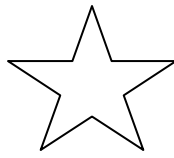


FIVE GOLDEN RAYS



**Five Articles by Mao Tse Tung
with Commentaries**

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Serve the People

September 8, 1944

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests Comrade Chang Szu-teh¹ was in the ranks of the battalions.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said: "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather."² To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather. Comrade Chang Szu-teh died for the people and his death is indeed weightier than Mount Tai.

We have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. The idea of better troops and simpler administration was put forward by Mr. Li Ting-ming³, who is not a Communist. He made a good suggestion which is of benefit to the people, we have adopted it. If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive.

We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. And we need the vast majority of the people with us on the road to this objective. Today, we already lead base areas with a population of 91 million,⁴ but this is not enough; to liberate the whole nation, more are needed. In times of difficulty, we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage. The Chinese people are suffering, it is our duty to save them and we must exert ourselves in struggle. Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people, it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should **our best** to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other.

From now on, when anyone in our ranks who has done some useful work dies, be he soldier or cook, we should have a funeral ceremony and a memorial meeting in his honor. This should become the rule. And it should be introduced among the people as well. When someone dies in a village, let a memorial meeting be held. In this way we express our mourning for the dead and unite all the people.

¹ Comrade Chang Szu-the was a soldier in the Guards Regiment of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. A member of the Communist Party who loyally served the interests of the people, he joined the revolution in 1933, took part in the Long March and was wounded in service. On September 5,

1944, when making charcoal in the mountains of Ansai County, northern Shensi, he was killed by the sudden collapse of a kiln.

² Szuma Chien, the famous Chinese historian of the 2nd century B.C., was the author of the Historical Records. The quotation comes from his Reply to Jen Shao-ching's Letter.

³ Li Ting-ming, an enlightened landlord of northern Shensi Province, was at one time elected Vice-Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region Government.

⁴ This was the total population of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region and all other Liberated Areas in northern, central and southern China.

Commentary on Serve the People

“Serve the people” was the speech made by Chairman Mao at a memorial meeting for Comrade Chang Szu-teh.

Comrade Chang Szu-teh was born in 1915 in Luihochang in Yilung County, Szechuan Province. His family of four was a poor peasant one. Both his father and elder brother died of exhaustion working for the landlords. When he was only seven months; his mother died of sickness and he was brought up by an aunt named Liu Kuang-yu. The aunt was very poor and Chang Szu-teh had to work for a landlord when he was 12 to 13. He joined the Red Army in August 1933 and was admitted into the Communist Youth League that year. Later, he joined the Chinese Communist Party. He took part in the 25,000-li Long and was wounded in action. At the time of his death; he was a fighter in the Guards Regiment of the Central Committee of the Chinese Party. Comrade Chang Szu-teh was always loyal to the Party and the people. He worked diligently, never avoided hardship, danger or difficulty, and displayed the fine qualities of a Communist Party member and a revolutionary fighter. On September 5, 1944, while making charcoal in the mountains of Ansai County in northern Shensi, he was killed when a kiln collapsed. A memorial meeting for Comrade Chang Szu-teh was held by departments directly under the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. Chairman Mao personally wrote the inscription, “Salute to Comrade Chang Szu-teh who died for the interests of the people” and delivered the famous speech **Serve the People** at the meeting.

Serve the People is a great work of communist education on a high ideological plane; it is the most basic required reading for revolutionary people remolding their ideology and establishing the proletarian world outlook. Brief and written in a popular style, its contents are extremely rich and profound. For more than 20 years, the great ideas in this article have played and still playing an incalculably great role in raising the class consciousness of the masses of cadres and fighters and in changing the people’s mental outlook. Outstanding persons like Lei Feng, Ouyang Hai Wang Chieh, Chiao Yu-lu, Mai Hsien-teh, Liu Ying-chun and Tsai Yung-hsiang and outstanding units like the Good Eighth Company, the Staunch Sixth Company, the Red Ninth Company and the No. 3211 Drilling Team were all nurtured by the idea of serving the people. The masses of commanders and fighters in the People’s Liberation Army and hundreds of millions of revolutionary people have gained infinite spiritual strength from this article, and this strength has been turned into a tremendous material force transforming the world, enormously strengthening the building of the P.L.A. and greatly pushing forward the cause of China’s socialist revolution and socialist construction.

The idea of wholly and entirely serving the people is the nucleus of the communist world outlook. Our revolutionary fighters must study **Serve the People** over and over again, constantly examine themselves and drive themselves forward in the spirit of “wholly” and “entirely” serving the people, and remold themselves into new communists; successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause who serve the Chinese people and the people of the world wholeheartedly.

Fundamentally speaking; the present great proletarian cultural revolution is a great revolution to destroy all the exploiting classes' concepts of self-interest and foster the socialist concept of devotion to the public interest. The idea of wholly and entirely serving the people, as put forth in this article by Chairman Mao, is the powerful ideological weapon for destroying self-interest, promoting devotion to the public interest and remolding people to the depths of their souls. We must study this great article conscientiously, and take the ideas in it as the weapon for fulfilling the historic task of the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In studying this great article, special attention should be paid to the following points:

1. Destroy self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest, serve the people wholly, entirely.

Chairman Mao has said: "Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests."

Our Party works, for the complete liberation of the proletariat. The proletariat will not only liberate itself but all mankind, the proletariat liberate all of humankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its final liberation. The people are the motive force in the making of world history, the main body of revolution and the masters of society. Therefore, serving the people's interests is the starting point in all Party's work. Chairman Mao has taught us: "Our point of departure is to serve the people wholeheartedly, and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interest of the people and not from one's self-interest or from the interests of a small group, and who identify our responsibility to the leading organs of the Party." (*On Coalition Government*)

Our army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution under the absolute leadership of the Party; it is the people's army coming from the people and serving the people. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The sole purpose of this army is to stand firmly with the Chinese people and to serve them wholeheartedly." (*On Coalition Government*)

Serving the people wholly and entirely constitutes the revolutionary essence of our Party and our army as well as a quality which every revolutionary must possess. In serving the people wholly and entirely, the most fundamental question lies in destroying the idea self-interest and promoting the idea of devotion to the public interests.

Self-interest means always thinking about oneself, taking only oneself into account, striving for fame, wealth, power, position or opportunities to be in the limelight, forgetting the whole, the society, the 700,000 million Chinese people and the thousands of millions of the people of the world. Working for the public interests means not seeking fame and gain, fearing neither hardship nor death, being utterly devoted to others without any thought of self, working heart and soul for the revolution and the people, and wholeheartedly serving the Chinese people and the people of the world. Working for self-

interest and working for the public interest represent two diametrically opposed world outlooks — the bourgeois and the proletarian world outlooks. When two are engaged in battle, one must win over the other. If one cannot overcome the other, one must be overcome by the other.

Fundamentally speaking, the current great proletarian cultural revolution consists of sharp struggles between these two world outlooks, and it is a great ideological revolution to destroy the old and establish the new, to destroy self-interest. In this great revolution every one of our revolutionary comrades must be able to stand the test, stand in the vanguard of struggle, consciously make revolution in the depths of his soul, wage resolute struggles to eradicate bourgeois ideas and foster proletarian ideas, destroy self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest and let Mao Tsetung's thought completely occupy his mind.

To destroy self-interest and promote devotion to the public interest, it is necessary to handle the relations between revolutionary interest and one's personal interests correctly. This is a line which marks off those comrades who are serving the people wholly and entirely from those who are serving with certain reservations or half-heartedly. To serve the people wholly and entirely, we must put above all else the interest of the revolution, the people and the liberation of all humankind. Personal interests must be subordinated to the revolutionary interest unconditionally. Chairman Mao has taught us: "At no time and in no circumstances should a Communist place his personal interests first; he should subordinate them to the interests of the nation and of the masses." (*The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War*) Certain comrades choose between different kinds of work. They are willing to do work that gives them higher wages and more favorable conditions, but not work that does not. They are glad to do work that confirms to their own aspirations. They like to do work that can bring them fame, but not work that cannot. In short may they place personal interests first. This has nothing to do with the idea of serving the people wholly and entirely. The experience gained by many people illustrates that when people think only of themselves, they become narrow-minded, and when they think only of revolution, they become open-minded.

Chairman Mao has said: "All our cadres, whatever their rank, are servants of the people, and whatever we do is to serve the people. How then can we be reluctant to discard any of our bad traits?" (*The Tasks for 1945*) Among the different kinds of revolutionary work, there is only the division of labor; there are no differences such as high or low, lofty or humble. The work in every trade and profession is an indispensable part of the revolutionary cause. As long as we take a correct attitude towards our work, we can all make valuable contributions to the people and our work will be meaningful and have a future. One who does whatever the Party asks and does it gladly and with will, without considering rank, burdens or conditions is a good comrade.

More than a decade after he joined the army, Chang Tzu-teh was still happy to be a soldier and considered making charcoal an important task entrusted to him by the Party. He deserved to be considered a loyal servant of the people. Lei Feng said: "The entire task of Communists is wholehearted service to the people." Whatever work he did, he liked and did it well. Wherever he went, he brought light. Wang Chieh said: "What is the

ideal? It is to carry the revolution through to the end. What is the future? It is the revolutionary cause. What is happiness? It is service to the people.” Everyone of our comrades should follow their example, throw away all self-interest, work heart and soul and in a down-to-earth way in any post, become a shining cog which never rusts in the revolutionary machine.

2. Live for the people die for the people.

Chairman Mao said: “All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, ‘though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather.’ To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather.” He has also said: “The Chinese people are suffering; it is our duty to save them and we must exert ourselves in struggle. Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the suffering of the great majority at heart, and then we die for the people, it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices.” Chairman Mao has pointed out to us here what basic attitude a revolutionary should take towards the question of life and death.

Our Party is a revolutionary Party and our army is a revolutionary army. Making revolution inevitably means paying a price and making sacrifices.

“Bitter sacrifice strengthens bold resolve which dares to make sun and moon shine in new skies.” (From Chairman Mao’s poem Shaoshan Revisited)

Chairman Mao has also said, “Will the Chinese cower before difficulties when they are not afraid even of death?” (*Farewell, Leighton Stuart*) Unafraid of death, there is nothing on earth that can intimidate us; on the contrary, it is we who will wipe out the ghosts and monsters in the world! The modern revisionists fear death and want to survive at any price and so they want to liquidate the revolution. They have completely betrayed the cause of the proletarian revolution. It takes many tests to prove whether a person is a genuine revolutionary, whether one works truly, or falsely for the people. And of all the tests, the most exacting, sharpest and hardest is whether one can or cannot die courageously when the interests of the people demand it.

