

LIU SHAOQI

THREE ESSAYS ON
PARTY-BUILDING

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
BEIJING

Liu Shaoqi

**THREE ESSAYS
ON PARTY-BUILDING**

FOREIGN LANGUAGES PRESS
BEIJING

First Edition 1980

Foreign Languages Press
24 Baiwanzhuang Road, Beijing, China

Printed in the People's Republic of China



刘力奇

CONTENTS

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST	1
I. Why Communists Must Undertake Self-Cultivation	3
II. Be Worthy Pupils of Marx and Lenin	12
III. The Self-Cultivation of Communists and the Revolutionary Practice of the Masses	18
IV. The Unity of Theoretical Study and Ideological Self-Cultivation	24
V. The Cause of Communism Is the Greatest and Most Arduous Undertaking in Human History	36
VI. A Party Member's Personal Interests Must Be Unconditionally Subordinated to the Interests of the Party	47
VII. Examples of Wrong Ideology in the Party	57
VIII. The Source of Wrong Ideology in the Party	73
IX. Attitudes Towards Wrong Ideology in the Party and Towards Inner-Party Struggle	78
ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE	99
I. Introduction	101
II. The Special Conditions Under Which the Chinese Communist Party Was Founded and the Deviations That Have Arisen in Its Inner-Party Struggle	106
III. The Manifestations of Mechanical and Excessive Inner-Party Struggle	119

IV. Unprincipled Struggle Within the Party	134
V. How to Conduct Inner-Party Struggle	147
 ON THE PARTY	 163
I. Introduction	165
II. The General Programme of the Party Constitution	176
1. Concerning the Character of Our Party	177
2. Concerning the Guiding Theory of the Party	191
3. Concerning the Characteristics of the Chinese Revolution	199
4. Concerning the Mass Line of the Party	206
III. Party Membership	227
IV. The Duties and Rights of Party Members	237
V. Democratic Centralism Within the Party	243
VI. The Problem of Cadres	261
VII. The Basic Organizations of the Party	284
VIII. Commendation and Discipline	290
IX. The Party's Strictness and Flexibility	295

PUBLISHER'S NOTE

Comrade Liu Shaoqi, late Vice-Chairman of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party and Chairman of the People's Republic of China, was an outstanding Marxist theorist. Contained in the present collection are three of his major works: "How To Be a Good Communist," "On Inner-Party Struggle," and "On the Party."

Because of misjudgements made of the Party and the country on the eve of the Cultural Revolution which began in 1966, Comrade Liu Shaoqi was wrongly accused of heading a so-called bourgeois "headquarters." In order to usurp Party and state leadership, the conspiratorial Lin Biao and the gang of four, taking advantage of the extremely abnormal political life within the Party, framed Comrade Liu Shaoqi, physically persecuted him and falsely named him "renegade, traitor and scab." At the 12th Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party held in October 1968, it was erroneously resolved to expel Comrade Liu Shaoqi "from the Party once and for all and dismiss him from all posts both inside and outside the Party." This was the biggest frame-up ever known in the history of the Chinese Communist Party. He died on November 12, 1969, uncleared of the false charges.

With the downfall of the gang of four in October 1976, the Party Central Committee re-examined the case of Comrade Liu Shaoqi. A detailed and accurate investigation irrefutably proved that all the accusations made against him were false and slanderous. In the spirit of seeking truth from facts and correcting mistakes, the 5th Plenary Session of the Party's Eleventh Central Committee, held in February 1980, unanimously resolved to rehabilitate Comrade Liu Shaoqi by cancelling the said resolution against him and clearing his name.

As early as 1941, when the campaign to rectify the three styles (of work, study and writing) began, cadres were required to read, among other writings, Comrade Liu Shaoqi's "How To Be a Good Communist" and "On Inner-Party Struggle." The former has long been used by Party members in the cultivation of Party spirit and by cadres in theoretical study. "On the Party," Comrade Liu Shaoqi's report to the Seventh Congress of the Chinese Communist Party in May 1945 regarding the revision of the Party Constitution, is also one of his most influential writings. The Foreign Languages Press published the English edition of all three works of Comrade Liu Shaoqi's in the early 1950s, and "How To Be a Good Communist" was reprinted several times. To help readers better understand his views on how to build up the Party according to Marxism-Leninism, we have now compiled these three essays in one edition.

HOW TO BE A GOOD COMMUNIST

(A Lecture Delivered in July 1939 at the
Institute of Marxism-Leninism in Yan'an)

Comrades!

The question I shall discuss is how members of the Communist Party should cultivate and temper themselves. It may not be unprofitable to the building and consolidation of the Party to take up this question at the present time.

I
WHY COMMUNISTS MUST UNDERTAKE
SELF-CULTIVATION

Why must Communists undertake to cultivate themselves?

In order to live, man must wage a struggle against nature and make use of nature to produce material values. At all times and under all conditions, his production of material things is social in character. It follows that when men engage in production at any stage of social development, they have to enter into certain relations of production with one another. In their ceaseless struggle against nature, men ceaselessly change nature and simultaneously change themselves and their mutual relations. Men themselves, their social relations, their forms of social organization and their consciousness change and progress continuously in the long struggle which as social beings they wage against nature. In ancient times, man's mode of life, social organization and consciousness were

all different from what they are today, and in the future they will again be different.

Mankind and human society are in process of historical development. When human society reached a certain historical stage, classes and class struggle emerged. Every member of a class society exists as a member of a given class and lives in given conditions of class struggle. Man's social being determines his consciousness. In class society the ideology of the members of each class reflects a different class position and different class interests. The class struggle constantly goes on among these classes with their different positions, interests and ideologies. Thus it is not only in the struggle against nature but in the struggle of social classes that men change nature, change society and at the same time change themselves.

Marx and Engels said:

Both for the production on a mass scale of this communist consciousness, and for the success of the cause itself, the alteration of men on a mass scale is necessary, an alteration which can only take place in a practical movement, a *revolution*; this revolution is necessary, therefore, not only because the ruling class cannot be overthrown in any other way, but also because the class *overthrowing* it can only in a revolution succeed in ridding itself of all the muck of ages and become fitted to found society anew.¹

That is to say, the proletariat must consciously go through long periods of social revolutionary struggles and, in such struggles, change society and change itself.

We should therefore see ourselves as in need of change

¹The *German Ideology*, International Publishers, New York, 1947, p. 69.

and capable of being changed. We should not look upon ourselves as immutable, perfect and sacrosanct, as persons who need not and cannot be changed. When we pose the task of remoulding ourselves in social struggle, we are not demeaning ourselves; the objective laws of social development demand it. Unless we do so, we cannot make progress, nor fulfil the task of changing society.

We Communists are the most advanced revolutionaries in modern history; today the changing of society and the world rests upon us and we are the driving force in this change. It is by unremitting struggle against counter-revolutionaries that we Communists change society and the world, and at the same time change ourselves.

When we say that Communists must remould themselves by waging struggles in every sphere against the counter-revolutionaries, we mean that it is through such struggles that they must seek to make progress, and must enhance their revolutionary quality and ability. An immature revolutionary has to go through a long process of revolutionary tempering and self-cultivation, a long process of remoulding, before he can become a mature and seasoned revolutionary who can grasp and skilfully apply the laws of revolution. For in the first place a comparatively immature revolutionary, born and bred in the old society, carries with him remnants of the various ideologies of that society (including its prejudices, habits and traditions), and in the second he has not been through a long period of revolutionary activity. Therefore he does not yet have a really thorough understanding of the enemy, of ourselves or of the laws of social development and revolutionary struggle. In order to change this state of affairs, besides

learning from past revolutionary experience (the practice of our predecessors), he must himself participate in contemporary revolutionary practice, and in this revolutionary practice and the struggle against all kinds of counter-revolutionaries, he must bring his conscious activity into full play and work hard at study and self-cultivation. Only so can he gradually acquire deeper experience and knowledge of the laws of social development and revolutionary struggle, acquire a really thorough understanding of the enemy and ourselves, discover and correct his wrong ideas, habits and prejudices, and thus raise the level of his political consciousness, cultivate his revolutionary qualities and improve his revolutionary methods.

Hence, in order to remould himself and raise his own level, a revolutionary must take part in revolutionary practice from which he must on no account isolate himself. He cannot do so, moreover, without subjective effort, without self-cultivation and study, in the course of practice. Otherwise, it will still be impossible for him to make progress.

For example, several Communists take part in a revolutionary mass struggle together and engage in revolutionary practice under roughly the same circumstances and conditions. It is possible that the effect of the struggle on these Party members will not be at all uniform. Some will make very rapid progress and some who used to lag behind will even forge ahead of others. Other Party members will advance very slowly. Still others will waver in the struggle, and instead of being pushed forward by revolutionary practice will fall behind. Why?

Or take another example. Many members of our Party were on the Long March; it was a severe process of tem-

pering for them, and the overwhelming majority made very great progress indeed. But the Long March had the opposite effect on certain individuals in the Party. After having been on the Long March they began to shrink before such arduous struggles, and some of them even planned to back out or run away and later, succumbing to outside allurements, actually deserted the revolutionary ranks. Many Party members took part in the Long March together, and yet its impact and results varied very greatly. Again, why?

Basically speaking, these phenomena are reflections in our revolutionary ranks of the class struggle in society. Our Party members differ in quality because they differ in social background and have come under different social influences. They differ in their attitude, stand and comprehension in relation to revolutionary practice, and consequently they develop in different directions in the course of revolutionary practice. This can clearly be seen in your Institute as well. You all receive the same education and training here, and yet because you differ in quality and experience, in degree of effort and self-cultivation, you may obtain different or even contrary results. Hence, subjective effort and self-cultivation in the course of revolutionary struggle are absolutely essential, indeed indispensable, for a revolutionary in remoulding himself and raising his own level.

Whether he joined the revolution long ago or recently, every Communist who wants to become a good, politically mature revolutionary must undergo a long period of tempering in revolutionary struggle, must steel himself in mass revolutionary struggles and all kinds of difficulties and hardships, must sum up the experience gained through practice, make great efforts in self-

cultivation, raise his ideological level, heighten his ability and never lose his sense of what is new. For only thus can he turn himself into a politically staunch revolutionary of high quality.

Confucius said, "At fifteen, my mind was bent on learning. At thirty, I could think for myself. At forty, I was no longer perplexed. At fifty, I knew the decree of Heaven. At sixty, my ear was attuned to the truth. At seventy, I can follow my heart's desire, without transgressing what is right."¹ Here the feudal philosopher was referring to his own process of self-cultivation; he did not consider himself to have been born a "sage."

Mencius, another feudal philosopher, said that no one had fulfilled "a great mission" and played a role in history without first undergoing a hard process of tempering, a process which "exercises his mind with suffering and toughens his sinews and bones with toil, exposes his body to hunger, subjects him to extreme poverty, thwarts his undertakings, and thereby stimulates his mind, tempers his character and adds to his capacities."² Still more so must Communists give attention to tempering and cultivating themselves in revolutionary struggles, since they have the historically unprecedented "great mission" of changing the world.

Our Communist self-cultivation is the kind essential to proletarian revolutionaries. It must not be divorced from revolutionary practice or from the actual revolutionary movements of the labouring masses, and especially of the proletarian masses.

¹ From the *Confucian Analects*, "Wei Zheng." Confucius lived from B.C. 551 to B.C. 479.

² From *Mencius*, Book VI, "Gao Zi," Part II. Mencius lived from B.C. 372 to B.C. 289.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said:

Discover the truth through practice, and again through practice verify and develop the truth. Start from perceptual knowledge and actively develop it into rational knowledge; then start from rational knowledge and actively guide revolutionary practice to change both the subjective and the objective world. Practice, knowledge, again practice, and again knowledge. This form repeats itself in endless cycles, and with each cycle the content of practice and knowledge rises to a higher level. Such is the whole of the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, and such is the dialectical-materialist theory of the unity of knowing and doing.¹

Our Party members should temper themselves and intensify their self-cultivation not only in the hardships, difficulties and reverses of revolutionary practice, but also in the course of smooth, successful and victorious revolutionary practice. Some members of our Party cannot withstand the plaudits of success and victory; they let victories turn their heads, become brazen, arrogant and bureaucratic and may even vacillate, degenerate and become corrupted, completely losing their original revolutionary quality. Individual instances of this kind are not uncommon among our Party members. The existence of such a phenomenon in the Party calls for our comrades' sharp attention.

In past ages, before proletarian revolutionaries appeared on the scene, practically all revolutionaries became corrupted and degenerated with the achievement of

¹ "On Practice," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1977, Vol. I, p. 308.

victory. They lost their original revolutionary spirit and became obstacles to the further development of the revolution. In the past hundred years of China's history, or to speak of more recent times, in the past fifty years, we have seen that many bourgeois and petty-bourgeois revolutionaries became corrupted and degenerated after gaining some success and climbing to power. This was determined by the class basis of revolutionaries in the past and by the nature of earlier revolutions. Before the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia, all revolutions throughout history invariably ended in the supersession of the rule of one exploiting class by that of another. Thus, once they themselves became the ruling class, these revolutionaries lost their revolutionary quality and turned around to oppress the exploited masses; this was an inexorable law.

