our comrades, and to them the unification of the great majority means very little. So, they do not make a class analysis of the middle-of-the-road masses, and once the latter do not have a good background, they are abused and called names, and in

general they are boycotted.

The class line of Peng Chen (1756 4176) is not concerned with content, but stresses the surface of things. It is a revisionist line. At the same time the bourgeois line, which is "leftist" in form but rightist in fact, one-sidedly emphasizes background and the jus sanguinis. We can see that though these two lines seem different, they are in fact the same, if we study them a little, and they are both contrary to Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

What is the right wing?

All anti-party, anti-socialist, anti-Mao Tse-tung's thinking, counterrevolutionary, and revisionists elements may be said to belong to the right wing. These people frequently seek to bring about restoration, and whenever the opportunity presents itself, they begin to stir up trouble. They are the enemies of our dictatorship. There are only a handful of these people under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we must mobilize the masses to overthrow them and make them smell politically and eradicate their evil influence completely.

In the process of our understanding of the bourgeois rightist elements, we must be on our guard against mistaking the revolutionary masses for counterrevolutionaries. It is even a greater mistake to take those who present their proposals to the leadership of their own unit as anti-party, anti-socialist, anti-Mao Tse-tung's thinking rightists. And it is very much worse to group the children of non-laboring families without analysis under the right wing.

To sum up, the party's class line is to solve the questions of whom to rely on, whom to unite, and whom to attack. These are most important questions, and those who engage in revolution must correctly implement the party's class line.

We firmly believe that the day for the correct implementation of the party's class line is the day for the full mobilization of the masses. As we look forward to the future of the great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, which is magnificent, there lies before our eyes a new high tide of revolution full of vitality and full of warmth.

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TO OUR READERS

Revolutionary Faculties and Students, Red Guards, and Comrades:

Ever since its initial publication, the Ping-t'uen Chan-

pao has received the warm support and generous help of the broad masses of workers, peasants, and soldiers and the Red Guards, who have given it great strength and encouragement by means of their voluminous contributions and letters. Only by arming the broad masses with Mao Tse-tung's thinking can the bourgeois reactionary line be criticized until it crumbles, smells, and falls, and the great Cultural Revolution carried to the end. Only by relying on the broad masses can the Ping-t'uan Chan-pao produce its effect in the combat. Therefore we welcome warmly the continued contributions and letters of the broad masses of our readers, who are expected to join the fight.

Attention should be paid to the present counter-current. We have been criticizing the bourgeois reactionary line in middle schools, "those who are naturally red," and all the merchandise sold by T'an (6223). The masses have been mobilized. As a result, no longer able to sit quietly, some people have jumped out, called us "sons of a bitch," and abused us severely for our "reversals," for "sharply" "attacking" the Red Guards, and for "throwing out one big poison weed after another." The violence of their vituperations has almost resulted in the branding of our newspaper as a counterrevolutionary enterprise. It seems that the defects of the Red Guards cannot even be mentioned and that a debate should never be stirred up among them. They can only grow up in their glorification and live in it.

We welcome our readers to criticize us in the same way as they criticize the "poison weeds," with the same standpoint and analysis. The greatest support will be given us by the appraisal of our writings in accordance with Mao Tse-tung's thinking.

On our part we shall continue our fight, for the sake of defending the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the party's class line, for the sake of expanding the victory of the great Cultural Revolution. When a boat is steady, it is not afraid of any storm; when the helm is firm, it is not afraid of any rapids. Being all Red Guards of Chairman Mao, we believe that our actions are in line with his thinking. What do we need to conceal?

As to the "counterrevolutionary" hats that are put on us, we have had the experience before. Please do not threaten us again with this trick.

Finally there are a few points to be explained to our readers:

1. Comrades are requested to use Mao Tse-tung's thinking as their weapon, and those with differing viewpoints are welcome to send their contributions.

2. Owing to the limited publication of this newspaper, it is hoped that revolutionary comrades in other cities will help to put out liberal reprints.

3. Owing to difficulties in composing and printing, this newspaper cannot be published on time, and so nothing has been done about regular subscription. It is hoped that our readers can excuse us and cease to send cash. If there is any special need, please inform us by letter, and we shall do our best to solve the problem.

4. Please write clearly addresses and names (and avoid forwarding addresses), so that direct contacts can be maintained.

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