Our countless revolutionary martyrs who have willingly laid down their lives in the interests of the people are shining examples for us. They died to enable more people to live and to bring about the liberation of the masses. Their death is weightier than Mount Tai in significance and they will live in the hearts of the people forever. Liu Hu-lan did not shun difficulties and danger and finally went to her glorious death in the face of the vicious enemy for the cause of the people’s liberation. Chairman Mao wrote an inscription to her which said: “She lived a great life and died a glorious death.” This is also a call to everyone of our comrades to make Liu Hu-lan their model — to live and die for the people.

Only by being selfless can one be fearless. Only by serving the people wholeheartedly can one become a person with the greatest courage. It was precisely because of their

wholehearted dedication to the revolution, to the people and to the public interest that the countless number of our revolutionary martyrs were able to become dauntless, and courageous people unafraid of death. This is how Ouyang Hai put it: “If there is a need for us to give our lives for communist ideals, every one of us should and can do so — without turning pale and one’s heart palpitating with fear.” Wang Chieh put it this way: “For the people who are suffering, I would willingly go to my death and never change my mind even if I have to scale a mountain of swords and brave a sea of flames.” And, this is how Twai Yung-hsiang put it: “Like Comrade Norman Bethune, one should dedicate all of one’s energy and one’s life to the cause of the liberation of mankind and to communism.” All this shows that it was not accidental that they had the spirit of dedicating themselves courageously. This was because they ceaselessly armed themselves with Mao Tse-tung’s thought and established the proletarian world outlook in every day life. How can a person who lives only for himself, give his life in a noble spirit? These kind of people, when they meet difficulties in the revolutionary struggle, see darkness all around, become pessimistic and wavering and would even betray the revolution. Only people armed with Mao Tse-tung’s thought will have a firm conviction that victory definitely belongs to the people, and can, in time of difficulty, see achievements and brightness, struggle against difficulties with boundless courage, and valiantly give their lives when the interest of the people demand them to do so. In a word, only a person who lives for the people can die for the people. Only a person who stands up to the tests of ordinary times can stand up to the tests at crucial moments.

That we advocate courage and the spirit of being fearless in sacrifice definitely does not mean that we should not value our lives. On the contrary, in order to strive for the interests of the people, we must pay attention to safety and health, and try our utmost to avoid senseless sacrifices. This is absolutely different from fear of death or lack of courage.

3. In the interest of the people, persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong.

Chairman Mao has said: “If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive.” Chairman Mao has pointed out here the basic attitude of a proletarian revolutionary fighter towards criticism and self-criticism — to persevere in doing what is right and to correct what is wrong in the interest of the people.

The conscientious practice of self-criticism is a hallmark which distinguishes our Party from all other political parties. Our Party’s traditional fine style of work is to conscientiously carry out criticism and self-criticism. With such conscientious criticism and self-criticism, our Party is able to constantly overcome all shortcomings and resist corruption by bourgeois ideas and achieve genuine unity and consolidation. We can thus gain the endowment and support of the masses and constantly advance our revolutionary cause.

It is on the ideological basis of serving the people wholeheartedly that we Communists can maintain a conscientious development of criticism and self-criticism. As early as 20 years ago, Chairman Mao taught us in all earnestness: “As we Chinese Communists who base all actions on the highest interests of the broadest masses of the Chinese people and who are fully convinced of the justice of our cause, who never balk at any personal sacrifice and are ready at all times to give our lives for the cause, can we be reluctant to discard any idea, viewpoint, opinion or method which is not suited to the needs of the people? Can we be willing to allow political dust and germs to dirty our clean faces or eat into our healthy organisms?” (*On Coalition Government*) If we want to carry this out — this important instruction of Chairman Mao to conscientiously develop criticism, we must have the revolutionary cause and interests of the Party and the people at heart and cast aside all considerations of personal gain and loss. In this way, we will become people who are open-minded and clear-headed and will truly persevere in doing what is right and correct what is wrong in the interest of the people.

If a person always puts “egoism” above everything else and worries about personal gain and loss, he will be unable to correctly understand his shortcomings and mistakes and take a correct attitude towards all kinds of criticism and suggestions. When he has shortcomings, he acts in a way that he is “not afraid to have them pointed out,” but he is afraid of another thing — afraid of losing face or prestige, afraid of undertaking responsibility, of forfeiting his vested interests, and so forth. The result is that shortcomings are not overcome, mistakes are not corrected and harm is thereby done to the Party, to the people and to himself. He does not treat others as equals and if he has shortcomings, he does not act on the teaching: “Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings”; instead, his attitude towards criticism varies, he is willing to accept criticism from those of a higher rank but he feels embarrassed by criticism from those below him, he is willing to accept criticism from those whose opinions agree with his and rejects criticism from those who hold dissenting opinions. In dealing with the opinions of others, he does take the attitude of “if you are right, we will make corrections,” but willfully negates the correct opinions of others on the pretext that the “attitude” of others is improper and that the criticism does not conform to the facts on side issues. In his attitude towards the less correct opinions of others, instead of “correct mistakes if you have committed them and guard against them if you have not,” he will all the more fly into a rage, which aggravates differences in opinions and affects the unity between comrades. In his approach to the masses’ proposals, he does not act according to the teaching “if what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it,” but regards himself as wise and resourceful and considers the masses ignorant and incapable. He does not believe in the wisdom of the masses, rejects their reasonable proposals, thus dampening their enthusiasm. He works coldly and quietly and thus finds himself in an increasingly helpless position. If we want to really persevere in doing what is right and correcting what is wrong in the interests of the people, we must have the courage to revolutionize ourselves and overcome all individualist selfish ideas.

Comrade Lin Biao has said that we should regard ourselves as a part of the strength in the revolution and at the same time constantly make ourselves a target of revolution. We should revolutionize ourselves. Without doing this, it is impossible to make the revolution a success. In accordance with Comrade Lin Biao’s instructions, we

must use Mao Tse-tung's thought as a weapon to carry out conscientious self-criticism, revolutionize ourselves to the depths of our souls, and never cease to wage relentless struggle against "egoism." We must establish the idea of wholehearted devotion to the people, be a Communist Party member in its full sense and a proletarian revolutionary fighter who is selfless, upholds the truth and correct mistakes.

4. Unite the comrades, unite the people to realize a common revolutionary objective.

Chairman Mao has said: "We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. And we need the vast majority of the people with us on the road to this objective..." And he went on to say: "Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other." Chairman Mao has raised a most important question here, the question of revolutionary unity.

In order to serve the people and carry out the tasks of revolution, our ranks must solve the question of internal and external unity. Unity is strength. Only when unity is reached within our revolutionary ranks and between our revolutionary ranks and the broad masses of the people to form a solid militant entity can gigantic power be generated to defeat the enemy, overcome difficulties and win victories in revolution and construction. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "The unification of our country, the unity of our people and the unity of our various revolutionary organizations — these are the basic guarantees of the sure triumph of our cause." (*On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People*) Our proletarian revolutionary fighters must pay attention to the immense significance of revolutionary unity.

Our unity is unity for a common revolutionary aim, a unity of will and purpose. In our nation's present stage, our revolutionary aim is to realize socialism and prepare the conditions for the transition to communism. Consequently, we must unite with all those who are willing to take the socialist road. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding light on the socialist road that we are resolutely taking and the basic guarantee for realizing our common revolutionary aim. Consequently, Mao Tse-tung's thought and the Party line and policies drawn up under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung's thought are the common ideological basis of our unity. As for those who oppose the Party, oppose socialism and oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought — the handful of people in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, the bourgeois Rightist and the counter-revolutionary revisionists — we must wage a resolute struggle against them.

Because comrades in our ranks hail from all corners of the country, these are differences in their ideological level, experiences, individual characteristics, habits, and so forth, and their opinions and attitudes on the same thing may vary tremendously. Under such circumstances, how can mutual understanding and unity be achieved among the comrades so that they can have a common aim and cooperate to do their work well? This involves questions of method and attitude, the most fundamental being that of attitude.

This is a question of working for self-interest or for the interest of the public. Unity, naturally, cannot be achieved if the relations among comrades stem from selfish interests and personal likes and dislikes.

Cadres can show real concern for every soldier only when there is a magnanimous spirit of wholehearted service to the public and profound class sentiment for comrades. Comrade Wang Yuchang who loves soldiers is such a person. When a soldier fell sick, he too, lost his appetite and could not sleep. He suffered the same as the sick soldier did. When a soldier run into difficulties, he worked tirelessly to help solve those difficulties. Towards a soldier who showed faults, he first made a self-examination for not being thorough enough in carrying out his own responsibilities. Wang Yuchang has often said: "Concern for the soldier is concern for the revolution. For the sake of revolution, I can give up everything." He has risked his life to save the lives of soldiers five times.

Only when there is the magnanimous spirit of serving the public interest wholeheartedly and when there is profound class sentiment for comrades can class love and the communist style be developed among revolutionary comrades. Only in this way can one treat questions of principle in a serious and responsible manner and be good at concessions on questions which do not involve principle. Only thus can one show more concern for others than for oneself in every case, and be the first to accept hardship and the last to partake of enjoyment. Only thus can one shoulder difficulties and leave what is convenient to others; learn from the advanced and help the less advanced; and readily accept risks and leave the honors to others. With such a lofty spirit of collectivism, our ranks will be firmly united as a piece of steel, be able to smash any bulwark and be victorious everywhere.

In order to serve the Chinese people and the people of the world wholly and entirely, comrades in our revolutionary ranks must, in the course of revolutionary struggle, strengthen unity and strive to unite with all those who can be united. We must unite with the vast majority of the people of the whole country, struggle together, thoroughly defeat all class enemies, carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through the end, and achieve complete victory in China's socialist revolution and socialist construction. We must unite with the vast majority of the people of the world, struggle together, thoroughly defeat imperialism, modern-revisionism and reactionaries of all countries, and fight for the realization of the great ideal of communism.

"Jiefangjun Bao," November 30, 1966

In Memory of Norman Bethune

December 21, 1939

Comrade Norman Bethune, a member of the Communist Party of Canada, was around fifty, when he was sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to China; he made light of travelling thousands of miles to help us in our War of Resistance Against Japan. He arrived in Yen-an in the spring of last year, went to work in the Wutai Mountains and to our great sorrow, died a martyr at his post. What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies supports the proletariat of the capitalist countries.¹ Comrade Bethune put this Leninist line into practice. We Chinese Communists must also follow this line in our practice. We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries — Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries — before it is possible to overthrow imperialism, liberate our nation and people and liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light to the heavy, shoving the heavy loads on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In fact such people are not Communists, or at least cannot be counted as Communists. No one who returned from the Front failed to express admiration for Bethune whenever his name was mentioned, and none remained unmoved by his spirit. In the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area, no soldier or civilian was unmoved who had been treated by Dr. Bethune or had seen how he worked. Every Communist must learn this true communist spirit from Comrade Bethune.