But such can never be the case with the proletarian revolution and with the Communist Party. The proletarian revolution is a revolution to abolish all exploitation, oppression and classes. The Communist Party represents the proletariat which is itself exploited but does not exploit others, and it can therefore carry the revolution through to the end, finally abolish all exploitation and sweep away all the corruption and rottenness in human society. The proletariat is able to build a strictly organized and disciplined party and set up a centralized and at the same time democratic state apparatus; and through the Party and this state apparatus, it is able to lead the masses of the people in waging unrelenting struggle against all corruption and rottenness and in ceaselessly weeding out of the Party and the state organs all those elements that have become corrupt and degenerate (whatever high office they may hold), thereby preserving

the purity of the Party and the state apparatus. This outstanding feature of the proletarian revolution and of the proletarian revolutionary party did not and could not exist in earlier revolutions and revolutionary parties. Members of our Party must be clear on this point, and — particularly when the revolution is successful and victorious and when they themselves enjoy the ever greater confidence and support of the masses — they must sharpen their vigilance, intensify their self-cultivation in proletarian ideology and always preserve their pure proletarian revolutionary character so that they will not fall into the rut of earlier revolutionaries who degenerated in the hour of success.

Tempering and self-cultivation in revolutionary practice and tempering and self-cultivation in proletarian ideology are important for every Communist, especially after the seizure of political power. The Communist Party did not drop from heaven but was born out of Chinese society. Every member of the Communist Party has come from this society, is living in it today and is constantly exposed to all its evils. It is not surprising then that Communists, whether they are of proletarian or non-proletarian origin and whether they are old or new members of the Party, should carry with them to a greater or lesser extent the thinking and habits of the old society. In order to preserve our purity as vanguard fighters of the proletariat and to enhance our revolutionary quality and working ability, it is essential for every Communist to work hard to temper and cultivate himself in every respect.

These are the reasons why Communists must undertake self-cultivation. I shall now discuss the criteria for Communist self-cultivation.

II BE WORTHY PUPILS OF MARX AND LENIN

The Constitution of our Party stipulates that membership is open to any person who accepts the Programme and Constitution of the Party, pays membership dues and works in one of the Party organizations. No one can be a Party member unless he fulfils these requirements. But no Communist should rest content with being a Party member who merely fulfils the minimum requirements; as laid down in the Party Constitution, he should strive to make progress, ceaselessly raise the level of his political consciousness and diligently study Marxism-Leninism. In tempering and cultivating ourselves we should take as our model the words and deeds, the work and qualities of the great founders of Marxism-Leninism, as manifested throughout their lives.

Engels said of Marx:

. . . Marx was before all else a revolutionist. His real mission in life was to contribute, in one way or another, to the overthrow of capitalist society and of the state institutions which it had brought into being, to contribute to the liberation of the modern proletariat, which *he* was the first to make conscious of its own position and its needs, conscious of the conditions of its emancipation. Fighting was his element. And he fought with a passion, a tenacity and a success such as few could rival.¹

Engels also said of Marx:

¹ *On Marx*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 17-18.

None of us has that *breadth of vision* with which he, whenever it was necessary to act quickly, did the right thing and tackled the decisive issue.¹

Stalin said concerning the necessity of our learning from the example of Lenin:

Remember, love and study Ilyich, our teacher, our leader.

Fight and defeat our enemies, home and foreign — in the way that Ilyich taught us.

Build the new society, the new way of life, the new culture — in the way that Ilyich taught us.

Never refuse to do the little things, for from little things are built the big things — that is one of Ilyich's important behests.²

On another occasion Stalin said:

The electors, the people, must demand that their deputies should remain equal to their tasks, that in their work they should not sink to the level of political philistines, that in their posts they should remain political figures of the Lenin type, that as public figures they should be as clear and definite as Lenin was, that they should be as fearless in battle and as merciless towards the enemies of the people as Lenin was, that they should be free from all panic, from any semblance of panic, when things begin to get complicated and some danger or other looms on the horizon, that they should be as free from all semblance of panic

¹ Letter to J. P. Becker, October 15, 1884. Quoted from *Frederick Engels* by Yelena Stepanova, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, p. 221.

² "To Rabochaya Gazeta," J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. VII, p. 15.

as Lenin was, that they should be as wise and deliberate in deciding complex problems requiring a comprehensive orientation and a comprehensive weighing of all pros and cons as Lenin was, that they should be as upright and honest as Lenin was, that they should love their people as Lenin did.¹

These are concise characterizations of Marx by Engels and of Lenin by Stalin. That is how all members of our Party should learn from the thinking and qualities of Marx and Lenin and strive to be their worthy pupils.

Some say that the thinking and qualities of such great revolutionary geniuses as the founders of Marxism-Leninism cannot be acquired and that it is impossible to raise one's thinking and qualities to their high level. They regard the founders of Marxism-Leninism as born geniuses, as mysterious beings. Is such a view correct? I think not.

True enough, the average Party comrade is far from possessing the great gifts and profound scientific knowledge of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and most of our comrades cannot attain their deep and broad erudition in the theory of proletarian revolution. But it is perfectly possible for our comrades to grasp the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, cultivate the style of Marx and Lenin in work and struggle, constantly heighten their revolutionary quality and become statesmen of the type of Marx and Lenin, if they really have the will, take a really conscious and consistent stand as vanguard fighters of the proletariat, really acquire the communist world outlook, never isolate themselves from the current

¹ *Speech Delivered at a Meeting of Voters of the Stalin Electoral Area, Moscow*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1945, pp. 12-13.

great and deep revolutionary movement of the proletariat and all the labouring masses, and exert themselves in study, self-tempering and self-cultivation.

There is a saying of Mencius', "Everybody can be a Yao or a Shun."¹ I think that was well said. Every Communist should keep his feet on the ground, seek the truth from the facts, work hard at tempering himself, work conscientiously at self-cultivation and do his best steadily to improve his own thinking and quality. He should not regard the thinking and qualities of such great revolutionaries as the founders of Marxism-Leninism as beyond his reach, give up and be afraid to advance. For if he does so, he will become a "political philistine," a piece of "rotten wood that cannot be carved."

We should of course adopt a correct attitude towards learning from the qualities of the founders of Marxism-Leninism and towards learning Marxism-Leninism itself. Otherwise it is impossible to learn well, if at all. In fact, there are different kinds of people in our ranks with different attitudes towards such learning.

There are people who, when studying Marx and Lenin, fail to get to the essence of Marxism-Leninism, but only learn its terms and phrases superficially. Although they read Marxist-Leninist literature, they are unable to use its principles and conclusions as a guide to action and apply them to concrete, practical problems in real life. They are content to learn isolated principles and conclusions by rote, and even style themselves "the genuine" Marxist-Leninists; but they are certainly not genuine

¹ Yao and Shun were legendary kings of ancient China renowned for their benevolence and wisdom.

Marxist-Leninists and their actions and methods are diametrically opposed to Marxism-Leninism.

We have had not a few people of this type in the Chinese Communist Party. We had certain representatives of dogmatism at one time who were even worse. These people knew absolutely nothing about Marxism-Leninism and could only babble Marxist-Leninist phraseology, and yet they regarded themselves as "China's Marx" or "China's Lenin," posed as such in the Party and had the impudence to require that our Party members should revere them as Marx and Lenin are revered, support them as "the leaders" and accord them loyalty and devotion. They went so far as to appoint themselves "the leaders" without being chosen, climbed into positions of authority, issued orders to the Party like patriarchs, tried to lecture our Party, abused everything in the Party, wilfully attacked and punished our Party members and pushed them around. Those people had no sincere desire to study Marxism-Leninism or fight for the realization of communism — they were just careerists in the Party, termites in the communist movement. Such people were bound to be opposed and eventually unmasked and discarded by the rank and file. And indeed they were discarded by our Party members. But can we say with full confidence that no such people will reappear in our Party? No, we cannot yet say so.

Then there are people of exactly the opposite kind. They see themselves above all as pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, conscientiously study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism and strive to grasp its essence and spirit. They look up to the noble character and proletarian revolutionary qualities of the founders, and in the course of revolutionary struggles they con-

scientiously carry on self-cultivation and examine themselves to see if their handling of affairs, their dealings with people and their own behaviour conform to the spirit of Marxism-Leninism. They are well read in Marxism-Leninism but at the same time they make a special effort to investigate and analyse living reality, to study the characteristics of their own time and of all aspects of the situation facing the proletariat of their own country, and to integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own country. They do not content themselves with memorizing Marxist-Leninist principles and conclusions, but take a firm Marxist-Leninist stand, learn the Marxist-Leninist method and act accordingly, giving spirited guidance in every revolutionary struggle, and thus they transform reality and at the same time transform themselves. Every one of their actions without exception is guided by the general principles of Marxism-Leninism and is devoted to the victory of the proletarian cause, the liberation of the nation and all mankind, and the triumph of communism.

The attitude of these people is the only correct one. It is the one attitude towards studying Marxism-Leninism and learning from the qualities of its founders that will enable us to become communist proletarian revolutionaries of the Marx and Lenin type.

A person who really takes pains to cultivate himself and to be a faithful pupil of the founders of Marxism-Leninism will lay special stress on maintaining the Marxist-Leninist stand and using the Marxist-Leninist viewpoint and method to solve the problems arising in the revolutionary movement led by the proletariat, as the founders of Marxism-Leninism did. He will give no

thought whatsoever to his own position or fame in the Party, nor will he ever claim to be a Marx or a Lenin, nor require or expect others to have the same high respect for him as for Marx and Lenin, for he does not think he has any right to do so. Yet such a person will enjoy the considered respect and support of the mass of the Party members just because he acts in this way, because he is always honest and loyal, brave and firm, and shows great ability in the revolutionary struggle.

Of course it is not easy to model ourselves on the founders of Marxism-Leninism and be their faithful and worthy pupils. But we can become their faithful and worthy pupils if we are strong-willed and determined to fight hard for the cause of communism, if we diligently study Marxism-Leninism amid the great revolutionary struggles of the masses and are good at summing up experience, and if we temper and cultivate ourselves in every respect and devote our whole lives to the proletarian communist cause.

III THE SELF-CULTIVATION OF COMMUNISTS AND THE REVOLUTIONARY PRACTICE OF THE MASSES

In order to become faithful and worthy pupils of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, we must engage in all-round self-cultivation in the course of the great and protracted revolutionary struggles of the proletariat and the masses. We must engage in self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory; self-cultivation in applying the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method to the study and

handling of all problems; self-cultivation in proletarian revolutionary strategy and tactics; self-cultivation in proletarian ideology and morality; self-cultivation in upholding unity in the Party, practising criticism and self-criticism and observing discipline; self-cultivation in developing the style of hard work and persistent struggle; self-cultivation in building close ties with the masses; self-cultivation in various branches of scientific knowledge, etc. We are all members of the Communist Party and therefore we must all without exception carry on self-cultivation in these respects. However, since Party members differ from one another in political consciousness, experience of struggle, field of work, cultural level, and in the conditions in which they work, it is natural that comrades should differ to some extent in the various aspects of self-cultivation to which they must pay special attention or which they must stress.

When Zeng Zi, in ancient times, said, "I reflect on myself three times a day,"¹ he was discussing self-examination. *The Book of Odes* in the famous lines, "As knife and file make smooth the bone, as jade is wrought by chisel and stone," referred to the need for help and criticism among friends. What all this shows is that very hard work and very earnest self-cultivation are essential if one is to make progress. But the "self-cultivation" pursued by many people in the past was generally idealistic, formalistic, abstract and divorced from social practice. They exaggerated the role of subjective intentions, thinking that so long as they had "good will" in the abstract, they could transform reality, society and

¹From the *Confucian Analects*, "Xue Er." Zeng Zi, one of Confucius' disciples, lived from B.C. 505 to B.C. 436.

themselves. Of course this is absurd. Our self-cultivation cannot be done that way. We are revolutionary materialists; our self-cultivation cannot be separated from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

For us it is most important never to divorce ourselves from the current revolutionary struggle of the masses, but to identify ourselves with it, in order to study, sum up and apply the revolutionary experience of the past. This means that we must cultivate and temper ourselves in revolutionary practice and that in turn our self-cultivation and tempering are undertaken solely for the sake of the people and of revolutionary practice. It means that we must modestly learn the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method, learn from the noble proletarian quality of the founders of Marxism-Leninism, and apply all this in our practice, in our words and deeds, our daily life and work, constantly correcting or eliminating anything in our ideology contrary to it, and strengthening our own proletarian communist ideology and character. It means that we should listen modestly to the opinions and criticisms of our Party comrades and of the masses, make a careful study of the practical problems in our life and work, carefully sum up and draw lessons from our experience in work, and that, in the light of all this, we should ascertain whether our understanding of Marxism-Leninism and our use of the Marxist-Leninist method are correct, and check up on our shortcomings and mistakes so as to overcome them and improve our work. Furthermore, on the basis of new experience we should ascertain whether there are any individual conclusions or aspects of Marxism-Leninism that need supplementing, enriching and developing. In

short, we must integrate the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of revolution.

This is the method of self-cultivation for us Communists. It is entirely different from those methods of self-cultivation which are idealistic and divorced from the revolutionary practice of the masses.