Comrade Bethune was a doctor, the art of healing was his profession and he was constantly perfecting his skill which stood very high in the Eighth Route Army's medical service. His example is an excellent lesson for those who wish to change their work the moment they see something different and for those who despise technical world as of no consequence or as promising no future.

Comrade Bethune and I met only once. Afterwards he wrote me many letters. But I was busy, and I wrote him, only one letter and do not even know if he ever received it. I am deeply grieved over his death. Now we are all commemorating him, which shows how

profoundly his spirit inspires everyone. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit, everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small; but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

¹ See J.V. Stalin, "The Foundation of Leninism" (April-May 1924), *Problem of Leninism*, Eng. Ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, pp. 7—79.

Commentary on **In Memory of Norman Bethune**

In Memory of Norman Bethune was written by Chairman Mao on December 21, 1939, not long after the death of Comrade Bethune.

Norman Bethune, an eminent surgeon, was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. In 1936, when the German and Italian fascists invaded Spain, he went to the front to serve the Spanish people's anti-fascist struggle. When the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) broke out in China, he led a medical team which arrived in Yen-an in March or April of 1938. There Chairman Mao received him and had a cordial talk with him. Later he went to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei Military Area and became the area's medical adviser. Under the difficult conditions of war, he shared good and bad days with the cadres and fighters of the Eighth Route Army (predecessor of the Chinese People's Liberation Army) and for nearly two years worked hard and selflessly among the sick and wounded. He had made a glorious contribution to the cause of the Chinese people's liberation. He contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died on November 12, 1939 in Tanghsien, Hopei Province.

Chairman Mao wrote his brilliant work to commemorate this great internationalist fighter.

In Memory of Norman Bethune is a great and classic document of communist education. It is an essential course of basic study for every revolutionary in establishing a communist world outlook. Citing the glorious example of Comrade Bethune, this brilliant work profoundly yet in an easily understandable way explains what is that spirit of internationalism and communism which every proletarian revolutionary fighter should possess. For twenty years and more, this great work has exerted an incalculable influence in educating and inspiring the broad masses of the people and cadres of China. The great thought it contains has nurtured Lei Feng (a communist fighter of the P.L.A. who has died) and many others of Lei Feng's type. The communist spirit "utter devotion to others without any thought of self" and of "absolute selflessness" extolled by Chairman Mao in this article is of tremendous significance for the bringing up of new communists, for transforming the spiritual outlook of our people and for promoting our country's socialist revolution and construction.

The current great proletarian cultural revolution in China is a great ideological revolution to eradicate bourgeois ideology and foster proletarian ideology and to eradicate self-interest and foster public interest. This great work provides us with a powerful ideological weapon to eradicate self-interest and foster public interest, transform our world outlook and revolutionize our thinking. Each Comrade must study his article in the course of struggle, eradicate self-interest and foster public interest in a thorough way, speed up the transformation, outlook, actively participate in and defend the great proletarian revolution through to the end.

In studying this great work, we should pay special attention to grasping the following points:

1. Eradicate self-interest and foster public interest, transform our world outlook, and become new communists.

Calling on us to learn from Comrade Bethune, Chairman Mao points out: “We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With his spirit, everyone can be very useful to the people. A man’s ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man who is of value to the people.” Chairman Mao has stated here the basic requirement for a revolutionary becoming a new communist — one must possess Comrade Bethune’s spirit of absolute selflessness and establish the proletarian world outlook of wholehearted devotion to the public interest.

Each one has a world outlook, which directs all of one’s thoughts, words and actions. Chairman Mao says: “This change in world outlook is something, fundamental...” A change in world outlook is a change in the basic attitude towards life, society and all things, a change in the essentials of one’s thought. When one’s world outlook changes, a fundamental change necessarily occurs in his thinking style of work.

One’s world outlook is the reflection of one’s social being; it has a class character. Chairman Mao points out: “... in the matter of world outlook, however, today there are basically only two schools, the proletarian and the bourgeois. It is one or the other, either the proletarian or the bourgeois world outlook.” The kernel of the proletarian world outlook is the concept of complete devotion to the public interest, the concept of serving the people wholeheartedly, the communist spirit of utter devotion to others without any thought of self. The kernel of the bourgeois world outlook is the concept of self-interest, selfishness, advancing one’s own interests at the expense of others and extreme individualism. Therefore, for us revolutionaries, in seeking to transform our world outlook and revolutionize our thinking, the fundamental thing is eradicating self-interest and promoting devotion to the public interest, eradicating the bourgeois ideology of individualism and fostering the proletarian ideology of collectivism.

Only when one completely uproots the bourgeois concept of self-interest and firmly establishes the proletarian concept of devotion to the public interest can one really discard all thought of seeking personal fame and gain, be not afraid of hardship nor death and become utterly devoted to others without any thought of self, serve the people wholly and entirely and become very useful to the people.

A new society needs people of a new type to build it. It is the demand of the socialist age that the people be gradually transformed into new communists. With large numbers of such new people, we can safely resist the corrosion of revisionism and prevent the restoration of capitalism, victoriously complete the socialist revolution and construction and gradually reach communism.

Eradicating self-interest and fostering public interest in the ideological sphere is a long and hard process of struggle. Such struggle will not cease as long as classes and class struggle exist. Private ownership has been in existence for several thousand years; the concept of self-interest of the exploiting classes which upholds private ownership has the deepest influence over people. It is a stubborn enemy which permeates everything. It may be thoroughly repudiated on one particular question and in one particular form today, but tomorrow it will appear again on another question and in another form.

Therefore, the struggle to eradicate self-interest and foster public interest needs to be carried out repeatedly and continually throughout one's whole life. Each comrade, new or old, of whatever class origin, must wage such a struggle conscientiously.

2. Develop the internationalist spirit and regard the whole revolution as one's own responsibility.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn." Chairman Mao explains to us this important point: A communist fighter must be an internationalist and must make the world revolution his responsibility.

The communist cause is the collective cause of the international proletariat. Only when the whole of humankind is liberated can the proletariat achieve its own complete liberation. Proletarian revolution means putting an end to imperialism, capitalism and all systems of exploitation throughout the world. This is both a very great and very arduous task. Only when the proletariat and the people of the whole world unite in mutual support and wage a common struggle, can this great cause be carried to completion.

A country's revolution depends mainly on the efforts of its own people and on their hard struggles, but support and assistance from the international revolutionary forces are also an indispensable condition. Without support and aid in various forms from those forces, it is impossible for any country to achieve victory in a genuine people's revolution. It is likewise impossible to consolidate victory after it has been won. It was on the basis of relying on the efforts of its own people and with sympathy and support from the world's peoples that China's revolution won its great victory. Chairman Mao has said: "The people who have triumphed in their own revolution should help those still struggling for liberation. This is our internationalist duty." Following Chairman Mao's teachings, the Chinese people, displaying a profound proletarian international spirit, have consistently given firm support and assistance to the revolutionary struggles of the oppressed nations and peoples of the world.

The modern revisionists, with the leading clique of the C.P.S.U. at their center, abandon revolution themselves and forbid others to make revolution. Selling out the interests of the revolutionary people, they have ganged up with the U.S. imperialism in a vain attempt to stamp out the raging flames of the revolution of the world's people. On the question of Vietnam's struggle against U.S. aggression, they pursue a double-faced counter-revolutionary policy of sham support but real betrayal. They have completely betrayed proletarian internationalism, and have become the accomplices and lackeys of U.S. imperialism. Today, revolutionary people all over the world turn their hearts to Peking and to Chairman Mao. In these circumstances, the Chinese people have to undertake still greater internationalist duties. Chairman Mao, had said: "China is a land, with an area of 9,600,000 square kilometers and a population of 600 million people, and she ought to have made contribution to humanity." Every one of us comrades should fully understand the present international situation and the great task we are shouldering. We should vigorously develop the proletarian internationalist spirit, stand resolutely in the forefront of the revolutionary struggle of the world's people, firmly support their

revolutionary struggles, steadfastly carry the struggle against imperialism and modern revisionism through to the end and unswervingly carry the world proletarian revolution to completion.

To develop the proletarian internationalist spirit means to link the Chinese revolution with the world revolution, to unify one's efforts to be a revolutionary at home and internationally, and combine patriotism with internationalism. Every comrade must endeavor to revolutionize our thinking in order to improve the revolutionary task we are undertaking, constantly achieve new successes and to do a better job in our country's socialist revolution and construction so that our country will become more prosperous and strong each day. This is in the fundamental interest of the Chinese people and also constitutes effective support to the revolutionary struggle of the world's people. Each of us revolutionary fighters must maintain unfailing vigilance, step up preparations against war, be ready at all times to smash any aggression against China by U.S. imperialism and its accomplices and make the defence of our motherland impregnable.

The great proletarian cultural revolution now under way in our country aims to eradicate the roots of revisionism and guarantee that our socialist motherland will never change color and forever forge ahead victoriously. This is an issue of prime importance affecting the destiny and future of our Party and state as well as those of the world's people. We must resolutely implement the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao, resolutely oppose the bourgeois reactionary line, thoroughly strike down the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road, and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to the end.

3. Develop the communist spirit and a boundless sense of responsibility in work.

Chairman Mao has said: "Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his boundless sense of responsibility in his work and his boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn this true communist spirit from Comrade Bethune."

We are all working in the interests of the people and the revolution. Every achievement we make is a contribution to the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. A boundless sense of responsibility in one's work is therefore demanded of us by the interests of the revolution, and is an important indication of a revolutionary fighter's loyalty to the Party, the people and the revolution.

A boundless sense of responsibility in one's work is the spirit taught us by Chairman Mao, the spirit of serving the people "wholeheartedly," "wholly" and "entirely," the spirit of "being conscientious," of "selflessness," working with all of one's energy, wholehearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work, "the spirit of being like an oxen for the proletariat and the masses, bending their backs to the task until their dying day." It demands that we work neither for fame nor gain, that we be fearless of hardship or death, set ourselves high standards and put exacting demands on ourselves, work diligently, conscientiously and with the greatest care, uphold the truth and correct mistakes, accomplish all our tasks with greater, faster, better results, pay attention to summing up our experiences and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: “Comrade Bethune was a doctor, the art of healing was his profession and he was constantly perfecting his skill.” A boundless sense of responsibility in one’s work means to follow the example of Comrade Bethune, to love whatever one does, and work wholeheartedly for the revolution. The revolutionary cause needs all kinds of specialized work. No matter what one’s expertise, one must give prominence to politics, be firm in putting politics in command and prioritize political and ideological work. It is absolutely necessary, under the condition of putting politics in command and ideology to the force, to work hard to improve and perfect, one’s professional skill. This is an expression of one’s sense of responsibility to the cause of the revolution.

A boundless sense of responsibility in one’s work is based on a communist ideology. Only great work is based on a communist ideology. Only great thinkers can give rise to great strength. Only by striving resolutely for the great ideal of communism — linking one’s work with the entire cause of the revolution and wholly merging one’s personal interests with those of the revolution — can one achieve a high degree of revolutionary consciousness and sense of responsibility. This was precisely what Comrade Bethune did. He said: “My sole desire is to contribute more.” Once, after some strenuous work, he said: “I want to give every minute to our important work.” He never forgot his work even in his last moments. He said. “I am very worried about the wounded at the front. I must get back to the front when I have the strength to carry on.” In his will he suggested to the leadership that “surgical teams be organized immediately for medical aid at the front.” His thoughts at that time even turned to such questions as where medicines could be bought at lower prices.

4. Develop the communist spirit of boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people.

Comrade Bethune’s “boundless warm-heartedness, towards all comrades and the people” which Chairman Mao praised is another important indication of a revolutionary fighter’s communist consciousness.

All our comrades are class brothers and we are joined together by the great cause of communism. We are all servants of the people. Therefore, we must treat all our comrades and the people with boundless warm-heartedness. Only so can we unite all comrades and the people, bring all positive factors into play and create a great force to fulfill that great unprecedented historical cause of humankind — communism.

To show boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people means to follow Chairman Mao’s teachings: “All people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other,” “serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses,” they “should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself,” “leave ease and comfort to others and take the heavy loads themselves; (be) the first to treat hardships, the last to enjoy comforts.” In this respect, Comrade Bethune is a glorious example for us. He has said: “What is the responsibility of a doctor, a nurse, an orderly? There is only one. That is to make your patients happy and help them to recover their health and strength. You must look after each one of them as if he were

your brother or your father — because in truth they really are. They are even closer to you than your brothers or parents — they are your comrades. On all matters they must be placed to the very fore.” This was what he said and did. In saving and treating the Eighth Route Army’s wounded, he disdained fatigue and danger; in taking care of them, he showed the utmost concern and consideration. Once, at a critical moment when the enemy launched a surprise attack, he stayed on to finish operating on a wounded soldier. He said to a wounded man who advised him to leave quickly: “If we die, we die together. If we live, we live together. I cannot leave you unattended.”

Such moving incidents fully show that only when one has established the ideology of proletarian collectivism is it possible to develop deep class feelings towards all comrades and the people and really share the people’s joys and sorrows; to be anxious at a comrade’s backwardness and pleased at his progress; to be willing to sacrifice oneself for others and find pleasure in helping others. If a person puts one’s interests above all else and regards them as being of paramount importance, and is always thinking first of how things will affect him or her, then there can be no real concern and love for comrades and the people. These persons are like the people Chairman Mao criticized: “They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people but cold, indifferent and apathetic.” Even if at times such people show certain “warmth” towards others, they do so only for their own individual ends and not for the interests of the revolution.

Our boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people comes from the mass viewpoint. Only in the firm belief that “the masses have great creative power” can one love the masses, rely on them, boldly mobilize them, respect their initiative and wholeheartedly welcome the revolutionary mass movement. If a person treats the masses as ignorant and incapable and looks upon himself as a man of wisdom and resourcefulness, then he would not only have no warm-heartedness towards the masses but will put himself above the masses, acting as a lord and master, monopolizing everything; and when the masses get mobilized, he will be afraid of them, suppress them and put himself in a position of opposing the masses.

Our boundless warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people is definitely not unprincipled “peace and affection” but is on a principled basis. We must show the greatest and most wholehearted concern to those who really uphold Mao Tse-tung’s thought; we must cherish and help them. Regarding to problems of non-proletarian thoughts among them, we must use the method of “unity-criticism-unity” to achieve both clarification of ideology and unity among comrades. As for all those who oppose the Party, oppose socialism and oppose Mao Tse-tung’s thought, we must carry out uncompromising struggles against them and resolutely overthrow them. Only so can we consolidate unity among the revolutionary people, steadily expand the revolutionary forces, thoroughly defeat all our class enemies and carry the revolution on from victory to victory.

The Foolish, Old Man Who Removed the Mountains

June 11, 1945

We have had a very successful congress. We have done three things. First, we have decided on the line of our Party, which is boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China. Second, we have adopted the new Party Constitution. Third, we have elected the leading body of the Party — the Central Committee. Henceforth, our task is to lead the whole membership in carrying out the Party line. Ours has been a congress of victory, a congress of unity. The delegates have made excellent comments on the three reports.¹ Many comrades have undertaken self-criticism with unity as the objective. Unity has been achieved through self-criticism and inner-Party democracy.

When the congress closes, many comrades will be leaving for their posts and the various war fronts. Comrades, wherever you go, you should propagate the line of the congress and, through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses.

Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution. We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains." It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of the Northern Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. With great determination, he led his sons in digging up these mountains hoe in hand. Another greybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up these two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent down two angels who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Yesterday, in a walk with two Americans who were leaving for the United States, I said that the U.S. government was trying to undermine us and this would not be permitted. We oppose the U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. But we must draw a distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U.S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates. I said to these two Americans, "Tell the policy-makers in your government that we forbid you Americans to enter the Liberated Areas if your purpose is to support Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists, and we have to be on our guard. You can come to the Liberated Areas if your purpose is to fight Japan, but there must first be an agreement. We will not permit you to nose around everywhere. Since Patrick J. Hurley² has publicly declared against cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party, why do you still want to come and prowl around in our Liberated Areas?"

The U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists shows the brazenness of the U.S. reactionaries. But all the scheming of the reactionaries, whether Chinese or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. The democratic forces are the main current in the world today, while reaction is only a counter-current. The reactionary counter-current is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current. Today, there are still three major contradictions in the world, as Stalin pointed out long ago: first, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries; second, the contradiction between the various imperialist powers; and third, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the imperialist metropolitan countries.³ Not only do these three contradictions continue to exist but they are becoming more acute and widespread. Because of their existence and growth, the time will come when the reactionary anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-democratic counter-current still in existence today will be swept away.

At this moment two congresses are being held in China, the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang and the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party. They have completely different aims: the aim of one is to liquidate the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces in China and thus to plunge China into darkness; the aim of the other is to overthrow Japanese imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese feudal forces, and build a new-democratic China and thus to bring China into light. These two lines are in conflict with each other. We firmly believe that, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the line of its Seventh Congress, the Chinese people will achieve complete victory, while the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary line will inevitably fail.

¹ The three reports at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China were Comrade Mao Tse-tung's political report, Comrade Chu Teh's military report and Comrade Liu Shao-chi's revision of the party Constitution.

² Patrick J. Hurley, a reactionary Republican Party politician, was appointed U.S. ambassador to China towards the end of 1944. In November 1945 he was forced to resign because his support for Chiang Kai-shek's anti-Communist policy roused the firm opposition of the Chinese people. Hurley's open

declaration against cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party was made on April 2, 1945 at a U.S. State Department press conference in Washington. For details, see “The Hurley-Chiang Duet Is a Flop”, *Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung*, Eng. ed., FLP, Peking, 1965, Vol. III, pp. 331-34.

³ See J.V. Stalin, “The Foundation of Leninism.” (April-May, 1927) *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953 Vol. VI, pp. 74-82).

Commentary on **The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains**

“The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains” is the text of the concluding speech made by Chairman Mao at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China on June 11, 1945.

At that time the international anti-fascist war had already won a decisive victory. The defeat of Japanese imperialism was imminent. But serious struggles still faced the Party and the people on the road of their advance. It was just as Chairman Mao pointed out: two big mountains — imperialism and feudalism — lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people. Japanese imperialism had not yet been fully overthrown. In a vain attempt to turn China into its colony following the Chinese people’s victory in their War of Resistance Against Japan, U.S. imperialism was actively carrying out a policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. With the vigorous support of U.S. imperialism, the Koumintang reactionaries were stepping up their preparations for civil war in an attempt to wipe out the people’s revolutionary forces, seize the fruits of victory won by the people in their War of Resistance, and plunge China into darkness.

After being victorious in the War of Resistance Against Japan, China still faces two opposed roads, two future: In one case, imperialism, particularly U.S. imperialism, would continue to dominate and rule China and turn it back into its old semi-colonial and semi-feudal state. The alternative was, under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, to boldly mobilize the masses, expand the people’s forces completely overthrow the rule of imperialism and feudalism in China, and build a new, people’s democratic China.

At this important turning point in history, our Party convened its Seventh National Congress. That congress, presided over by Chairman Mao himself, decides on the line of the Party, adopted the new Party Constitution and elected its Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The congress affirmed Mao Tse-tung’s thought as their guiding principle in all the work of the Party — Chairman Mao delivered the concluding speech to the congress in order to mobilize the Party and the entire people to carry out the political line laid down by the congress, completely defeat the reactionaries at home and abroad and work for victory in the national democratic revolution.

Like “Serve the People” and “In Memory of Norman Bethune,” this brilliant work, “The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains” is a great classical document of communist education and one of the most fundamental required readings for us in establishing the communist world outlook. The resounding call voiced by Chairman Mao in this article — **“Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory”** is known in every Chinese household. It has become the standard line to guide the thinking and actions of the Chinese revolutionary people and is the style of our era.

The current great proletarian cultural revolutionary line has won great victories and the bourgeois reactionary line has been defeated. However, the struggle is still very sharp and complex. What stand to take, what attitude to adopt and what line to carry out — this is a

rigorous test for all revolutionaries. We must seriously study this brilliant work of Chairman Mao, arm our minds with the brilliant ideas of this article, hold firmly the correct stand and see our direction clearly, put “daring” above all else, surmount every kind of difficulty, smash all resistance, resolutely carry out and defend the proletarian revolutionary line and seize new victories for the great proletarian cultural revolution.

In studying this great article, special attention should be paid to the following points:

1. The proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao is the program of united action for the whole party, the whole army and the entire people, and the basic guarantee for the victory of the revolution.

Chairman Mao pointed out in this article that the first thing the Party’s Seventh National Congress did was to decide on the line of our Party. Henceforth, he said, our task was to lead the whole membership of the Party in the carrying out the party line, propagate the line of the congress and through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses so as to build up the confidence of the Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution and enable them to struggle for the realization of the party line. In studying this article, we should first of all get a deep understanding of the great significance of the Party line to the revolutionary cause and a deep comprehension of the extreme importance of propagating, defending and resolutely carrying out the proletarian revolutionary line.