In order to persevere in this Marxist-Leninist method of self-cultivation, we must resolutely oppose and thoroughly eradicate one of the worst vices bequeathed to us by the old society in the field of education and study, namely, the separation of theory from practice. In the old society many people who studied thought it unnecessary, or even impossible, to act upon what they had learned, and though they wrote and spoke abundantly of justice and morality, in fact they were out and out scoundrels. Although the Kuomintang reactionaries memorize the "Three People's Principles"¹ and recite Sun Yat-sen's Testament,² in actual fact they bleed the

¹The Three People's Principles were the principles and the programme put forward by Sun Yat-sen on the questions of nationalism, democracy and people's livelihood in China's bourgeois-democratic revolution. In the Manifesto adopted by the Kuomintang at its First National Congress in 1924 Sun Yat-sen re-stated the Three People's Principles. Nationalism was interpreted as opposition to imperialism, equality among all nationalities in the country and unity in the common struggle with those nations of the world which treat us as equals. Active support was expressed for the movements of the workers and peasants. Thus the old Three People's Principles were transformed into the new Three People's Principles characterized by the Three Great Policies, that is, alliance with the Soviet Union, alliance with the Communist Party, and assistance to the peasants and workers.

²The Testament made by Sun Yat-sen on his deathbed in March 1925, enjoining the thorough implementation of the Manifesto of the Kuomintang's First National Congress.

people white with taxes, practise corruption and slaughter, oppress the masses, are opposed to "those nations who treat us as equals," and go so far as to compromise with or surrender to the national enemy. An old *xiuca*¹ once told me that of all the teachings of Confucius he was able to observe only this one, "For him no food can ever be too dainty and no minced meat too fine,"² and that he could not observe the rest and had never intended to. Since that is what these people are like, why do they run schools and study the "teachings of the sages"? They are after advancement and money, use the "teachings of the sages" to oppress the exploited, and deceive the people by paying lip service to justice and morality. This is typical of the attitude of the exploiting classes of the old society towards the sages they "worship." Needless to say, when we Communists study Marxism-Leninism and all that is best in our national heritage, we must never adopt such an attitude. What we learn, we must practise. We proletarian revolutionaries are honest and pure in purpose; we cannot be untrue to ourselves, to the people, or to those who went before us. This is an outstanding characteristic as well as a great merit of Communists.

Is it possible that the evils of the old society can have no influence on us? No, it is impossible! It is true that none of you students are studying Marxism-Leninism for the sake of advancement and money and of oppressing

¹ From the Tang Dynasty (618-907) onwards, the imperial competitive examinations in feudal China were conducted at three levels, the national, the provincial and the county (or *zhou*). Those successful in the county (or *zhou*) examination were called *xiuca*.

² From the *Confucian Analects*, "Xiang Dang."

the exploited. Yet is it possible to maintain that none of you ever entertains the idea that your thoughts, words, deeds and life do not necessarily have to be guided by Marxist-Leninist principles or that you do not intend to put all the principles you have learned into practice? Is it possible that none of you ever thinks of studying Marxism-Leninism or going deeper into theory as a means of getting ahead in life, of showing off and becoming famous? I cannot guarantee that none of you thinks along these lines. That kind of thinking runs counter to Marxism-Leninism and to the basic Marxist-Leninist principle of the integration of theory and practice. Certainly we must study theory, but we must also practise what we learn. And it is for the sake of practice, of the Party, of the people, and of the victory of the revolution that we study theory.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said:

The great strength of Marxism-Leninism lies precisely in its integration with the concrete revolutionary practice of all countries. For the Chinese Communist Party, it is a matter of learning to apply the theory of Marxism-Leninism to the specific circumstances of China. For the Chinese Communists who are part of the great Chinese nation, flesh of its flesh and blood of its blood, any talk about Marxism in isolation from China's characteristics is merely Marxism in the abstract, Marxism in a vacuum. Hence to apply Marxism concretely in China so that its every manifestation has an indubitably Chinese character, *i.e.*, to apply Marxism in the light of China's specific characteristics, becomes a problem which it is urgent for the whole Party to understand and solve. Foreign stereotypes

must be abolished, there must be less singing of empty, abstract tunes, and dogmatism must be laid to rest; they must be replaced by the fresh, lively Chinese style and spirit which the common people of China love.¹

Our comrades must study the theory of Marxism-Leninism by following the method Comrade Mao Zedong speaks of here.

IV THE UNITY OF THEORETICAL STUDY AND IDEOLOGICAL SELF-CULTIVATION

We Communists must not separate our study of theory from our ideological self-cultivation. We must remould ourselves and temper our proletarian ideology not only in the practice of revolution but in the study of Marxism-Leninism.

The view is current among some members of our Party that a firm and purely proletarian communist stand is irrelevant to a Party member's understanding and mastery of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. They believe that one can thoroughly understand and genuinely master the Marxist-Leninist theory and method even though one's proletarian stand may not be very firm and one's ideology not very pure (*i.e.*, it may be tainted with remnants of non-proletarian ideas). They believe that the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism can be mastered merely through book learning. This view is wrong.

¹ "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, pp. 209-10.

Marxism-Leninism is the science of proletarian revolution, the science by which the working class builds socialism and communism. It can be thoroughly understood and mastered only by those who have a firm proletarian stand and who have made the ideals of the proletariat their own. Without a firm proletarian stand and pure proletarian ideals it is impossible for anyone thoroughly to understand or master the science of Marxism-Leninism. The science of Marxism-Leninism is of little or no use to anyone who is not a genuine revolutionary, who is not a proletarian revolutionary to the core, who does not want to bring about socialism and communism throughout the world and emancipate all mankind, to anyone who does not want revolution or is unwilling to carry it through to the end and wants to stop half-way.

We often come across very fine Party members from the working class who are not well grounded in Marxist-Leninist theory and who may not do so well as others in an examination in which Marxist-Leninist works and formulations have to be quoted from memory. Yet in studying Marxism-Leninism, provided it is explained to them in language they understand, they generally show much keener interest and far greater comprehension than some Party members from the intelligentsia. For example, the section in *Capital* concerning surplus value is difficult for some Party members, but not for those from the working class. The reason is that in the process of production and of struggle against the capitalists, the workers come to know all too well how the capitalists calculate wages and working hours, exploit the workers for profit and oppress them. Therefore, they generally understand Marx's theory of surplus value more pro-

foundly than do some Party members from other classes. When we say that many Party members from the working class are readier than others to accept Marxism-Leninism, we do not, of course, mean that their class background makes them born Marxist-Leninists. We mean that, provided they study Marxist-Leninist theory modestly and diligently and have a real grasp of the method of seeking the truth from the facts, those comrades who have a firm and purely proletarian stand and are free from personal prejudice or other blemishes are certain to be keener and more correct than others in their observation and handling of practical problems. In the struggle, too, these comrades will prove more able to discern the truth and will uphold it more courageously and unhesitatingly.

Also, we come across many Party members of non-proletarian origin who differ in their development owing to their differing attitudes towards the relation between Marxist-Leninist study and ideological self-cultivation. Generally speaking, when they join the revolution such people do not have a firm and clear-cut proletarian stand, are not very correct or pure in their ideology, and to a greater or lesser extent carry over various non-proletarian ideas from the old society. Obviously, these ideas come into direct conflict with the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and since people take different attitudes, the results of the conflict differ. In studying Marxism-Leninism, some people correctly combine theoretical study with their ideological self-cultivation, using Marxist-Leninist principles to fight and overcome whatever is backward in their thinking. In this way they achieve a more truly proletarian stand and a more

undiluted proletarian ideology, and learn how to apply Marxist-Leninist principles to the solution of practical problems. We have many such Party members. Others, however, go the opposite way; they have a lot of old junk accumulated in their heads and many stubborn habits, prejudices and selfish desires, but lack the determination to remould themselves. In studying Marxism-Leninism they do not make use of its principles to criticize and repudiate whatever is backward in their own ideology, but employ it as a weapon to further their own private ends, and this is carried to the point where the principles of Marxism-Leninism are distorted by their old prejudices, so that these people can neither reach a correct understanding of these principles nor grasp the spirit and essence of Marxism-Leninism. When they handle practical problems in the course of revolutionary struggle, the habits and prejudices which they have brought with them from the old society and their individualistic calculations lead them to think in terms of personal gain or loss, to be hesitant and vacillating and incapable of going deeply into things in a free and untrammelled way or of courageously upholding the truth, and they conceal or distort the truth unintentionally, or even deliberately. These people are absolutely incapable of guiding their lives by the principles of Marxism-Leninism, and hence incapable of dealing with practical problems promptly, correctly and realistically according to these principles; sometimes they even adopt a negative attitude when practical problems have already been correctly solved according to these principles by the Party organization, or by comrades other than themselves. Such things are neither rare nor unusual, but are quite common.

Thus we can say that it is impossible for a Party member who lacks a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand and a correct, purely proletarian ideology to achieve a thorough understanding and real mastery of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism as a weapon in the revolutionary struggle. In other words, a Party member must have the noble stand of the proletariat in order to become versed in Marxist-Leninist theory.

At the same time we should add that no Party member can maintain a proletarian stand and express proletarian ideology concretely in every revolutionary struggle unless he studies the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism diligently and guides his thinking and action accordingly.

There are some Party members who think it quite enough to have revolutionary firmness and to fight bravely, and that it does not matter much whether they study and undertake self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory. Some comrades even think that a good class origin or a good personal class status is all that is needed to make them vanguard proletarian fighters without their having to study Marxism-Leninism. There are other comrades who never study it earnestly in the course of work or struggle, though they generally admit the importance of theory. All such attitudes are obviously wrong.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is our weapon for studying every phenomenon and dealing with every question, and especially for studying all social phenomena and dealing with all social questions. If we do not know how to wield the weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory, we shall be unable correctly to understand and deal with the problems confronting us in the revolutionary struggle and shall be in danger of losing our bearings and depart-

ing from the revolutionary proletarian stand, or even, whether consciously or unconsciously, of becoming opportunists of one kind or another, captives and yes-men of the bourgeoisie.

Revolutionary firmness and courage in struggle are precious qualities which every Communist must possess. Besides these qualities, Communists must have the ability to find the right way to conduct the revolution and carry on the struggle in different historical periods and under different conditions of struggle, if they are to win victory for the revolution and realize the highest ideal of communism. Only by applying Marxism-Leninism can we correctly solve such important questions in the revolutionary struggle as the question of whom to rely upon, whom to unite with and whom to overthrow, the question of who are our direct allies and who are our indirect allies, who is the main enemy and who are secondary enemies, the question of rallying all possible allies, including even secondary enemies under certain conditions, to defeat the main enemy, and the question of making timely changes in strategy and tactics to meet changing situations. Without mastering the weapon of Marxism-Leninism and attaining a high degree of self-cultivation in Marxist-Leninist theory, we cannot possibly maintain a firm, correct proletarian stand on every important question in the revolutionary struggle, or formulate the policies which are most advantageous to the cause of the proletarian revolution or champion the over-all, long-term interests of the proletarian revolutionary struggle amid complex situations and sharp changes, when it is necessary for us to make detours and turns.

Consider, for instance, our Party's experience in carrying out the policy of the national united front against Japan. Before the Incident of July 7, 1937,¹ certain comrades did not understand that the contradiction between the Chinese nation and Japanese imperialism had become the principal one while the contradictions among the different classes and political groups within the country had become secondary. As a result they opposed the Party's policy of forming a national united front against Japan, of uniting all patriotic classes, strata, political parties and social groupings for joint resistance, and especially of uniting with the Kuomintang to fight Japan. Although these comrades thought they were taking a firm proletarian stand in opposing the Party's correct policy, they actually departed from it and plunged into "closed-doorism" and sectarianism. Had we acted in accordance with their wrong views, the proletariat and its political party would have been unable to unite and lead all the patriotic classes, strata, parties and social groupings for the purpose of defeating Japanese imperialism; instead, the forces of the Anti-Japanese National United Front would have been weakened and the proletariat and its political party would have been isolated, to the detriment of the struggle to resist Japan and save China. After the July 7th Incident, when our Party had formed the Anti-Japanese National United Front with the Kuomintang, certain comrades went to the

¹ On July 7, 1937, Japanese invading forces attacked the Chinese garrison at Lugouqiao, ten kilometres southwest of Beijing. Under the influence of the ardent anti-Japanese movement of the whole people, the Chinese troops there put up resistance. This incident marked the beginning of the Chinese people's heroic War of Resistance Against Japan which lasted for eight years.

other extreme, maintaining that since the Kuomintang had joined in resistance to Japan, there was hardly any distinction between it and the Communist Party. They adopted a policy of capitulationism by appeasing the big landlord and big bourgeois classes and the Kuomintang, and opposed the Party's policy of upholding its independence within the united front. While they overestimated the strength of and placed undue trust in the Kuomintang, on which they pinned all their hopes for resisting Japan and saving China, they had no confidence in the strength of the Communist Party and the people, did not place their hopes on the Communist Party, and therefore did not dare freely to expand the Party and the anti-Japanese people's revolutionary forces and resolutely to fight against the Kuomintang's policy of opposing and restricting the Communist Party. The comrades with this approach styled themselves the true representatives of the proletariat, but in essence their policy would have made the proletariat a vassal or an appendage of the bourgeoisie, and would have caused the proletariat to lose the leadership of the Anti-Japanese National United Front. These "Left" and Right mistakes are both striking examples of failure to take a firm proletarian stand and to identify the correct path for advancing the revolutionary cause when major changes are occurring in the political situation.