The question of line is one of primary importance to the party’s leadership. The Party line is the program of action to unify the whole Party, the whole army and the entire people; it is the basis of all the Party’s policies and tactics. It decides the fate of the Party and the success or failure of the revolution. In the final analysis, Party leadership means the formulation of a correct line in accordance with the actual situation, and the use of the Party line to mobilize and arm the whole Party and the broad masses of the whole country. Chairman Mao said: “to lead a revolution to victory, a political Party must depend on the correctness of its own political line and the solidity of its own organization.” Departure from the Party line makes it impossible to realize Party leadership and consolidate Party unity. The question of line is also the central question of inner-Party struggle. Inner-Party struggle, in the final analysis, is a struggle about what line to follow. If one is not carrying out the correct line, one is carrying out a wrong line. In any revolution, when the revolutionary leads the wrong way, that revolution is bound to fail. If we do not want our revolution to be led astray, if we want the revolution to be assured of success, we must oppose the wrong line and carry out the correct line.

Chairman Mao has taught us: “Our Party has laid down the general line and general policy of the Chinese Revolution as well as various specific lines for work and specific policies, they often forget its general line and general policy. If we forget the Party’s general line and general policy, then we shall be blind, half-baked, muddle-headed revolutionaries, and when we carried out a specific line of work and a specific policy, we shall lose our bearings and vacillate now to the left and now to the right, and the work will suffer.” All specific lines of work and specific policies of the Party are subordinated to and linked to the Party’s general line and general policy. To forget the

Party's general line and general policy is to forget the whole, the total situation, the orientation and what is in command. Only by grasping these and implementing the Party's general line and general policy, can one correctly carry out the Party's specific lines for work and specific policy and become conscious, complete and clear-headed revolutionaries.

Since the founding of our Party, it has had a correct political line — the Marxist-Leninist line represented by Chairman Mao. This red thread runs through the entire history of our Party and army. Chairman Mao has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism in a genius, creative and comprehensive way and raised Marxism-Leninism to a completely new stage. Mao Tse-tung's thought is the Marxism-Leninism of the era where imperialism is heading for a total collapse and socialism is advancing to worldwide victory. It is the guiding principle for all the work of our Party, army and country. All the brilliant victories of the Chinese Revolution, led by our Party, are the results of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian line. In the period of democratic revolution, Chairman Mao formulated for our Party a correct general line for the democratic revolution and put forward specific lines for work and specific policies for carrying out that general line. In this way he steered China's revolution past many dangerous shoals and hidden rocks to plough triumphantly through the tempest-tossed waves along the revolutionary cause of Marxism-Leninism.

Following the victory of the democratic revolution, Chairman Mao once again formulated the correct general line for the socialist revolution and socialist construction and various specific lines for work and specific policies pointing out the road towards the advancement of the Party and the entire people, and leading us to win successive, brilliant victories on all fronts. We are now carrying on a great proletarian cultural revolution that touches the very soul of the people. In this great revolutionary movement, Chairman Mao made a timely summing up of the new experience of the mass movement, personally presided over the work of formulating the 16-point decision (*The Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*). In the proletarian revolutionary movement, Chairman Mao has thoroughly criticized and repudiated the renegade line and the scab line of modern revisionism, put forward the most correct and complete general line for the international communist movement and a whole series of strategies and tactics. Guided by this revolutionary line, the international proletarian revolutionary movement of oppressed nations against colonialism and for national liberation has forged vigorously ahead and gained one great victory after another. The revolutionary line of Chairman Mao will certainly lead the world revolutionary people to defeat imperialism, modern revisionism and all reactionaries and carry the world revolution to complete victory.

History shows us that the correct line is born and developed not in a spontaneous and peaceful way, but in the midst of struggle. The revolutionary line has been constantly enriched, and developed and has won continuous victories in the course of struggling against both Right and "left" opportunist lines. Chairman Mao has said: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the old and new in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggle to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." As long as class contradictions and

class struggles exist in a society, they will inevitably be reflected our Party. The struggle between the two lines in the Party is a reflection of class struggle in society and is independent of the will of man. Such struggle existed in the past, exists today and will continue to exist until classes are eliminated. Various kinds of opportunists and representatives of the bourgeois reactionary stubbornly resists and interfere with the implementation of the correct line. In order to carry out the correct line, we must thoroughly repudiate, criticize and smash all bourgeois reactionary lines.

In the great proletarian cultural revolution going on in our country now, the struggle between the proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois reactionary line is new, still extremely sharp and complex. A handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are not reconciled to their defeat. They are playing new tricks and resorting to new ways of deceiving the masses; they continue to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line. Unless these in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road are completely pulled down and the bourgeois reactionary line is thoroughly shattered, the correct line cannot be implemented and the great proletarian cultural revolution cannot be carried to victory.

2. Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.

Chairman Mao has taught us: “Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory.” Those words are the strongest and generalized expression of the dauntless proletarian revolutionary, spirit of daring to struggle and daring to win. They are the fundamental stand and attitudes of proletarian revolutionaries towards the cause of the Party and the people, and to difficulties and resistance in the path of revolution. They are a guide to action for every revolutionary fighter in putting into effect Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

Difficulties are inevitable in a revolution. What are difficulties? They are unresolved contradictions and unsolved problems. Such contradictions and problems are universal. They exist at all times and everywhere, and everyone has them. The history of the Chinese revolution is one of overcoming difficulty after difficulty. The process of revolution is one of constant struggle against difficulties. Chairman Mao has said: “What is work? Work is struggle. There are difficulties and problems in those places for us to overcome and solve. We go there to work and struggle to overcome those difficulties.”

All work involves difficulties. If there are no difficulties, there would be no need for us to make revolution, to work or to struggle. Without difficulties and struggle, things cannot advance. What attitude should we adopt in the face of those endless difficulties and resistance? Should we be dauntless, daring to struggle and forge ahead inspite of them, or should we be hesitant and afraid and run away from them? Here lies the dividing line between genuine and pseudo-revolutionaries. The attitude adopted is a key factor determining whether or not the Party’s lines and policies can be put into effect successfully.

Chairman Mao has said: “The reactionary forces and we both face difficulties. But the difficulties of the reactionary forces are insurmountable because they are forces on the verge of death and have no future. Our difficulties can be overcome because we are new and rising forces and have a bright future.” The proletariat is the most revolutionary

and advanced class in the history of humankind. The revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a great cause which is in accordance with the laws of social development, serve the vital interests of the people, and has won the wholehearted support of the people. Our difficulties arise while we advance. They are temporary and can entirely be overcome. Under the wise, correct leadership of Chairman Mao, our army with its inferior equipment was able to defeat an enemy armed to the teeth. The men and women of Taching succeeded in developing a big oilfield under extremely difficult conditions, and those of Tachai were able to transform poor gullies into high-yield farm plots. All these convincingly proves that, to revolutionary fighters armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, there is no enemy that cannot be vanquished, no difficulty that cannot be overcome and no height that cannot be scaled. That is why Chairman Mao has said: "In times of difficulty we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage."

Chairman Mao's teaching to "be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory" means, in the last analysis, to give emphasis to the human factor, to urge us to give full play to our subjective initiative, to be fearless of hardships and difficulties, and dare to struggle and win. Only by being resolute and fearless of sacrifice can we surmount every difficulty to win victory, can we vanquish all enemies and overcome all difficulties. If, on the contrary, we are afraid of difficulties, then we shall accomplish nothing and be unable to overcome any difficulty.

"Only heroes can quell tigers and leopards and wild Bears never daunt the brave." (From Chairman Mao's poem *Winter Clouds*)

Difficulties can only intimidate spineless weaklings. All difficulties will be trampled by revolutionary fighters who, fearing neither heaven nor earth, can make a mountain bow its head and a river change its course.

This quotation "Be resolute, fear no sacrifice and surmount every difficulty to win victory" also tells us that we must admit, analyze and struggle against difficulties. Strategically, we should despise difficulties while, tactically, we should take them seriously.

Tactically taking difficulties seriously means that we must be prudent in handling every struggle, pay attention to the art of struggle, be meticulous in studying and getting to the bottom of every difficulty — its nature, characteristics and laws — and adopt different methods to solve different difficulties. It is absolutely not good to become divorced from reality, to be thoughtless and rash in action; it is necessary to have the spirit of quiet hard work, and constantly sum up experiences and improve methods of work in the course of the struggle. Always remember: Don't be afraid that you cannot accomplish something but do be afraid of not attempting it; don't be afraid that you cannot do something well but do be afraid that you won't use your brains. The mind must be clear of the thinking that victory can be won through good luck, that one can comfortably rely on chance without need of hard effort, the sweat of one's brow and even the shedding of one's blood.

Comrade Lin Piao has said: "For our armed forces, the best weapon is not aircraft, heavy artillery, tanks or the atom bombs. It is Mao Tse-Tung's thought. The greatest

fighting power is the people who are armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought. It is courage, not the fear to die." Mao Tse-tung's thought is the most powerful and sharpest ideological weapon for overcoming all difficulties. He who possesses Mao Tse-tung's thought possesses dauntless revolutionary spirit, becomes the most revolutionary, the most courageous and wisest, is fearless of hardship, death, ghosts and monster, and is staunch and persevering. The great and invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung is the source of the strength with which the whole Party, army and the people throughout the country forge ahead valiantly, and overcome every difficulty to defeat the enemy and win victory." We must resolutely respond to Comrade Lin Piao's call, creatively study and apply Chairman Mao's works, arm ourselves with Mao Tse-tung's thought, remold our souls and be truly selfless and dauntless communist fighters.

3. Trust the masses, rely on the masses, and struggle for the implementation of Chairman Mao's correct line.

Chairman Mao has taught us that our aim in propagating the line of the Party is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution, that we must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard. But that this is not enough, we must also raise the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. It is precisely by following the teachings of Chairman Mao that we succeeded in defeating the Japanese aggressors, overthrowing imperialism and feudalism, the two big mountains which lay like a dead weight on the Chinese people, and in achieving great victories in the democratic and socialist revolutions and in socialist construction.

Trust in the masses. Reliance on the masses and close integration with the masses is an outstanding hallmark distinguishing our Party from all other political parties; this has all along been the great thought of Chairman Mao. Chairman Mao has said: "The people, and the people alone, are the motive force in the making of world history." These words are the quintessence of Marxist historical materialism. Chairman Mao also said: "As long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence trust and identify ourselves with them, no enemy can crush us while we can crush every enemy and overcome every difficulty." This great teaching of Chairman Mao is the guide for all our Party's work and struggle. The history of our Party is one of relying on the masses and mobilizing them to wage the revolutionary struggle, one of trusting the masses and leading them to liberate themselves. Once divorced from the people, we shall be like water without a source or a tree without roots; the Party's line cannot be put into effect, difficulties in work cannot be overcome, the revolution cannot achieve victory and we shall accomplish nothing.

In our Party's history, the struggles between the proletarian revolutionary line and the "Left" and Right opportunist lines have always revolved around the question on the masses and the revolutionary mass movement — whether to put "daring" or "fear" above everything else, whether to trust, rely on and boldly mobilize the masses and respect their initiative, or to be afraid of and be against the masses and oppose and suppress the revolutionary mass movement. This has all along been the touchstone distinguishing a genuine revolutionary from pseudo-revolutionary and Marxism from revisionism; it is the watershed dividing the proletarian revolutionary line from the bourgeois reactionary line.