The proletariat cannot just emancipate itself alone; it must fight for the emancipation of all the working people, the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind, for only thus can it fully emancipate itself. The proletariat must rid the whole of human society of exploitation, oppression and class struggle once and for all, for only thus can it genuinely and finally emancipate itself.

Hence a firm proletarian stand must be sharply differentiated from "closed-doorism" and sectarianism. In waging struggles the proletariat and its political party must establish close ties with the masses of working people, form revolutionary alliances with other revolutionary classes and parties and lead the working masses and all their allies forward together; they must represent the interests of all working people and all revolutionary classes and the interests of the nation, that is, they must represent the interests of more than ninety per cent of the population of the country. To have a firm proletarian stand is to represent at all times and in all circumstances the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people, which, we must understand, are also the highest class interests of the proletariat. On the other hand, a firm proletarian stand must be sharply differentiated from all appeasement and capitulation. In waging revolutionary struggles the proletariat and its political party must draw clear lines of distinction not only between themselves and the landlord class and bourgeoisie but also between themselves and the revolutionary democrats of the petty bourgeoisie, and must even make some distinction between themselves and the masses of working people. In the revolutionary struggle they must at all times firmly maintain their independence and be free from any bourgeois or other non-proletarian class influence. In every stage of the development of the revolutionary struggle they must combine the interests of the part with the interests of the whole and immediate interests with long-term interests. As Marx and Engels said of Communists:

1. In the national struggles of the proletarians of the different countries, they point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality. 2. In the various stages of development which the struggle of the working class against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole.¹

During his struggle to organize a political party of the proletariat at the end of the 19th century, Lenin said:

The consciousness of the masses of the workers cannot be genuine class consciousness, unless the workers learn to observe from concrete, and above all from topical (current), political facts and events, *every* other social class and *all* the manifestations of the intellectual, ethical and political life of these classes; unless they learn to apply in practice the materialist analysis and the materialist estimate of *all* aspects of the life and activity of *all* classes, strata and groups of the population.²

Further:

The Social-Democrat's ideal should not be a trade-union secretary, but a *tribune of the people*, able to react to every manifestation of tyranny and oppression, no matter where it takes place, no matter what stratum or class of the people it affects; he must be able to generalize all these manifestations to produce a single picture of police violence and capitalist exploitation;

¹ *Manifesto of the Communist Party*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, p. 49.

² *What Is To Be Done?* Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1978, p. 87.

he must be able to take advantage of every event, however small, in order to explain his socialistic convictions and his democratic demands to *all*, in order to explain to *all* and everyone the world-historic significance of the proletariat's struggle for emancipation.¹

To fulfil the requirements cited by Lenin in these two passages, we Communists must of course unceasingly take part in revolutionary practice and thus increase our perceptual knowledge and accumulate practical experience. But, it must be pointed out, perceptual knowledge and practical experience alone are not sufficient. As Comrade Mao Zedong has said:

Fully to reflect a thing in its totality, to reflect its essence, to reflect its inherent laws, it is necessary through the exercise of thought to reconstruct the rich data of sense perception, discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, proceeding from the one to the other and from the outside to the inside, in order to form a system of concepts and theories — it is necessary to make a leap from perceptual to rational knowledge.²

Therefore, while engaged in revolutionary practice, we must most conscientiously study the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism.

The theory of Marxism-Leninism is the summing-up of the experience of the international working-class movement; it is a theory formulated in revolutionary practice and in turn serving revolutionary practice. If

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 100.

² "On Practice," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. I, p. 303.

only we study this theory, apply it and master it in close conjunction with revolutionary practice, we shall be able to understand the inner connections of the changes taking place all around us and to know how and in what direction the various classes are now moving and will soon move, and we shall be able to determine our line of action and shall have confidence in the future of the revolutionary movement.

It is precisely because the theory of Marxism-Leninism plays such a great role that Lenin said, "*The role of vanguard fighter can be fulfilled only by a party that is guided by the most advanced theory.*"¹ Members of the Communist Party must closely link their study of the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism with their own ideological self-cultivation and self-tempering; they must never divorce one from the other.

Time and again Comrade Mao Zedong has emphasized the tremendous importance of cultivating oneself in the theory of Marxism-Leninism. He has said:

From the Marxist viewpoint, theory is important, and its importance is fully expressed in Lenin's statement, "Without revolutionary theory there can be no revolutionary movement." But Marxism emphasizes the importance of theory precisely and only because it can guide action.²

Comrade Mao Zedong has constantly urged all Party members who have some capacity for study to study Marxist-Leninist theory, study the actual conditions of the movement, study Chinese and world history and

¹ *What Is To Be Done?* Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1978, p. 30.

² "On Practice," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. I, p. 304.

learn to guide their actions by Marxist-Leninist theory, and also to help educate comrades with a lower cultural and theoretical level. The whole Party should at all times bear in mind this injunction of Comrade Mao Zedong's.

V

THE CAUSE OF COMMUNISM IS THE GREATEST AND MOST ARDUOUS UNDERTAKING IN HUMAN HISTORY

Now let us continue with our discussion of ideological self-cultivation by Communist Party members.

What does ideological self-cultivation mean? Fundamentally, in my opinion, it means that every Party member should use proletarian ideology to combat whatever non-proletarian ideas he has, use the communist world outlook to combat whatever non-communist world outlook he has and use the principle of the supremacy of the interests of the proletariat, the people and the Party to combat his individualism.

This struggle is one of conflicting ideologies, and it reflects the class struggle in society. For a Party member, the result of this struggle should be that the proletarian ideology overcomes and ultimately eliminates all other ideologies, that the communist world outlook overcomes and ultimately eliminates any non-communist world outlook and that ideas based on the general interests and aims of the Party, of the revolution and of the emancipation of the proletariat and all mankind overcome and ultimately eliminate all individualism. If the opposite happens, that is, if the latter prevails over the

former, the comrade concerned will retrogress and may even lose his qualifications as a member of the Communist Party. For a Communist, that would be a terrible and dangerous thing to happen.

We Communist Party members temper ourselves ideologically in struggles of all kinds inside and outside the Party, constantly sum up and learn from experience gained in revolutionary practice, and examine our own ideas to see whether they fully conform to Marxism-Leninism and the interests of the struggle for the emancipation of the proletariat. It is through such study, reflection and self-examination that we eliminate all remnants of incorrect ideas and nip in the bud any ideas inconsistent with the interests of communism.

As you all know, a man's words and actions are guided by his ideology. And a man's ideology is inseparable from his world outlook. The only world outlook for members of the Communist Party is the communist world outlook. This world outlook is the philosophical system of the proletariat and also our communist methodology. All this has been abundantly discussed in Marxist-Leninist literature, and especially in the philosophical works of the founders. As you have studied it, I shall not go into it today. Here I shall only talk briefly of our communist cause, of what it is and how Party members should advance it.

What is our most fundamental duty as Party members? It is to achieve communism. As far as the Communist Parties of different countries are concerned, in each country it is for the Communist Party and the people there to transform it by their own efforts, and in that way the whole world will be transformed step by step into a communist world. Will the communist world be good? We

all know it will be. In that world there will be no exploiters and oppressors, no landlords and capitalists, no imperialists and fascists, nor will there be any oppressed and exploited people, or any of the darkness, ignorance and backwardness resulting from the system of exploitation. In such a society the production of both material and moral values will develop and flourish mightily and will meet the varied needs of all its members. By then all humanity will consist of unselfish, intelligent, highly cultured and skilled communist workers; mutual assistance and affection will prevail among men and there will be no such irrationalities as mutual suspicion and deception, mutual injury, mutual slaughter and war. It will of course be the best, the most beautiful and the most advanced society in human history. Who can deny that such a society is good? But can this good communist society be built? We say that it can and will be. Marxist-Leninist theory has explained this scientifically and beyond any doubt. And factual testimony has been provided by the victory of the Great October Revolution and the successes in socialist construction in the Soviet Union. Our duty is constantly to advance the cause of socialism and communism in accordance with the laws of development of human society, so as to make socialist and communist society a reality as soon as possible. This is our ideal.

However, the cause of socialism and communism still faces powerful enemies who must be thoroughly and finally defeated in every field; only then will socialist and communist society be brought into being. Victory for the communist cause can only be won through long and arduous struggle. Without it there can be no victory. This struggle, of course, is not an "accidental" so-

cial phenomenon or an invention of certain Communists, as some people assert. It is inevitable in the development of class society; it is unavoidable class struggle. The birth of the Communist Party and the fact that Communists participate in, organize and guide this struggle are also inevitable phenomena conforming with the laws of social development. The imperialists, fascists, capitalists and landlords — in short, all exploiters and oppressors — are exploiting and oppressing the overwhelming majority of the people of the world to such an extent that they are hardly able to survive, and have to unite and fight against this exploitation and oppression, because they cannot exist, much less make progress, in any other way. This struggle, therefore, is natural and unavoidable.

On the one hand, we must understand that communism is the greatest cause in human history, which will eliminate exploitation and classes once and for all, emancipate all mankind and bring humanity into a world of happiness, radiating with beauty, such as it has never known before. But on the other hand, we must also understand that the cause of communism is the most arduous undertaking in all history; that only through protracted, bitter and tortuous struggle will we be able to defeat our extremely powerful enemies, defeat all the exploiting classes; and that for a long time after our victory we shall patiently have to carry out social and economic, ideological and cultural transformation, for only thus will all the influences, conventions and habits of the exploiting classes be eliminated from among the people, and only thus will a new social and economic system, a new communist culture and code of social morality be built up.

The Communist Party will definitely win final victory by relying on the proletariat and the masses of the exploited and oppressed people and by using Marxism-Leninism to guide the revolutionary struggle of the masses and propel society towards the great goal of communism. The reason is that the historical laws of social development make the progress of human society towards communism inevitable; that latent in the proletariat and the other exploited and oppressed masses of the world lie extremely powerful revolutionary energies which, once mobilized, united and organized, can triumph over all the reactionary forces of the exploiting classes and imperialism; and that the Communist Party and the proletariat are the new and rising forces and whatever is new and rising is invincible. This has been fully demonstrated by the history of the world communist movement and the Chinese Communist Party. The present situation is as follows. Socialism has already won a great victory in the Soviet Union, or on one-sixth of the earth's surface; militant Communist Parties armed with the theory of Marxism-Leninism have been organized in many countries; the world communist movement is rapidly growing and developing; and the forces of the proletariat and the other exploited and oppressed masses of the world are being rapidly mobilized and united in the course of incessant struggles. The communist movement is already organized as a mighty and invincible world force. Beyond all doubt the communist cause will continue to develop and advance, and will win final and complete victory. However, we should also realize that international reaction and the exploiting classes are as yet stronger than we are, that they are temporarily su-

perior in many fields, and that only by protracted, tortuous and bitter struggles can we defeat them.

In a society in which private ownership of the means of production has existed for thousands of years, the exploiting classes through their rule have built up great power in all fields and have grabbed everything under the sun. Their long rule has given rise to backwardness, ignorance, selfishness, mutual suspicion and deception, mutual injury and slaughter in human society, which have persisted down the ages. It has exerted a most pernicious influence on the exploited masses and on other members of society. This is the inevitable result of the efforts of the exploiting classes to preserve their class interests and rule. For they cannot maintain their ruling position unless they keep the exploited masses and the colonial peoples backward, unorganized and divided. Hence, in order to achieve victory we must not only conduct a stern struggle against the exploiting classes but also carry on a struggle against their long-standing influence among the masses, and the backward ideas and other backward phenomena found among the masses, for only thus can we enhance their political consciousness and unite them to defeat the exploiting classes. Here is the difficulty in the course of achieving communism. Comrades! If the masses were all politically conscious, united, free from the influence of the exploiting classes and free from backwardness, as some people imagine them to be, what would be so difficult about the revolution?

Not only does this influence of the exploiting classes exist before the victory of the revolution, but it survives for a very long time after when the exploiting classes have been ejected from their ruling position.

Think how tortuous is the process and how arduous are the work and struggle that are needed to vanquish the exploiting classes and their influence among the people once and for all, to emancipate and change all mankind, to transform myriads of small commodity producers, finally to abolish all classes and gradually to transform mankind that has lived in class society for thousands of years and been influenced by all kinds of old customs and conventions until it becomes communist mankind, intelligent and unselfish, and with a high level of culture and skill!

Lenin said:

The abolition of classes means not only driving out the landlords and capitalists — that we accomplished with comparative ease — it also means *abolishing the small commodity producers*, and they *cannot be driven out*, or crushed; we *must live in harmony* with them; they can (and must) be remoulded and re-educated only by very prolonged, slow, cautious organizational work. They encircle the proletariat on every side with a petty-bourgeois atmosphere, which permeates and corrupts the proletariat and causes constant relapses among the proletariat into petty-bourgeois spinelessness, disunity, individualism, and alternate moods of exaltation and dejection. The strictest centralization and discipline are required within the political party of the proletariat in order to counteract this, in order that the *organizational* role of the proletariat (and that is its *principal* role) may be exercised correctly, successfully, victoriously. . . . The force of habit of millions and tens of millions is a most terrible force. . . . It is a thousand times easier to vanquish

the centralized big bourgeoisie than to “vanquish” the millions and millions of small owners; yet they, by their ordinary, everyday, imperceptible, elusive, demoralizing activity, achieve the *very* results which the bourgeoisie need and which tend to *restore* the bourgeoisie.¹

He also said:

. . . the bourgeoisie, whose resistance is increased *tenfold* by its overthrow (even if only in one country), and whose power lies not only in the strength of international capital, in the strength and durability of the international connections of the bourgeoisie, but also in the *force of habit*, in the strength of *small production*. For, unfortunately, small production is still very, very widespread in the world, and small production *engenders* capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, daily, hourly, spontaneously, and on a mass scale. For all these reasons the dictatorship of the proletariat is essential, and victory over the bourgeoisie is impossible without a long, stubborn and desperate war of life and death, a war demanding perseverance, discipline, firmness, indomitableness and unity of will.²

Hence, the proletariat has a very difficult task to perform even after the victory of the revolution. The proletarian revolution differs from all other revolutions in history. Bourgeois revolutions, for example, are usually completed with the seizure of state power. But for the proletariat, victory and political emancipation are only

¹“Left-Wing” Communism, an Infantile Disorder, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, pp. 32-33.

²*Ibid.*, pp. 5-6.

the beginning of the revolution, and a tremendous amount of work remains to be done after victory, after the seizure of state power.

The cause of communism is indeed a "hundred years' task," as the saying goes, and it definitely cannot be "accomplished at one stroke." In different countries this undertaking has to go through different stages, and different enemies must be defeated, before a communist society can be gradually established. Take the case of our own country. China is still in the stage of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, and our enemies are imperialism, which perpetrates aggression against China, and the feudal and comprador forces, which are in collusion with imperialism. Only when we have defeated these enemies can we complete the bourgeois-democratic revolution in our country. Then, after the victory of the bourgeois-democratic revolution, it will still be necessary to make the socialist revolution and to carry on socialist transformation and socialist construction for a long period, and only so will the gradual transition to communist society be possible.

Since the ultimate goal of our struggle is the achievement of communism, it is naturally our duty as Communists to overcome all the difficulties arising in the process.

Since the communist cause is so great and arduous an undertaking, some people who seek social progress are still sceptical and not convinced that communism can be realized. They do not believe that under the leadership of the proletariat and its party the human race can develop and transform itself into a communist mankind of the highest quality, and that all the difficulties in the process of revolution and construction can be overcome.

Either they do not foresee the difficulties or they become pessimistic and disappointed when confronted with them, and there are even Party members who waver and desert the communist ranks.

We Communists should be men of the boldest vision and revolutionary determination. Every Party member should gladly and solemnly resolve to shoulder the task of realizing communism, a task greater and more arduous than any in human history. We clearly see the difficulties in the process of realizing communism, but at the same time we clearly understand that they can undoubtedly be overcome by arousing millions of people to revolutionary action, and no difficulties will ever daunt us. We have the masses of the people to rely on, and we have full confidence that a substantial part of the work of building communism will be accomplished in our own time and that the whole of this magnificent undertaking will be triumphantly completed by the coming generations. The heroes of no other class in history could possibly have had this great communist ideal and boldness of vision. In this respect we have every reason for pride.

I recall the instance of the Western European bourgeois biographer¹ who interviewed Comrade Stalin during a visit to the Soviet Union and brought up comparisons between historical personalities. Comrade Stalin told him that Lenin was like the ocean while Czar Peter the Great was only a drop in the ocean. Such is the place in history a proletarian leader of the communist cause occupies, compared with that of a leader in the cause of the landlord and the rising mercantile classes. From this comparison we can see how truly great is a leader

¹The German biographer Emil Ludwig (1881-1948).

who fights for the triumph of communism and the cause of the emancipation of mankind and how paltry is one who fights for the cause of the exploiting classes.

We Communist Party members must have the highest goals in our struggle and the highest ideals, while at the same time we must have a practical spirit and do real practical work. Such are the characteristics distinguishing us as Communists. If all a person has is great and lofty ideals without having a practical spirit or doing real practical work, he is not a good Party member but only a dreamer, a prattler or a pedant. On the other hand, whoever is interested only in practical work but lacks great and lofty communist ideals is not a good Communist either, but just a routine plodder. Only by combining the great and lofty ideals of communism with real practical work and a practical spirit can one be a good Communist. This standard for a good Communist has often been stressed by Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our Party.

The communist ideal is beautiful, while the reality of the existing capitalist world is ugly. This is precisely why the overwhelming majority of the people demand the changing of that reality, and why it must be changed. In order to change the world we must not divorce ourselves from reality, disregard it or escape from it, nor must we surrender to ugly reality. We must face reality squarely, study and understand it, live and grow in it, fight against the ugly reality and transform it, so that we can gradually realize our ideal. Hence we members of the Communist Party must initiate and press ahead with our great communist task of changing the world, beginning with our immediate surroundings, with the people immediately around us and such work as we can immedi-

ately undertake. Here we should criticize those young comrades who frequently make the mistake of wanting to escape from or disregard reality. It is good that they have lofty ideals, but they often complain about their place of work and the kind of work they are given. They are always looking for some "ideal" place or job so that they can "change the world" with ease. But no such place and no such job exists, except in their dreams.

The cause of communism is our life work. Throughout our lives, our every activity is exclusively devoted to it and to nothing else.

VI

A PARTY MEMBER'S PERSONAL INTERESTS MUST BE UNCONDITIONALLY SUBORDINATED TO THE INTERESTS OF THE PARTY

Personal interests must be subordinated to the Party's interests, the interests of the local Party organization to those of the entire Party, the interests of the part to those of the whole, and temporary to long-term interests. This is a Marxist-Leninist principle which must be followed by every Communist.

A Communist must be clear about the correct relationship between personal and Party interests.

The Communist Party is the political party of the proletariat and has no interests of its own other than those of the emancipation of the proletariat. The final emancipation of the proletariat will also inevitably be the final emancipation of all mankind. Unless the proletariat emancipates all working people and all nations — unless it emancipates mankind as a whole — it cannot fully

emancipate itself. The cause of the emancipation of the proletariat is identical with and inseparable from the cause of the emancipation of all working people, all oppressed nations and all mankind. Therefore, the interests of the Communist Party are the emancipation of the proletariat and of all mankind, are communism and social progress. When a Party member's personal interests are subordinated to those of the Party, they are subordinated to the interests of the emancipation of the class and the nation, and those of communism and social progress.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said:

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. Hence, selfishness, slacking, corruption, seeking the limelight, and so on, are most contemptible, while selflessness, working with all one's energy, wholehearted devotion to public duty, and quiet hard work will command respect.¹

The test of a Party member's loyalty to the Party, the revolution and the cause of communism is whether or not he can subordinate his personal interests absolutely and unconditionally to the interests of the Party, whatever the circumstances.

At all times and on all questions, a Party member should give first consideration to the interests of the Party as a whole, and put them in the forefront and place personal matters and interests second. The supremacy of the

¹"The Role of the Chinese Communist Party in the National War," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1975, Vol. II, p. 198.

Party's interests is the highest principle that must govern the thinking and actions of the members of our Party. In accordance with this principle, every Party member must completely identify his personal interests with those of the Party both in his thinking and in his actions. He must be able to yield to the interests of the Party without any hesitation or reluctance and sacrifice his personal interests whenever the two are at variance. Unhesitating readiness to sacrifice personal interests, and even one's life, for the Party and the proletariat and for the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind — this is one expression of what we usually describe as "Party spirit," "Party sense" or "sense of organization." It is the highest expression of communist morality, of the principled nature of the party of the proletariat, and of the purest proletarian class consciousness.

Members of our Party should not have personal aims which are independent of the Party's interests. Their personal aims must harmonize with the Party's interests. If the aim they set themselves is to study Marxist-Leninist theory, to develop their ability in work, to establish revolutionary organizations and to lead the masses in successful revolutionary struggles — if their aim is to do more for the Party — then this personal aim harmonizes with the interests of the Party. The Party needs many such members and cadres. Apart from this aim, Party members should have no independent personal motives such as attaining position or fame, or playing the individual hero, otherwise they will depart from the interests of the Party and may even become careerists within the Party.

If a Party member thinks only of the communist interests and aims of the Party, is really selfless and has

no personal aims and considerations divorced from those of the Party, and if he ceaselessly raises the level of his political consciousness through revolutionary practice and through the study of Marxism-Leninism, then the following ensues.

First, he has a high communist morality. Taking a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand, he is able to show loyalty to and love for all comrades, all revolutionaries and working people, help them unreservedly and act towards them as his equals, and he will never allow himself to hurt a single one of them for his own interests. He is able to feel for others, place himself in their position, and be considerate of them. On the other hand, he is able to wage resolute struggle against the pernicious enemies of mankind and persevere in the fight for the interests of the Party, the proletariat, and the emancipation of the nation and all mankind. He is "the first to worry and the last to enjoy himself."¹ Whether in the Party or among the people, he is the first to suffer hardship and the last to enjoy comfort; he compares himself with others not with respect to material enjoyment but to the amount of work done for the revolution and the spirit of hard endurance in struggle. In times of adversity he steps forward boldly, and in times of difficulty he does his duty to the full. He has such revolutionary firmness and integrity that "neither riches nor honours can corrupt him, neither poverty nor lowly condition can make him swerve from principle, neither threats nor force can bend him."²

¹ See *Yue Yang Lou Ji*, by Fan Zhongyan (989-1052) of the Song Dynasty.

² From *Mencius*, Book III, "Teng Wen Gong," Part II.

Second, he has the greatest revolutionary courage.

Having no selfish motives, he has nothing to fear. Having done nothing to give himself a guilty conscience, he can lay bare and courageously correct his mistakes and shortcomings, which are like "an eclipse of the sun or the moon."¹ Because he has the courage of righteous conviction, he never fears the truth, courageously upholds it, spreads it and fights for it. Even if it is temporarily to his disadvantage and if, in upholding the truth, he suffers blows of all kinds, is opposed or censured by most other people and so finds himself in temporary (and honourable) isolation, even to the point where he may have to give up his life, he will still breast the waves to uphold the truth and will never drift with the tide.

Third, he learns how best to grasp the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism. He is able to apply them in keenly observing problems and in knowing and changing reality. Because he takes a clear-cut, firm proletarian stand and is tempered in Marxism-Leninism, he is free from personal apprehensions and self-interest, so that there is no impediment to his observation of things or distortion of his understanding of the truth. He seeks the truth from the facts, and he tests all theories and distinguishes what is true from what is false in revolutionary practice. He does not take a dogmatist or empiricist approach to Marxism-Leninism but integrates the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete revolutionary practice.

¹ See the *Confucian Analects*, Book XIX, "Zi Zhang," Chapter 21. "The faults of the superior man are like the eclipses of the sun and moon. When they appear, all men see them; when he corrects them, all men look up to him."

Fourth, he is the most sincere, most candid and happiest of men. Because he has no private axe to grind, nothing to conceal from the Party and nothing he cannot tell others, he has no problems of personal gain or loss and no personal anxieties other than for the interests of the Party and the revolution. Even when he is working on his own without supervision and is therefore in a position to do something bad, he is just as "watchful over himself when he is alone"¹ and does not do anything harmful. His work bears examination and he is not afraid of having it checked. He does not fear criticism and at the same time is able to criticize others with courage and sincerity.

Fifth, he has the greatest self-respect and self-esteem. For the sake of the Party and the revolution he can be most forbearing and tolerant towards comrades and can suffer wrong in the general interest, even enduring misunderstanding and humiliation without bitterness if the occasion so demands. No personal aims lead him to flatter anyone or to desire flattery from others. When it comes to personal matters, he knows how to conduct himself and has no need to humble himself in order to get help from others. He knows how to take good care of himself in the interests of the Party and the revolution and how to strengthen both his grasp of theory and his practical effectiveness. But when it is necessary to swallow humiliation and bear a heavy load for some important purpose in the cause of the Party and the revolution, he can take on the most difficult and vital tasks without the slightest reluctance, never passing the difficulties to others.

¹ From the Confucian "Doctrine of the Mean" in the *Book of Rites*: "There is nothing more visible than what is secret, and nothing more manifest than what is minute. Therefore the superior man is watchful over himself when he is alone."

A member of the Communist Party should possess the finest and highest human virtues and take a clear-cut and firm Party and proletarian stand (that is, possess Party spirit and class spirit). Ours is a fine morality precisely because it is proletarian and communist. It is founded not on the protection of the interests of individuals or of the exploiting few, but on those of the proletariat and the great mass of working people, of the cause of the final emancipation of all mankind, the liberation of the whole world from the calamities of capitalism, and the building of a happy and beautiful communist world — it is a morality founded on the Marxist-Leninist theory of scientific communism. As we Communists see it, nothing can be more worthless or indefensible than to sacrifice oneself in the interests of an individual or a small minority. But it is the worthiest and justest thing in the world to sacrifice oneself for the Party, for the proletariat, for the emancipation of the nation and of all mankind, for social progress and for the highest interests of the overwhelming majority of the people. Indeed, countless members of the Communist Party have looked death calmly in the face and made the ultimate sacrifice without the slightest hesitation. Most Communists consider it a matter of course to die for the sake of the cause, to lay down their life for justice, when that is necessary. This does not stem from any revolutionary fanaticism or hunger for fame but from their scientific understanding of social development and their deep political consciousness. There is no morality in class society to compare with this high communist morality. The universal morality which supposedly transcends class is sheer deceptive nonsense and is in fact a morality designed to protect the interests of the exploiting few.