Our leader Chairman Mao always has the greatest trust in and concern for the masses. He always give the greatest support to the revolutionary mass movement and is of one heart with them. Chairman Mao's revolutionary line is confidence in the masses, reliance on them and bold mobilization of them — the line of letting the masses educate and liberate themselves. In Chairman Mao's words, "(it) requires the recruiting of large forces for the purpose of surrounding and annihilating the enemy."

All representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line are divorced from the masses and fear them. Their line is of close-doorism, the line of the regal isolationist, the line of putting "fear" above everything else. They have many great fears, which boils down to fear of the masses and the revolution. They are entirely blind to the strength of the masses, and do not believe in the great creativeness of the masses. They treat the masses as if they were ignorant and incapable and look upon themselves as men of wisdom and resourcefulness. In the present great proletarian cultural revolution, the representatives of the bourgeois reactionary line have tried to lead the revolution in the opposite direction, turning it into a struggle of the bourgeoisie against the proletariat instead of a struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. Taking the stand of the reactionary bourgeoisie, they practice bourgeois dictatorship in a vain attempt to quench the revolutionary flame of the masses and destroy the vigorous, great proletarian cultural revolutionary movement. If they had succeeded in their schemes, the great cultural revolution would have been strangled from the start and the fruits of the socialist revolution would have been in danger of destruction. But they will certainly fail in their schemes and they will inevitably be discarded by the masses once the revolutionary masses are mobilized and rallied together in the most extensive scale.

The question of how to treat the masses and what line to adhere to is faced by every revolutionary comrade. Does he regard himself as superior to others or is he willing to be the pupil of the masses? Does he stand above the masses or among them? Does he support or oppose the revolutionary mass movement? These are questions that constantly crop up for everyone; questions which must be answered clearly. These are not ordinary questions about methods of work. They are questions concerning fundamental attitude and world outlook and methodology: the proletarian and the bourgeois. You are bound to be afraid of and be against the masses if your world outlook is that of the bourgeoisie; you are bound to trust and rely on the masses if your world outlook is that of the proletariat. In the great proletarian cultural revolution, some people fail to see clearly, the main current of the mass movement and instead tend to see its side currents. They stress only individual, passing shortcomings in the mass movement but fail to see that the masses can learn to swim by swimming and learn to make revolution in the course of revolution. This is because they have forgotten Chairman Mao's teaching that "the masses are the real heroes, while we ourselves are often childish and ignorant. Their attitude towards the revolutionary mass movement is incorrect. Another manifestation of this kind of bourgeois world outlook is the feeling of helplessness, shrinking back and lack confidence in the face of difficulties. This is because they do not have the masses in their minds, fail to see solutions from the masses. For this reason, we must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the revolutionary line, persist in trusting, relying on and being one with the masses in all our work in order to crush

completely the bourgeois reactionary line and carry the great proletarian cultural revolution through to end.

Combat Liberalism

September 7, 1937

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But Liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways. To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person had clearly done wrong and refrain from principled argument because one is an old acquaintance, a townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly so as to keep being in good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively, putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people on their faces but to talk behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is the second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be wordily wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to take pride only of one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade him to stop or reason with him. This is an eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along — “So long, as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell.” This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one’s mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

We could name more. But these are the eleven principal types. They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness. It places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second. This gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practice it or to practice it fully; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their “Marxism” but they have their “liberalism” as, well — they talk “Marxism” but practice “liberalism;” they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the organization.

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit, to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should be broadminded and be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as one’s life and subordinating personal interests to those of the revolution; always and wherever adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any individual, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can one be considered a Communist.

All loyal, honest, active and upright Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain people among us and set them on the right path. This is one of the tasks on our ideological front.

On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party

December, 1929

There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization and in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle. The source of such incorrect ideas in this Party organization lies in the fact that its basic units are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty-bourgeois origin; yet the failure of the Party's leading bodies to wage a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas and to educate members on the Party's correct line is also an important cause of their existence and growth. In accordance with the spirit of the September letter of the Central Committee, this congress hereby points out the manifestations of various non-proletarian ideas in the Party organization in the Fourth Army, their success and the methods of correcting them, and calls upon all comrades to eliminate them thoroughly.

On the Purely Military Viewpoint

The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows:

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily, naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically"—this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics.

2. They think that the task of the Red Army, like that of the White Army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body to carry out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should not confine itself to fighting. The Red Army fights not only for the sake of fighting but also to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.

3. Hence, organizationally, these comrades subordinate the departments of the Red Army doing political work to those doing military work, and put forward the slogan, "Let Army Headquarters handle outside matters." If this idea is allowed to develop, the party will be in danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership — it would take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army.

4. At the same time, in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. On the question of mass organization, they neglect to organize soldiers' committees in the army and to organize local workers and peasants. As a result, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.

5. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.

6. Selfish departmentalism — they think only of the Fourth Army and do not realize that it is an important task of the Red Army to arm the local masses. This is cliquism in a magnified form.

7. Unable to see beyond their limited environment in the Fourth Army, a few comrades believe that no other revolutionary forces exist — hence, their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.

8. Some comrades, disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses but, riddled with illusions, want only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.¹

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are:

1. A low political level. From this flows the failure to recognize the role of political leadership in the army and to recognize that the Red Army and the White Army are fundamentally different.

2. The mentality of mercenaries. Many prisoners captured in past battles have joined the Red Army, and these people bring with them a markedly mercenary outlook, thereby providing a basis in the lower ranks for the purely military outlook.

3. From the two preceding causes, there arises a third — overconfidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses.

4. The Party's failure to attend to and discuss military work.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Raise the political level of Party members by means of education. Destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint, and be clear on the fundamental differences between the Red Army and the White Army. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism and break down the selfish departmentalism of the Fourth Army.

2. Intensify the political training of officers and soldiers, especially the education of ex-prisoners. At the same time, let the local governments recruit workers and peasants experienced in struggle to join the Red Army.

3. Arouse local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself in order to influence the Party organization and the officers and soldiers of the Red Army.

4. The Party must actively attend to and discuss military work. All the work must be discussed and decided upon by the Party before being carried out by the rank and file.

5. Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations.

On Ultra-Democracy

Since the Fourth Army of the Red Army accepted the directives of the Central Committee, there has been a great decrease in the manifestation of ultra-democracy. For example, Party decisions are now carried out fairly well; and no longer does anyone bring up such erroneous demands as that the Red Army should apply "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top" or should "let the lower levels discuss the problems first, and then let the higher levels decide." Actually, however, this decrease is only temporary and superficial and does not mean that ultra-democratic ideas have already been eliminated. In other words, ultra-democracy is still deep-rooted in the minds of many comrades. Witness the various expressions of reluctance to carry out Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy lies on the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.

2. In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:

- (1) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and find solutions when problems arise in order to establish themselves as centres of leadership.
- (2) The higher bodies must be familiar with the life of the masses and with the situation in the lower bodies so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.
- (3) No party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.
- (4) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file. The method is to call meetings of activists or general membership meeting of Party branches or even of the columns² (when circumstances permit) and to assign people to make reports at such meetings.

- (5) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

On the Disregard of Organization Discipline

Disregard of organizational discipline in the Party organization in the Fourth Army manifests itself as follows:

A. *Failure of the minority to submit to the majority.* For example, when a minority finds its motion voted down, it does not sincerely carry out the Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. At meetings, all participants should be encourage to voice their opinions as fully as possible. The rights and wrongs in any controversy should be clarified compromise nor glossing over. In order to reach a clear-cut decision, what cannot be settled at one meeting should be discussed at another, provided there is no interference with the work.

2. One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the mater for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

B. *Criticism made without regard to organizational discipline:*

1. Inner Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turn into personal attack. As a result, it damages Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and should not be used as a means of personal attack.

2. Many Party members make their criticism not inside but outside Party. The reason is that the general membership has not grasped the importance of Party organization (its meetings and so forth), and sees no difference between criticism inside and outside the organization. The method of correction is to educate Party members so that they understand the importance of Party organization and make their criticisms of Party committees or comrades at Party meetings.

On Absolute Equalitarianism

Absolute equalitarianism became quite serious in the Red Army at one time. Here are some examples. On the matter of allowances to wounded soldiers, there were objections to differentiating between light and serious cases, and the demand was raised for equal allowances for all. When officers rode on horseback, it was regarded not as something necessary for performing their duties but as a sign of inequality. Absolute

equal distribution of supplies was demanded, and there was objection to somewhat larger allotments in special cases. In the hauling of rice, the demand was made that all should carry the same load on their backs, irrespective of age or physical condition. Equality was demanded in the allotment of billets, and the Headquarters would be accused for occupying larger rooms. Equality was demanded in the assignment of fatigue duties, and there was unwillingness to do a little more than the next man. It even went so far that when there were two wounded men but only one stretcher, neither could be carried because each refused to yield priority to the other. Absolute equalitarianism, as shown in these examples, is still very serious among officers and soldiers of the Red Army.

Absolute equalitarianism, like ultra democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy — the only difference is one manifests itself in material affairs while the other in political affairs.

The method of correction: We should point out that, before the abolition of capitalism, absolute equalitarianism is a mere illusion of peasants and small proprietors, and that even under socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of “from each according to his ability, to each according to his work” as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work. The distribution of material things in the Red Army must be more or less equal, as in the case of equal pay for officers and soldiers, because this is required by the present circumstances of the struggle. But absolute equalitarianism beyond reason must be opposed because it is not required by the struggle; on the contrary, it hinders the struggle.

On Subjectivism

Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the organization because of ensuing incorrect analysis of the political situation and guidance of work. This is because a subjective analysis of the political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result in opportunism or putschism. As for subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness, such practices inside the Party open breed unprincipled disputes and undermine Party organization.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be over critical and to embarrass comrades concerned. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that the Party members will concentrate entirely on minor results, and everyone will become timid and over cautious and forget the Party’s political tasks.

The main method of correction is to educate Party members so that a political and scientific spirit pervades their thinking and their Party life. To this end we must: (1) teach Party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing a political situation and appraising class forces instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal; (2) direct the attention of Party members to social and economic investigation and study so as to determine the tactics of struggle and methods of work, and help comrades to understand

that without investigation of actual conditions they will fall into the pit of fantasy and putschism; and (3) in inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism. Statements should be based on facts and criticism should center on politics.