Such a concept of morality is always idealist. It is only we Communists who build our morality on the scientific basis of historical materialism, and publicly proclaim its purpose to be the protection of the interests of the proletariat in the struggle for the emancipation of itself and of all mankind.

The Communist Party represents the general and long-range interests of the proletariat and all mankind in their struggle for emancipation; the Party's interests are the concentrated expression of this cause. One must never regard the Communist Party as a narrow clique, like a guild pursuing the interests of its members. Anyone who does so is no Communist.

A Party member has interests of his own, which may be inconsistent with or even run counter to the interests of the Party in certain circumstances. Should this happen, it is incumbent on him to sacrifice his personal interests and unconditionally subordinate them to the interests of the Party; under no pretence or excuse may he sacrifice the Party's interests by clinging to his own. At all times and in all circumstances, he should fight heart and soul for the Party's interests and for the Party's development, regarding every success and victory won by the Party and the proletariat as his very own. Every Party member should strive to increase his effectiveness and ability in the service of the people. But this must be done in the fight for the advancement, success and victory of the Party's cause, and there must be no striving for individual development divorced from the fight to advance the Party's cause. The facts prove that only by complete devotion in the fight for the advancement, success and victory of the Party's cause can a Party member heighten his effectiveness and ability, and that

he cannot possibly make progress or heighten his ability in any other way. Hence a Party member can and must completely merge his personal interests with those of the Party.

Members of our Party are no ordinary people but the awakened vanguard fighters of the proletariat. They must consciously represent the class interests and class ideology of the proletariat. Therefore, their personal interests must never project beyond those of the Party and the proletariat. It is all the more necessary for each cadre and leader of the Party to be a living embodiment of the general interests of the Party and the proletariat, and to merge his personal interests completely in their general interests and aims. In present-day China, it is the proletariat that best represents the interests of national liberation, and therefore our Party members must be worthy champions of the interests of the nation as a whole.

Members of our Party must subordinate personal to Party interests and are required to sacrifice them to Party interests if necessary. But this by no means implies that our Party does not recognize, or brushes aside, the personal interests of its members or that it wants to wipe out their individuality. Party members do have their personal problems to attend to, and, moreover, they should develop themselves according to their individual inclinations and aptitudes. Therefore, so long as the interests of the Party are not violated, a Party member can have his private and family life, and develop his individual inclinations and aptitudes. At the same time, the Party will use every possibility to help members develop their individual inclinations and aptitudes in conformity with its interests, furnish them with suitable

work and working conditions and commend and reward them. As far as possible, the Party will attend to and safeguard its members' essential interests; for example, it will give them the opportunity to study and to acquire an education, it will help them cope with health and family problems and, when necessary, it will even give up some of its work in order to preserve comrades working under the rule of reaction. But all this has no other purpose than the over-all interests of the Party. For the fulfilment of its tasks the Party must ensure that members have the conditions necessary for life, work and education so that they can perform their tasks with enthusiasm and without worry. Comrades in responsible Party positions must bear all this in mind when they deal with Party members' problems.

To sum up, on his side, every Party member should completely submit himself to the interests of the Party and self-sacrificingly devote himself to the public duty. He should forgo all personal aims and private considerations which conflict with the Party's interests. He should not think of himself all the time, make endless personal demands on the Party or blame the Party for not promoting or rewarding him. Whatever the circumstances, he should study hard, try to make progress, be courageous in struggle and make ceaseless efforts to raise the level of his political consciousness and his understanding of Marxism-Leninism, so as to be able to contribute more to the Party and the revolution. On their side, all Party organizations and comrades in responsible positions, in dealing with the problems of Party members, should see how they work, live and study, and enable them to work better for the Party, ceaselessly develop themselves and

raise their level in the course of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat. In particular, attention should be paid to comrades who are really selfless and who serve the people well. Only so, through combined attention and effort by both sides can the interests of the Party be well served.

VII EXAMPLES OF WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY

In the light of what has been said, we can see that if an understanding of communism and a correct correlation between personal and Party interests are taken as the standard for evaluating Party members and cadres, many measure up to it and can serve as models, but some do not yet measure up to this standard and still have various wrong ideas to some degree or other. It may not be amiss if I outline these wrong ideas for our comrades' attention.

What are the fundamentally wrong ideas to be found among comrades in our Party?

First. The people joining our Party not only differ in class origin and personal class status but also carry with them aims and motives of every description. Many, of course, join the Party in order to bring about communism and attain the great goal of the emancipation of the proletariat and all mankind, but some do so for other reasons and with other aims. For example, some comrades of peasant background used to think that communism meant "expropriation of local tyrants and distribution of the land." When they first joined, they had no

understanding of the real meaning of communism. Today, quite a number of people join the Party chiefly because it is resolute in resisting Japan and advocates the Anti-Japanese National United Front. Others join our ranks because they admire the Communist Party for its good reputation or because they realize in a vague way that it can save China. Still others are seeking a future for themselves, chiefly because they have no other way out — they have no fixed occupation, are out of work, lack the means to study, or want to escape from family bondage or forced marriage, etc. A few even join because they count on the Party to get their taxes reduced, or because they hope to “make their mark” some day, or because their relatives or friends have brought them in, etc. Naturally, such comrades do not have a clear-cut and stable communist world outlook, do not understand the greatness of the communist cause and the difficulties besetting it, and lack a firm proletarian standpoint. Naturally, too, some of them will waver or change somewhat in certain circumstances at certain critical turning points. Since they bring all sorts of ideas with them into the Party, it is most important that they should be educated and should train and temper themselves. Otherwise, they cannot become revolutionary fighters of the proletariat.

Nevertheless, there is no terrible problem here. After all, it is not a bad thing that people turn to the Communist Party, enter it seeking a way out of their predicament and approve of its policy. They are not mistaken in coming to us. We welcome them — everyone except for enemy agents, traitors, careerists and ambitious climbers. Provided they accept and are ready to abide by the Party's Programme and Constitution, work in one

of the Party organizations and pay membership dues, they may be admitted into the Communist Party. As for deepening their study and understanding of communism and the Party's Programme and Constitution, they can do so after joining the Party, and can temper and train themselves in revolutionary struggle on the basis of what they learn; in this way they have every possibility of becoming very good Communists. Indeed, for most people it is impossible to have a profound understanding of communism and the Party's Programme and Constitution before joining the Party. That is why we only prescribe acceptance, and not a thorough understanding, of the Party's Programme and Constitution as a condition for admission. Although many people do not have a thorough understanding of communism before joining, it is possible for them to become active fighters in the communist and revolutionary movements of the time. They can become politically conscious Communists provided they study hard after joining the Party. Furthermore, our Party Constitution stipulates that members are free to withdraw from the Party (there is no freedom of admission). Any member is free to notify the Party that he is withdrawing if he lacks a profound belief in communism, or cannot live a strict Party life, or for any other reason, and the Party gives him the freedom to withdraw. It will do nothing against him, unless he gives away Party secrets or engages in wrecking activities against the Party after he leaves. As for careerists and spies who have wormed their way into the Party, of course they have to be expelled. Only thus can we preserve the purity of our Party.

Second. Fairly strong individualism and selfishness are still to be found in some members of our Party.

The individualism expresses itself as follows. Some people habitually place their personal interests above those of the Party when it comes to practical matters; they are preoccupied with personal gain and loss and always calculate in terms of personal interests; they abuse the public trust, turning their Party work to private advantage of one kind or another; or they attack comrades they dislike and wreak private vengeance, on high-sounding pretexts of principle or Party interests. When it comes to status, material benefits and other questions affecting everyday life, they invariably try to get more than others, compare themselves with those at the top, diligently strive after greater personal benefits and crow when they get them. But when it comes to work, they like to compare themselves with those who are less capable. When there are hardships to bear, they make themselves scarce. In times of danger they want to run away. When it comes to orderlies, they always want more. Their living quarters must be of the best, and they want to show off and to bask in the Party's glory. They want to grab all the good things of life, but when it comes to the "unpleasant things," they think these are for others. The heads of such people are stuffed with the ideology of the exploiting classes. They believe that "Every man is for himself, or Heaven and Earth will destroy him," "Man is a selfish animal," and "No one in the world is genuinely unselfish, unless he is a simpleton or an idiot." They even use such exploiting class rubbish to justify their own selfishness and individualism. There are such people in our Party.

This type of self-seeking individualism often manifests itself inside the Party in unprincipled quarrelling, factional struggle, sectarianism and departmentalism; it

manifests itself in disrespect for and wilful violation of Party discipline. Most unprincipled struggles originate in personal interests. Those who go in for factional struggle and are given to sectarianism usually place their own individual interests, or the interests of a small minority, above those of the Party. Often, in their unprincipled factional struggles they deliberately undermine Party organization and discipline, making unprincipled and sometimes calculated attacks on certain people, while contracting unprincipled friendships to avoid giving offence, to cover up for one another, to sing each other's praises, etc.

Departmentalism within the Party arises chiefly because some comrades only see the interests of the part, *i.e.*, the work of their own department or locality, and fail to see the interests of the whole, *i.e.*, the interests of the entire Party and the work of other departments and localities. Politically and ideologically, this resembles the guild outlook. Not all comrades who make the mistake of departmentalism are necessarily prompted by individualism, but people with an individualist ideology usually make the mistake of departmentalism.

Third. Conceit, the idea of individualistic heroism, ostentatiousness, etc. are still to be found, to a greater or lesser extent, in the minds of quite a few Party comrades.

The first consideration of people with such notions is their position in the Party. They like to show off and to have people sing their praises and flatter them. They are ambitious, they like to cut a dash, to claim credit for themselves and to get into the limelight, and they like to keep everything in their own hands and lack a democratic style of work. They are extremely vain, and are

unwilling to immerse themselves in hard work or do routine or technical jobs. They are arrogant, and whenever they accomplish something they throw their weight about, become overbearing and try to domineer, and they do not treat others as equals in a modest and friendly way. They are complacent, talk down to and lecture people and order others about, and they are always trying to tread on people's necks; they do not learn modestly from others, particularly from the masses, and do not accept even well-grounded opinions and criticisms. They can bear promotion but not demotion, they can bear fair weather but not foul, and they cannot bear being misunderstood or wronged. As their baneful yearning for fame has not yet been uprooted, they try to dress themselves up as "great men" and "heroes" in the communist movement, and stop at nothing to gratify their desire. When they fail to achieve this object, or when they are misunderstood or wronged, there is a danger that they will vacillate. Quite a number of people have vacillated and left our Party for such reasons in the course of its history. Exploiting class ideas still linger in the minds of such people, who fail to understand the greatness of the cause of communism and who lack the communist breadth of vision.

Communists must not be in the least complacent or arrogant. Granted that some comrades are very capable, have done some good work and have to their credit considerable achievements, which may be reckoned "great" and on which they might well preen themselves (for example, our army commanders who have led thousands and tens of thousands of men in battle and won victories, or the leaders of our Party and mass work in various places who have brought about fairly significant changes

in the situation). Yet after all, how great are these achievements compared with the communist cause as a whole? And for people with a communist world outlook, what is there worth preening oneself about in these achievements?

For a Communist to do his work properly and well is no more than his duty. He should guard against complacency and arrogance and do his best to make no mistakes, or as few as possible.

What is there in personal position for a Communist to bother about? No one's position is higher than an emperor's, and yet what is an emperor compared with a fighter in the cause of communism? Is he not just a "drop in the ocean" as Comrade Stalin put it? So what is there in personal position worth bothering or bragging about?

Yes, we need countless communist heroes and many mass leaders of great prestige in our Party and in the communist movement. At present, we really have too few of them and have yet to train and temper large numbers of good communist revolutionary leaders and heroes in all fields. This is indeed very important for our cause and must not be neglected. Whoever takes it lightly is ignorant of how to advance the cause of communism. Its advancement requires that we should greatly enhance the revolutionary spirit of enterprise among our Party members and bring their vitality into full play. We have to admit that so far we have not done enough in this respect. This is shown, for instance, by the fact that some Party members do not study hard and have little interest in politics and theory. Therefore, while we are opposed to individualistic heroism and to ostentatiousness, we are certainly not opposed to a spirit

of enterprise in the Party members. The desire to make progress in the interests of the people is a most precious quality in a Communist. But the communist, proletarian, spirit of enterprise is entirely different from the individualist "spirit of enterprise." The former means seeking the truth, upholding it and fighting for it with the greatest effectiveness. It is progressive and opens up unlimited prospects of development, while the latter offers no prospects even for the individual. For people with an individualist ideology are usually driven by their personal interests into deliberately brushing aside, covering up or distorting the truth.

Our comrades must understand that genuine leaders and heroes in the communist movement are never individualistic, nor are they ever self-styled or self-appointed. Anyone who styles himself a leader or reaches after leadership can never become a leader in our Party. The rank and file of our Party will not make leaders of people who are prone to conceit, individualistic heroism, ostentatiousness, personal ambition and vanity. No member of our Party has any right to demand that the rank and file should support or keep him as a leader. Only those who are entirely selfless and devoted to the Party, only those with an excellent communist morality and fine communist qualities, who have grasped the theory and method of Marxism-Leninism, who have considerable practical ability, who can direct Party work correctly and who study hard and make constant progress, can win the trust of the Party and the confidence and support of the rank and file, and so become leaders and heroes in the communist movement.

Our comrades must also understand that a member, or a leader and hero, whoever he may be, can only do

part of the work, can only carry part of the responsibility, in the communist movement. The communist cause is an undertaking which requires the collective efforts of tens of millions of people over a long period of time, and which cannot be encompassed by any one individual alone. Even such great men as Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin could only perform part of the work needed by the communist cause. The cause for which they worked requires the joint efforts and sustained labour of tens of millions of us. We ordinary Communists are also doing part of the work of the communist cause and carrying part of the responsibility. Of course, our part is much smaller than that of Marx, Engels, Lenin or Stalin. Nevertheless, we all have a *part*. Big or small, it is all part of the great cause. Therefore, if only we do our part of the work well, we can consider that we have done our duty. Naturally, we should try our best to do more, but if we cannot and can only do a little, that is also useful and just as honourable. In any case, we should at least not hamper the progress of the communist cause, but should do our part, whether big or small, and perform our work well, be it heavy or light; that is the correct attitude for every member of our Party. Comrades who are unwilling to undertake technical work think that it stifles their talents, that it prevents them from becoming famous (actually it does not, as witness the technical worker Stakhanov) and from giving full play to their abilities and that it kills some of the enterprising spirit which all Communists should have. This view is wrong. Technical work occupies a very important place in our Party work, and comrades engaged in it are doing their share in the communist cause no less than comrades engaged in other jobs. The proper at-

titude for a Communist is to do whatever work the Party requires of him and do it happily and well, whether it suits his inclinations or not.

Naturally, in assigning work to members, the Party organization and the responsible Party comrades should, as far as possible, take their individual inclinations and aptitudes into consideration, develop their strong points and stimulate their zeal to go forward. However, no Communist must refuse a Party assignment on the grounds of personal preference.

Fourth. A small number of comrades are deeply imbued with the ideology of the exploiting classes. They are usually unscrupulous in dealing with comrades and in handling problems inside the Party, and are utterly devoid of the great and sincere proletarian communist spirit of mutual help and solidarity.

People with this ideology always want to climb over the heads of others in the Party and, to this end, resort to attacking others and doing them harm. They are jealous of those more capable than themselves. They always try to pull down those who are moving ahead of them. They cannot bear playing second fiddle and think only of themselves and never of others. When other comrades are suffering difficulties or setbacks, they gloat or secretly rejoice and have no comradely sympathy at all. They even scheme to injure comrades, "drop stones on one who has fallen into a well," and take advantage of comrades' weaknesses and difficulties to attack and harm them. They "crawl through any crack" and exploit and exacerbate any weakness in Party organization and work for their personal advantage. They love to stir up trouble in the Party, speak ill of others behind their backs and engage in intrigues in order to

sow dissension between comrades. They love to join in any unprincipled dispute that may occur in the Party and take great interest in unprincipled quarrels. They are especially active in stirring up and aggravating such quarrels when the Party is in difficulties. In short, they are thoroughly crooked and lack all integrity. Would it not be absurd to describe such people as being able to grasp the Marxist-Leninist theory and method and to give expression to proletarian ideology? It is only too clear that all they express is the ideology of the declining exploiting classes.

All exploiters must do harm to other people in order to expand. To increase their wealth, or to avoid bankruptcy in an economic crisis, bigger capitalists must squeeze many smaller capitalists out of existence and drive countless workers to starvation. To enrich themselves, landlords must exploit peasants and deprive many of them of their land. In order to expand, fascist Germany, Italy and Japan must devastate other countries; they have subjugated Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Abyssinia and are committing aggression against China. Exploiters always harm and ruin other people as a necessary precondition for their own expansion; their happiness is founded on the suffering of others. Among the exploiters, therefore, genuine firm unity, genuine mutual help, and genuine human sympathy are impossible; they inevitably engage in intrigues and underhand activities in order to ruin others. Yet they have to lie and pose as saints and pillars of justice before the people. Such are the distinguishing characteristics of all declining exploiting classes. These may be models of "fine" ethical conduct for the exploiters, but they are most criminal from the point of view of the proletariat and the masses.

The proletariat is absolutely different from any exploiting class. It does not exploit others but is itself exploited. There is no conflict of basic interests within its ranks or between it and the other oppressed and exploited working people. So far from needing to harm other working people or impede their development for the sake of its own development and emancipation, the proletariat must forge the closest unity with them in common struggle. If the proletariat is to emancipate itself, it must at the same time emancipate all other working people and emancipate all mankind. There can be no such thing as the separate emancipation of a single worker or section of workers. The proletariat must carry the cause of the emancipation of humanity through to the end, fighting step by step for the liberation of all mankind, and there can be no giving up or compromising half-way.

As a result of this objective position occupied by the proletariat, the ideology of the politically conscious workers is the diametrical opposite of that of the exploiters. Communists are vanguard fighters of the proletariat, who arm themselves with Marxism-Leninism and are ruthless towards the people's enemies but never towards the toilers, their class brothers and comrades. They differentiate clearly and sharply between the attitudes and methods to be adopted against the enemy and those to be adopted towards their comrades and friends. They cherish great and sincere friendship, warmth and sympathy for other members of their own class and for all oppressed and exploited working people, towards whom they show a fine spirit of mutual help, firm unity and genuine equality. They are absolutely opposed to privileges of any kind for anyone, consider it impermissible

to think in terms of privileges for themselves, and would deem it unthinkable, and indeed a disgrace, to occupy a privileged position among the people. If they themselves are to develop and improve their own status, they must develop others and improve the status of all the working people at the same time. They are anxious not to fall behind, whether ideologically or politically or in their work, and they have a sturdy spirit of enterprise, but at the same time they esteem, cherish and support those who are ahead of them in these respects and, without any jealousy, do their best to learn from them. They are deeply concerned with the sufferings and privations of their own class and of all working people, they are concerned with all the struggles of the working people for emancipation anywhere in the world, regarding every victory or defeat for the working people anywhere as their own victory or defeat, and therefore displaying the greatest solidarity. They consider it wrong to be indifferent to the struggle of the working and oppressed people for liberation, and criminal to gloat over their setbacks. They cherish their own comrades and brothers, whose weaknesses and mistakes they criticize frankly and sincerely (and this shows genuine affection); in matters of principle they never gloss over and accommodate, let alone encourage, mistakes (to accommodate or even to encourage others' mistakes does not betoken genuine affection for one's comrades). They do everything possible to help comrades overcome weaknesses and correct mistakes and never exploit or aggravate these weaknesses and mistakes to get comrades into trouble, let alone cause the mistakes to develop beyond correction. Not harbouring any desire to settle old scores, they can return good for evil to their own comrades and

brothers and help them straighten themselves out. They can be strict with themselves and lenient with others. The stand they take is firm, strict and principled, their attitude is frank, upright and responsible, they do not give way on matters of principle, they do not tolerate anyone who harms the Party, they do not permit anyone to insult them and are particularly contemptuous of adulation and flattery as contrary to all principle. They oppose all unprincipled struggles; they do not let themselves become involved in such struggles, and are not so swayed or affected by irresponsible or casual criticism made behind their backs as to depart from principle, become incapable of thinking calmly or lose their composure. Such are the proletarian qualities of mind every Party member must learn to acquire and foster. The great founders of Marxism-Leninism epitomize these proletarian qualities in the most concentrated, exemplary and concrete form. These qualities represent everything of integrity in present-day society. Indeed it is the Communist Party that represents human integrity. We must foster and enhance such proletarian integrity and overcome all that is crooked and evil.

Fifth. Pettiness, fussing over trifles and ignoring the general interest are faults still prevalent among some Party members. These comrades lack the stature and breadth of vision of Communists and are blind to the bigger things; they relish only the immediate and the petty. They do not take much interest in the great problems and events in the Party and the revolution, but are always fussing over the merest trifles about which they enter into ponderous and endless arguments and become highly disturbed. Such people are also easily led by the nose when they receive some small favour or

kindness. They have the petty-mindedness characteristic of small rural producers.

There are other people who do not seem to have a clear-cut and definite attitude in their Party life, people who shift and hedge. They are actually of two kinds; for one kind the question is one of understanding, and for the other, of moral character. The latter are always opportunistic in their personal behaviour, curry favour with all sides and try to please everybody. They tailor their words to the person and the circumstances, tack with the wind and show no principle whatsoever. Such are their characteristics. Sometimes, they wait and see what will suit the occasion, like the bat in *Aesop's Fables*,¹ and then move over to the winning side. Such double-faced creatures, who are neither fish nor fowl, are not altogether unknown in our ranks. They have the traits of the old-fashioned merchant. In addition, there are some individuals who, unable to resist the lure of the old society's exploiting classes, with their glittering world, their money and their women, begin to waver, go wrong and eventually betray the Party and the revolution.

Finally, the ideology of some of our Party comrades often reflects the impetuosity and vacillation of the petty bourgeoisie and the destructiveness of the *lumpen-*

¹ See "The Bat and the Weasels," *Aesop's Fables*. A bat once fell down and was caught by a weasel. He begged the weasel to spare his life. The weasel said, "I hate birds. I will not let you go." The bat said, "I am not a bird but a mouse," and was set free. Some time later, the bat again fell to the ground and was caught by another weasel. He begged the weasel not to kill him. The weasel said he hated mice. The bat argued he was not a mouse but a bat, and so he was set free a second time. The bat thus saved his life twice by changing his name.

proletariat and certain bankrupt peasants, but I shall not go into this question here.

To sum up, our Party represents the great and powerful proletarian communist ideology, but it must be noted that all kinds of non-proletarian ideology — including even the ideology of the declining exploiting classes — are still reflected to a greater or lesser degree in the minds of certain comrades. At times such ideology is dormant in the Party, revealing itself only in insignificant matters of everyday life; but at other times it becomes active, systematically revealing itself in a whole variety of questions of Party principle, in major political questions and in problems of inner-Party struggle. Certain sections or links in the Party organization may come to be dominated and corroded by such erroneous ideology, and in extreme cases it may even temporarily dominate key links in the Party leadership, as in the periods when people like Chen Duxiu and Zhang Guotao were in control. In normal periods, however, it is held in check by the correct proletarian ideology. These are all manifestations within the Party of the struggle between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology. Similarly with some individual Party members. At times what is wrong in their ideology lies dormant and under control, but at other times it may grow and even dominate their actions. This is a manifestation among individual Party members of the contradiction and struggle between proletarian and non-proletarian ideology. For our Party members, ideological self-cultivation means that they must consciously use the proletarian ideology and the communist world outlook to overcome and eliminate all the various kinds of incorrect, non-proletarian ideology.

VIII THE SOURCE OF WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY

The Communist Party, representing the brightest and the most progressive aspects of contemporary human society, is the bearer and disseminator of Marxism-Leninism, the acme of human thought. The most politically conscious, progressive and developed people in the world are gathered in the Communist Parties, the people with the highest sense of morality and justice who fight unswervingly against all the forces of darkness and for the bright future and final emancipation of mankind. The Communist Party of China is one of the best Communist Parties in the world. Guided by our leader Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party is armed with the powerful weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory and, at the same time, is carrying forward the fine traditions of the progressive thinkers and revolutionaries in Chinese history. It represents the most progressive and the brightest aspects of Chinese society, and the finest sons and daughters of the Chinese nation are gathered within its organized ranks. It has been fighting the forces of darkness in Chinese society for a long time, has gone through an arduous process of tempering and has accumulated rich experience in revolutionary struggle. In all this we Communists can justly take pride. There is every ground for absolute confidence that we shall finally be successful and victorious. However, we cannot say yet that everything in our organization is perfect, or that there are no shortcomings and faults. Nor can we say that our ranks are free from unsound or even bad elements, who may be quite capable of any nastiness. In

other words, our glorious Party contains some undesirable phenomena, some dark spots, which I have already enumerated.

Now when a family acquires an ugly son-in-law or daughter-in-law, it cannot always keep him or her away from the guests. Even if we wanted to do so by taking the attitude of trying to "conceal the family shame," it would be impossible to hide such unpleasantness. The masses of the people are in constant contact with our Party, sympathizers come here to visit us and people who look up to us, including many young men and women, come here to study or to join our Party. When they arrive, besides the progressive, fine and attractive things and "members of the family," they will naturally see the ugly sons- or daughters-in-law who might publicly say or do something unpleasant or make a spectacle of themselves, to the perplexity of our guests and new Party members. The newcomers may ask, "Does not the Communist Party stand for all that is just? Are not Communists the finest people? Why are there still such bad people and ugly things in the Communist Party? How strange!" Before joining the Party, some young comrades were bitterly dissatisfied with existing society, saw no way out and turned to the Communist Party as to a beacon of light. They thought that everything would be satisfactory and would work out well once they joined. Yet after doing so, or after arriving in our revolutionary base area, they find there are shortcomings and mistakes in the Party, too, and in real life not everything is satisfactory (much that would satisfy them would not be in the interests of the revolution and the Party), and so they feel that reality is not entirely as they pictured it, and some begin to have doubts and feel puzzled. They

ask, "Why are such things to be found in the Communist Party as well?" Before coming to Yan'an or before enrolling in the Anti-Japanese Military and Political University, some people imagined Yan'an and the University would live up to their dreams, but after their arrival and enrolment they do not find everything to their satisfaction and are perplexed. They ask, "How can such things happen even in Yan'an and the Anti-Japanese University?" And failing to find answers, some even become pessimistic and disheartened.