On Individualism

The tendency towards individualism in the Red Army Party organization manifests itself as follows:

1. *Retaliation.* Some comrades, after being criticized inside the Party by a soldier comrade, look for opportunities to retaliate outside the Party, and one way is to beat or abuse the comrade in question. They also seek to retaliate within the Party. "You have criticized me at this meeting, so I'll find some way to make you pay back at the next." Such retaliation arises from purely personal considerations, to the detriment of the interests of the class and the Party as a whole. Its target is not the enemy class, but individuals in our ranks. It is a corrosive which weakens the organization and its fighting capacity.

2. *"Small group" mentality.* Some comrades consider only the interests of their own small group and ignore the general interest. Although on the surface this does not seem to be the pursuit of personal interests, in reality it exemplifies the narrowest and has a strong corrosive and centrifugal. "Small group" mentality used to be rife in the Red Army, and although there has been some improvement as a result of criticism, there are still some manifestation and further effort is needed to overcome it.

3. *The "employee" mentality.* Some comrades do not understand that the Party and the Red Army of which they are members are both instruments for carrying out the tasks of the revolution, and they think that their responsibility is merely to their individual superiors and not to the revolution. This passive mentality of an "employee" of the revolution is also a manifestation of individualism. It explains why there are not many activists who work unconditionally for the revolution. Unless it is eliminated, the number of activists will not grow and the heavy burden of the revolution will remain on the shoulders of a small number of people, much to the detriment of the struggle.

4. *Pleasure-seeking.* In the Red Army, there are also a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.

5. *Passivity.* Some comrades become passive and stop working whenever anything goes against their wishes. This is mainly due to lack of education. Although sometimes it is also due to the leadership's improper handling of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

6. *The desire to leave the Army.* The number of people who ask for transfer from the Red Army to local work is on the increase. The reason for this does not like entirely with the individuals but also with (1) the material hardships of life in the Red Army, (2)

exhaustion after a long struggle, and (3) the leadership's improper handling of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

The method of correction is primarily to strengthen education so as to rectify individualism ideologically. Next, it is to conduct affairs, assignments and enforcement of discipline in a proper way. In addition, ways must be found to improve the material life of the Red Army, and every available opportunity must be utilized for rest and rehabilitation in order to improve material conditions. In our educational work we must explain that individualism is a reflection within the Party of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

On the Ideology of Roving Rebel Bands

The political ideology of roving rebel bands has emerged in the Red Army because the proportion of vagabond elements is large and because there are great masses of vagabonds in China, especially in the southern provinces. This ideology manifests itself as follows: (1) some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerilla actions but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power. (2) In expanding the Red Army, some people follow the line of "hiring men and buying horses" and "recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers,"³ rather than the line of expanding the local Red Guards and the local troops and to develop the main forces of the Red Army. (3) Some people lack the patience to carry on arduous struggles together with the masses and only want to go to the big cities to eat and drink to their heart's content. All these manifestations of the ideology of roving rebels seriously hamper the Red Army in performing its proper tasks. Therefore, its eradication is an important objective in the ideological struggle within the Red Army Party organization. It must be understood that the ways of roving rebels of the Huang Chao⁴ or Li Chuang⁵ type are not permissible under present-day conditions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Intensify education, criticize incorrect ideas and eradicate the ideology of roving rebel bands.
2. Intensify education among the basic sections of the Red Army and among recently recruited captives to counter the vagabond outlook.
3. Draw active workers and peasants experienced in struggle into the ranks of the Red Army so as to change its composition.
4. Create new units of the Red Army from among the masses of militant workers and peasant.

On the Remnants of Putschism

The Party organization in the Red Army has already waged struggles against putschism, but not yet to the sufficient extent. Therefore, remnants of this ideology still exists in the Red Army. Their manifestations are: (1) blind actions regardless of subjective and objective analysis; (2) inadequate and irresolute application of the Party's

policies for the cities; (3) slack military discipline, especially in moments of defeat; (4) acts of houseburning by some units; and (5) the practices of shooting deserters and of inflicting corporal punishment. In terms of social origin, putschism is a combination of lumpen-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The method of correction are as follows:

1. Eradicate putschism ideologically.
2. Correct putschist behaviour through rules, regulations and policies.

¹ For a brief period after the defeat of the revolution in 1927 a “Left” putschist tendency arose in the Communist Party. Regarding the Chinese revolution as a “permanent revolution” and the revolutionary situation in China as a “permanent upsurge”, the putschist comrades refused to organize an orderly retreat and, adopting the methods of commandism and relying only on a small number of Party members and a small section of the masses, erroneously attempted to stage a series of local uprisings throughout the country which had no prospect of success. Such putschist activities were widespread at the end of 1927 but gradually subsided in the beginning of 1928, though sentiments in favor of putschism still survive among some comrades.

² In the guerilla system of organization, a column correspond to a division in the regular army with a complement much more flexible and usually much smaller than that of a regular division.

³ These two Chinese idioms refer to the methods which some rebels in Chinese history adopted to expand their forces. These two Chinese idioms refer to the methods which some rebels in Chinese history adopted to expand their forces.

⁴ Huang Chao was the leader of the peasant revolts towards the end of the Tang Dynasty. In A.D. 875, starting from his home district Tsaochow (now Hotse country in Shaunting), Huang led armed peasants in victorious battles against the imperial forces and styled himself as “Heaven-Storming General.” In the course of decade he swept over most of the provinces in the Yellow, Yangtse, Huai and Pearl river valleys, reaching as far as Kwangsi. He finally broke through the Tungkuan Pass, captured the imperial capital of Changan (now Sian in Shensi), and was crowned Emperor of Chi. Internal dissensions and attacks by the non-Han allies of the Tang forces compelled Huang to abandon Changan and retreat to his native district, where he committed suicide.

The ten year’s war fought by him is one of the famous peasant wars in Chinese history. Dynastic historians record that “all people suffering from heavy taxes and levies rallied to him.” But as he merely carried on roving warfare without ever called “roving rebel bands.”

⁵ Li Chuang, short for Li Tzu-cheng the King Chuang (the Dare-All King,) native of Michin, northern Shensi, was the leader of a peasant revolt which led to the overthrow of the Ming dynasty. The revolt first started in the northern Shensi in 1628. Joined the forces led by Kao-Yingshiang and campaigned through Honan and Anhwei and back and back to Shensi. After Yao’s death in 1636, Li succeeded in, becoming King Chuang, and campaigned in and out of the provinces of Shensi, Szechuan, Honan and Hupeh. Finally he captured the imperial capital of Peking in 1644, whereupon the last Ming emperor committed suicide. The chief slogan he spread among the masses was “Support King Chuang, and pay no grain taxes.” Another slogan of his to enforce discipline among his men ran: “Any murder means the killing of may father, and any rape means the violation of may mother.” Thus he won the support of the masses and his movement became the main current of the peasant revolts raging all over the country. As he, too, roamed about without ever establishing relatively consolidated areas, he was eventually defeated by Wu Sankuei, a Ming general who colluded with the Ching troops in a joint attack on Li.

Commentary on **Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party**

“On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party” is part of a resolution drawn up by our great leader Chairman Mao in December 1929 for the Ninth Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. This congress was held in the town of Kutien, Fukien Province, so the resolution is called the Kutien Conference Resolution. This resolution is the most important summing up of experience gained in building the Party and army since the founding of our Party; it was the product of the victorious struggle in our ranks waged by the proletarian ideology, world outlook and revolutionary line against the bourgeois world outlook and reactionary line. It is a brilliant document of great historical and practical significance.

In this brilliant work, Chairman Mao comprehensively, correctly and thoroughly solved for the first time the questions of orientation and line for our Party and army building. It enabled our army, in its very early days, to draw a basic line of distinction between the proletarian and the bourgeois armies, and to lay the foundations of political work. It has become a beacon light guiding the advance of our Party and army.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has now entered a new stage. In response to the great call issued by our most respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao, a struggle by the proletarian revolutionaries in a great alliance to seize power from the handful of persons taking the capitalist road is sweeping through China and shaking the whole world with the momentum of an avalanche and the force of a thunderbolt. At this crucial moment, “We must keep our ranks in good order, we must march in step, our troops must be picked troops and our weapons good weapons. Without these conditions the enemy cannot be overthrown.” (Rectify the Party’s Style of Work).

But in the revolutionary mass organization there still exist certain tendencies which hamper the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries. These include selfish departmentalism, the “small group” mentality, excessive decentralization, disregard of organizational discipline, ultra-democracy, liberalism, subjectivism and individualism. Unless all these are corrected, we cannot consistently persist in the proletarian revolutionary line, successfully fulfill the militant tasks of the great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries of seizure of power, and carry through to the end the great proletarian cultural revolution. Just as Chairman Mao has pointed out in this brilliant work: “There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party’s correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China’s great revolutionary struggle.”

In this work, Chairman Mao gave a penetrating criticism and refutation of the various mistaken tendencies mentioned above; he gave a scientific analysis of them and put forward ways of correcting them. Our revolutionary rebel comrades must make a serious effort to study and apply creatively this brilliant work for Chairman Mao by linking it with our thinking and practice in struggle. We want to make revolution against

the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and taking the capitalist road, as well as against bourgeois ideas in our minds.

Overcome Various Non-Proletarian Ideas and Bring About the Great Alliance of Proletarian Revolutionaries

In the new stage of the current great proletarian cultural revolution, we should pay special attention to the following points:

1. Unfold the struggle to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest; get rid of individualism and the “small group” mentality.

In this great work Chairman Mao has penetratingly analyzed, criticized and refuted individualism, the “small group” mentality and other mistaken ideas.

Chairman Mao pointed out: “Some comrades consider only the interest of their own group and ignore the general interest. Although on the surface this does not seem to be the pursuit of personal interests, in reality it exemplifies the narrowest individualism and has a strong corrosive and centrifugal effect.” This “small group” mentality that Chairman Mao criticized and refuted is something which all revolutionary rebel organizations should be on guard against. A “small group” mentality may cause people to forget the overall interests of the revolutionary rebels, and lead revolutionary organizations to refuse to accommodate and support each other and instead suspect and squeeze each other out. This “small group” mentality makes people seize and rule “mountain-strongholds,” and encourages each group to set up its own organs and act on its own, thereby waging struggles without coordination and turning revolutionary rebel organizations into independent kingdoms. Such a “small group” mentality loosens unity, undermines cohesion, greatly weakens the fighting power of revolutionary rebel organizations and hampers the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. The “small group” mentality is an arch enemy of proletarian revolutionaries and must be wiped out.

The “small group” mentality is individualism in its magnified form. If we want to overcome this mentality, we must follow Chairman Mao’s teachings to “rectify individualism ideologically.”

The essence of the bourgeois world outlook is individualism. Its characteristic is to put “self-interest” above everything else; to put out grasping hands everywhere to seek fame, material gain, power, position and the limelight; to give up revolutionary principles; to disregard the revolution as a whole and forget the 700 million Chinese people and the 3,000 million people of the world. A person who places “self-interest” above everything else cannot truly accept Mao Tse-tung Thought and correctly implement Chairman Mao’s proletarian revolutionary line. More often than not such a person fails to distinguish the enemy from comrades, or right from wrong; is likely to play into the hands of the enemy; lose general orientation or even go astray in the midst of acute and complex class struggle; he dares not persist in upholding the truth and will succumb at the critical moment of searching test. He will be short-sighted, seeing only short-term personal interests and not the long-term and overall interests of the revolution. “Self-interest” is a virus hidden in our minds, we must drag it out and destroy it under the burning brilliance of Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Devotion to the “public interest” cannot be fostered unless “self-interest” is destroyed. This “public-interest” is the interest of the proletariat, communism and the big group. It is not the interest of any one small group. Its characteristic manifestation is working not for fame and material gain, fearlessness in hardship and death, devotion to others without any thought of self, wholehearted devotion to the revolution, and wholehearted service to the Chinese people and the people of the world. In the current fierce struggle between the two lines, the most thorough devotion to the “public interest” is defense and implementation of the proletarian revolutionary line.

Only when we revolutionary rebels utterly destroy “self-interest” and vigorously promote devotion to the “public interest” and establish the proletarian world outlook, can we successfully fulfill the great task of seizing power in the present new stage of the great proletarian cultural revolution and resolutely carry that revolution through to the end. If we put “self-interest” above everything else and want to lord it over others after the seizure of power, then we will fall into the trap set by the bourgeois reactionary line and put ourselves in the position of becoming new bourgeois representatives. Therefore, as we seize power from persons in authority and taking the capitalist road, we must also seize power from the “self-interest” in our minds. Only after we have thoroughly seized power from “self-interest” ideologically, can we ensure the successful seizure of power from the persons who are in authority and taking the capitalist road. Otherwise, even if power is seized from them, it may also degenerate into bourgeois political power.

Everyone of us revolutionary rebels must creatively study and apply Chairman Mao’s works in the course of struggle, destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest, become truly “noble-minded and pure, and man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value of the people” (In Memory of Norman Bethune), and become a revolutionary rebel forever loyal to Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line!

2. Strengthen the sense of organization and discipline, oppose disregard of organizational discipline and ultra-democracy.

In this great work, Chairman Mao has also penetratingly analyzed, criticized and repudiated such mistaken ideas as disregard of organizational discipline and ultra-democracy. In the current acute and complex class struggle, revolutionary rebels must at all times remember to wage a serious struggle against such mistaken ideas.

Chairman Mao warns us: “... the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party’s fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution.” At the present time, disregard of organizational discipline and ultra-democracy are frequently manifested in the following ways: insisting on being “independent;” practicing excessive decentralization; not keeping each other informed; belittling each other; showing unwillingness to join in united action while wanting to do things entirely according to one’s own desire; wanting only democracy but not centralism and only freedom, not discipline; caring only for one’s piece of mind, not for a unified will; and instead of putting aside differences to seek common ground with people who have the same general

orientation as oneself, squabbling over things which are trivial and not matters of principle. All such incorrect tendencies are harmful to the present great alliance of the proletarian revolutionaries and their struggle to seize power.

Comrades who want only democracy but not centralism refuse to admit that the former is a means rather than an end. They stress democracy and freedom to an unjustified extent, thinking of them in absolute terms. For them, since the spirit of daring to think and daring to act is called for in making revolution, then they should not be subject to any organizational restriction or discipline. This way of looking at things is very wrong. Democracy and freedom both have a class character. A proletarian revolutionary fighter must smash up the counter-revolutionary dictatorship and discipline, but at the same time must consciously uphold the proletarian system of democratic centralism and obey its revolutionary discipline. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Democracy sometimes seems to be an end, but it is in fact only a means. Marxism teaches us that democracy is part of the superstructure and belongs to the category of politics. That is to say, in the last analysis, it serves the economic base. The same is true of freedom." (On The Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People.) Each of our comrades must fully realize that our democracy and freedom serve the interest of the proletariat and the consolidation of the proletarian dictatorship. To seek democracy and freedom by parting from the basic prerequisite of proletarian revolution and dictatorship will inevitably damage the basic interests of the revolution.

At the present time, the proletarian revolutionary rebels are swiftly forming alliances and uniting with all the revolutionary masses in the struggle to seize power from the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road. As we analyze and handle all kinds of problems, each of us revolutionary comrades must take this general orientation as our point of departure, see the situation as a whole, and when it is demanded, subordinate the needs of the part to the needs of the whole for the sake of that general orientation. When differences of opinion arise within a revolutionary organization or among different revolutionary organizations, and if these differences involve matters of principle, we should follow Chairman Mao's teaching that "the rights and wrongs... should be clarified without compromise of glossing over." If the differences do not involve matters of principle, the parties concerned should put aside differences to seek common ground on the basis of their agreement on general orientation; they should not squabble endlessly over trivialities. Only so can unity be consolidated and fighting capacity be strengthened in concerted action against the enemy.

Our class enemies have not been sleeping. They are trying their best to find cracks in our revolutionary ranks and set up against each other in an attempt to disrupt our ranks and undermine the great alliance of proletarian revolutionaries. All thoughts and actions such as excessive decentralization, liberalism, ultra-democracy and disregard of organizational discipline exactly conform with the wishes of our class enemies and will be used by them. We must heighten our vigilance and not fall into their trap.

3. Stress class analysis and investigations and study; overcome subjectivism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the analysis of the political situation and the guidance of

work. The reason is that subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism.” These words of Chairman Mao’s are of utmost importance in directing the struggle waged by us proletarian revolutionary rebels.

At the present moment, a handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road are colluding with the ghosts and monsters in society to cook up a counter-revolutionary “alliance” in opposition to the great revolutionary alliance. They are doing their best to put up a false front and create confusion. We are rising in rebellion — they, too, are in “rebellion”; we are forging alliances — they, too, are forging “alliances”; we are seizing power — they, too, are trying to “seize power.” We say we are revolutionary rebels — they too, call themselves “revolutionary rebels.” In everything they do; they try to pass off the phoney thing for the genuine one.

At a time when proletarian revolutionaries are forging great alliances to seize power, some of these evil-doers also put up the signboard of “revolutionary rebellion” in order to weave their way into the ranks of the revolutionary rebels and so cause dissension and trouble in a vain attempt to split and disintegrate our ranks, disrupt the great alliance of revolutionaries and achieve their end of seizing power from the proletariat. In such a complex struggle one must employ Chairman Mao’s method of class analysis and appraisal, and at the same time make a careful investigation and study before deciding on tactics and methods of work and get rid of idealism. Only so can we penetrate appearance to see through to the essence of things, clear away the fog to see the road, and not fall into the traps of the class enemy.

Chairman Mao teaches us: “Our chief method of investigation must be to dissect the different social interrelations, to arrive at a correct appraisal of class forces and then to formulate the correct tactics for the struggle, define which classes constitute the main force in the revolutionary struggles, which classes are to be won over as allies and which classes to be overthrown. This is our sole purpose.” (Oppose Book Worship). In the course of the struggle we must study and grasp Chairman Mao’s theory of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society, go deep among the masses, investigate and study, and, among opinions of every kind, determine which represent the interests and demands of which class. Only so can we correctly carry out the Party’s policies, make a strict distinction between the two types of contradictions — contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and contradictions among the people — and unite with all possible forces to overthrow completely the handful of persons in the Party who are in authority and are taking the capitalist road.

Arm our minds with Mao Tse-tung’s Thought, give prominence to proletarian politics, make extra efforts to remold our world outlook and speed up the revolutionization of our thinking.

Ideas such as individualism, “small group” mentality, disregard of organizational discipline, ultra-democracy and subjectivism, are all ideological trends of the bourgeoisie and petty- bourgeoisie. They are fundamentally antagonistic to Mao Tse-tung’s thought. They exert a very corrosive influences on our proletarian revolutionary ranks. If they are not corrected in time, we will not be able to complete successfully the great historical

task of the great proletarian cultural revolution. These mistaken ideas exist, as Chairman Mao points out, because “.. its (the Party organization’s) basic units are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty-bourgeois origin; yet the inadequacy of the Party’s leading bodies in waging a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas and educating members of the Party’s correct line is also an important cause of their existence and growth.”

In this brilliant work, Chairman Mao sharply criticized and repudiated the mistaken view that to be good militarily means to be good politically. He clearly points out that the “Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution” and that “military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks.” To give prominence to proletarian politics and implement Chairman Mao’s line in Party-building and army-building should always be basic in the building of the proletarian revolutionary forces. Politics is the supreme commander, the soul, the orientation; political work is the life blood of all work. We must follow Chairman Mao’s teachings and strengthen the building up of the proletarian ranks politically; otherwise, we will lose our bearings and go astray.

Some comrades think: “It makes no difference whether we grasp ideological work or not; all we want is bold action. Anyone who can do that is a good comrade.” Other think: “Our fighting tasks are heavy and work schedule is busy: who has time to grasp the ideological work?” Some comrades become mentally burdened by the fact that they are Left-wingers, and this becomes an encumbrance that prevents them from recognizing their own shortcomings and causes them to neglect their own ideological remoulding. Guided by such mistaken ideas, they do not study Chairman Mao’s works earnestly, do not pay sufficient attention to problems currently in people’s minds, do not wish to carry out hard and painstaking ideological work but only want fast, bold action; they stress only action and neglect the tactics of struggle. All this is detrimental to the unity and consolidation of the proletarian revolutionary ranks.

Giving prominence to politics means giving prominence to Mao Tse-tung’s thought. In the last analysis, the great proletarian cultural revolution aims to establish the supremacy of Mao Tse-tung’s thought. Comrade Lin Piao points out: “We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung’s thought, ensure that it seizes all ideological positions, apply it in transforming the mental outlook of society, and enable Mao Tse-tung’s thought, this great spiritual force, to be transformed into a great material force!” We proletarian revolutionaries must study and apply Chairman Mao’s work creatively in the course of the struggle. We must take the “three constantly read articles” (*Serve The People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains*) and “*On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*” as our maxims for study. In remolding the objective world, we must at the same time remold our subjective world; we must regard ourselves as a force in the revolution and a target of the revolution. We must be bold to make revolution in the depths of our souls and enable Mao Tse-tung’s thought to firmly occupy all ideological positions. In the spirit of the rectification campaign we must undertake criticism and self-criticism and use the sharp weapon of Mao Tse-tung’s thoughts and check up on our ranks; make extra efforts to remold our world outlook and speed up the revolutionization of our thinking. Thus we will be able to build our revolutionary rebel ranks into a highly proletarian and highly

militant, great army of the cultural revolution, an army which advances courageously following the proletarian revolutionary line of Chairman Mao, and which will carry to completion the great proletarian cultural revolution!