Their questions should alert our Party members and cadres and be a lesson to them so that they will give serious attention to guiding and taking good care of all new Party members and all who are moving in our direction and to ensuring that they are not adversely affected. But, quite apart from this, we should explain things clearly to comrades inside and outside the Party.

Why are there still such undesirable things in our splendid Party? The reason, I think, is rather simple. Our Party has not fallen from the skies, but has grown out of Chinese society. In general, our Party consists of the finest sons and daughters of our country, the vanguard of the Chinese proletariat, but they come from all strata of the old society, and in China today there still exist exploiting classes and the influence of these classes — selfishness, intrigue, bureaucracy and various other kinds of filth. We have many excellent Party members who are not easily affected by such influences. But is it so strange that certain members unavoidably bring some of the filth of the old society with them into our Party or reflect it there? Is it so strange that a person who has just crawled out of the mud is covered with slime? Of course not. It is only to be expected.

It would be strange, and indeed incredible, if the ranks of the Communist Party were absolutely free from such filth. It may be said that so long as such filth exists in society, so long as classes and exploiting class influences exist in society, there is bound to be some filth in the Communist Party. It is precisely because there is such filth in society, and in the Party, that it is the duty of the Communist Party to change existing society, and it is necessary for Communists to remould, cultivate and temper themselves. In addition to carrying on a struggle in society at large against everything evil and backward, it is imperative for us to carry on a struggle inside the Party against every social evil and backward influence as mirrored in the Party by vacillating and unsteady elements. This is the source of inner-Party contradiction and struggle. Through struggle, both inside and outside the Party, we seek to change society and gradually rid it of its evils and backwardness, and at the same time seek to perfect our Party and remould our Party members, and to resolve our inner-Party contradictions, so that our Party and its membership will become healthier and stronger.

Stalin said:

The source of the contradictions within the proletarian parties lies in two circumstances.

What are these circumstances?

They are, firstly, the pressure exerted by the bourgeoisie and bourgeois ideology on the proletariat and its party in the conditions of the class struggle — a pressure to which the least stable strata of the proletariat, and, hence, the least stable strata of the proletarian party, not infrequently succumb. It must not

be thought that the proletariat is completely isolated from society, that it stands outside society. The proletariat is a part of society, connected with its diverse strata by numerous threads. But the party is a part of the proletariat. Hence the party cannot be exempt from connections with, and from the influence of, the diverse sections of bourgeois society. The pressure of the bourgeoisie and its ideology on the proletariat and its party finds expression in the fact that bourgeois ideas, manners, customs and sentiments not infrequently penetrate the proletariat and its party through definite strata of the proletariat that are in one way or another connected with bourgeois society.

They are, secondly, the heterogeneity of the working class, the existence of different strata within the working class. . . .

One stratum is the main mass of the proletariat, its core, its permanent part, the mass of "pure-blooded" proletarians, who have long broken off connection with the capitalist class. This stratum of the proletariat is the most reliable bulwark of Marxism.

The second stratum consists of newcomers from non-proletarian classes — from the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie or the intelligentsia. These are former members of other classes who have only recently merged with the proletariat and have brought with them into the working class their customs, their habits, their waverings and their vacillations. This stratum constitutes the most favourable soil for all sorts of anarchists, semi-anarchist and "ultra-Left" groups.

The third stratum, lastly, consists of the labour aristocracy, the upper stratum of the working class, the most well-to-do portion of the proletariat, with its pro-

pensity for compromise with the bourgeoisie, its predominant inclination to adapt itself to the powers that be, and its anxiety to "get on in life." This stratum constitutes the most favourable soil for outright reformists and opportunists.¹

Here we see the source of the various kinds of non-proletarian ideology and of the various errors, shortcomings and other undesirable phenomena that exist in our proletarian party. Here, indeed, is the source of the various contradictions that are present in our Party.

IX ATTITUDES TOWARDS WRONG IDEOLOGY IN THE PARTY AND TOWARDS INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

The influences exerted by the exploiting classes and by the petty bourgeoisie, the existence of different strata within the working class and the differences in the class background of our Party members give rise among them to different ideas, to certain differences in viewpoints, habits and sentiments, in world outlook and moral values, and differences in the way they look at and think about things in general and the problems of the revolution in particular.

Some people in our Party are able to view things in their development and interrelationship, but others habitually view them statically and in isolation. The for-

¹"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the Executive Committee of the Comintern," J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, pp. 9-11.

mer are able to grasp matters comprehensively and objectively and hence to draw correct conclusions which can serve us as correct guides to action. As for the latter, some of them only see or overemphasize one side of a thing, while others only see or overemphasize another side; both fail to view problems comprehensively and objectively in accordance with the laws of the development and interrelationship of objective phenomena, and both take a one-sided, subjective view of problems. Hence, they are unable to arrive at correct conclusions or chart the right course for our actions.

The differences among Party members in their approach to problems lead to different ways of handling problems, to divergences and controversies in views and opinions, and to inner-Party struggle. Under the pressure of the exploiting classes and their ideology, the divergences and controversies are bound to become especially acute at turning points in the revolution, or when the struggle grows in intensity and hardships mount.

Therefore, the crux of the matter is not whether there are differences of thought and opinion within the Party, since such differences always exist. The crux of the matter is how to resolve contradictions, settle differences and overcome all kinds of incorrect, non-proletarian thinking. Obviously, it is only through inner-Party struggle that such contradictions can be resolved, differences settled and incorrect thinking overcome. As Engels put it, "In the long run the contradictions are never slurred over, but always fought out."¹

¹See *Marx-Engels Archives*, Book I, p. 371, quoted in J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 9.

Different people hold different views and take different attitudes with regard to shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in our Party.

People of one kind do not or will not see shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in our Party, but blindly believe that there is scarcely anything wrong in it; hence they relax their vigilance and slacken their struggle against these phenomena. People of another kind see nothing, or hardly anything, except these undesirable phenomena and fail to see how correct and glorious our Party is; hence they become pessimistic and lose confidence, or they become alarmed and bewildered in the face of such phenomena. The views of both are wrong and one-sided. Our view is different. On the one hand, we know that our Party is the political party of the proletariat, the most progressive and revolutionary party in China. On the other, we know clearly that there are still shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena, major or minor, in our Party. Moreover, we clearly understand their source and how to correct and gradually eliminate them, and we are making constant efforts to temper ourselves, improve our work, and wage the necessary struggles in order to promote the progress of the Party and the revolution.

Since people differ in their class stand and their views, they take different attitudes towards what is undesirable in our Party. One attitude is that of alien class and hostile elements who have wormed their way into our Party. A second attitude is that of Party members who lack a firm proletarian stand and have a wrong way of thinking. A third is that of Party members who firmly uphold the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The alien class and hostile elements who have wormed their way into the Party are glad of its shortcomings, mistakes and other such undesirable phenomena. Glee-fully seeing their opportunity, they use every possible means to exploit and magnify some of these undesirable phenomena for the purpose of wrecking our Party. Sometimes they even make a pretence of opposing certain mistakes and supporting the Party line in order to cause an opposite kind of mistake to be committed.

People with the second type of attitude fall into the following distinct categories:

1. Some Party members sympathize with and accept certain erroneous ideas, or follow the bad example of certain people in the Party, so as to further their personal ends and desires. They consider the existence of certain shortcomings and mistakes in the Party to be to their advantage and therefore, whether intentionally or unintentionally, aggravate these failings and exploit them. This is the attitude of careerists or bad characters in the Party.

2. Some Party members do nothing about the shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party and allow them to grow. They just muddle along and are unwilling to fight these evils. They fear inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, considering them harmful to the Party, or they are insensitive or shut their eyes to the undesirable things, or they are perfunctory and compromising in the struggle against them. This is the attitude taken by Communists who have a weak sense of duty towards the Party, or are extremely liberalistic, or are guilty of bureaucracy.

3. The attitude of some Party members towards these shortcomings and mistakes and towards those comrades who have some incorrect ideas is one of "bitter hatred and gall." They lightly sever all relations with comrades who have committed some mistake and whom they attempt to expel from the Party outright. If they fail in this and meet rebuffs, they give up and become pessimistic and down-hearted, or they keep aloof, "preserve their purity" and even put a great distance between themselves and the Party. This extreme attitude is also shown in some comrades' mechanical conception of inner-Party struggle and self-criticism. People with this attitude believe that inner-Party struggle must be launched under any and all circumstances—the more frequently and bitterly, the better. They magnify every trifle into a matter of "principle" and brand every tiny fault with such labels as political opportunism. They do not carry on inner-Party struggle properly and specifically in accordance with objective needs and objective laws of development, but instead "struggle" mechanically, subjectively and violently, regardless of the consequences. This is the attitude taken by Party members who do not understand the source of inner-Party contradictions, who lack skill in dealing with inner-Party differences and who have a mechanical conception of inner-Party struggle. For a time, this extreme attitude towards inner-Party struggle was exploited by the "Left" opportunists in the Party. They intensified mechanical and excessive struggles to the point of deliberately hunting for "targets of struggle" within the Party, deliberately creating inner-Party struggles and punishing comrades by abusing Party disciplinary measures, and even

employing against them measures applicable to struggles outside the Party; and it was by such "struggles" and "disciplinary measures" that they tried to push the work ahead.

The attitude we should adopt is the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist one. Contrary to the erroneous attitudes described above, we advocate the following:

1. First of all, get to know the various phenomena, ideas, views and opinions in the Party and distinguish those which are correct and beneficial to the interests of the Party and the revolution from those which are not, or, in case of a dispute in which both sides are wrong, perceive this and be able to point to the correct view or opinion. After sober analysis and consideration, decide on a clear-cut attitude and take a correct stand. Do not follow blindly or drift with the tide.

2. Profit by every good example, promote and spread a spirit of integrity in the Party and vigorously support all correct views and opinions. Do not follow any bad examples or be influenced by any wrong ideas.

3. Do not take a liberalistic attitude or flinch from any necessary inner-Party struggle. Carry on an irreconcilable struggle in the Party against ideas and views which are wrong in principle and against all other undesirable phenomena, so that we can constantly overcome them; they should never be allowed to develop unchecked to the detriment of the Party and the revolution.

4. Do not take a mechanical and extreme attitude. Properly combine irreconcilability and clarity in matters of principle with flexibility and patient persuasion in methods of struggle; in the course of prolonged struggles,

educate, criticize, temper and remould comrades who have committed errors but who are not incorrigible. Such inner-Party ideological struggles on matters of principle as are necessary at different periods should be waged in a concrete and proper way; inner-Party struggles should not be waged indiscriminately, subjectively, mechanically or on shadowy pretexts. Do not become "struggle addicts."

5. Strengthen the unity and discipline of the Party, and enhance its prestige, through inner-Party struggle. Organizational penalties, ranging all the way to expulsion, should be applied to incorrigible elements in the Party. We should regard it as our supreme duty to safeguard the Party's unity, preserve the purity of its ideology and consolidate its organization.

Such is the attitude of all good Communists in the Party and indeed the only correct Marxist-Leninist attitude.

It is not strange that our enemies should seek to make use of our every shortcoming and mistake to undermine our Party. Besides constantly sharpening our vigilance, we should do everything possible to give the enemy as little opportunity as possible to exploit shortcomings and mistakes in the Party whenever they occur; this is the duty of every comrade who cherishes the Party. If a Party member ignores this consideration in inner-Party struggle, if he only seeks to vent his feelings, or goes to the length of joining up with bad elements instead of rejecting their assistance, or even makes use of outside forces to help him attain some private ends within the Party, he will be committing an unpardonable political mistake and breach of discipline.

Members of our Party should be the embodiment of correct ideology and should follow good examples in the Party; they should not follow but should oppose wrong ideas and bad examples. But what actually happens is that some comrades, who are generally correct in their ideology and follow good examples, sometimes reflect certain wrong ideas and follow certain bad examples. Other comrades seem to find it easy to learn from the bad but hard to learn from the good, and this merits our serious attention. When mistakes occur in the Party, they are apt to encourage or aggravate them, intentionally or unintentionally. In inner-Party struggles they are apt to take the wrong side or go along with whichever side is currently in vogue, irrespective of right and wrong. These comrades will hardly make progress unless they receive strict criticism and rigorous tempering.

Of course, comrades who adopt a liberalistic or bureaucratic attitude towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena inside the Party are also wrong. This, I think, should be quite clear to you as students of the Institute of Marxism-Leninism. For in the Party Building course which you have studied, the necessity of self-criticism and ideological struggle within the Party is clearly and thoroughly discussed; you can go into it again, and I need not dwell on the matter further. However, I do want to point out that quite a few comrades have this liberalistic attitude. We often do not have enough really responsible and sincere criticism and self-criticism conducted in keeping with the Party's organizational principles, for the purpose of exposing, correcting and eliminating the undesirable phenomena in the Party, and more particularly we do not have enough

criticism from below and self-criticism, both of which should be greatly encouraged. On the other hand there is quite a lot of criticism that is irresponsible and not in keeping with the Party's organizational principles, of talking behind people's backs and gossip about this or that person or thing. Both are manifestations of liberalism in the Party. They show that some comrades are insufficiently mature politically and are not courageous enough in revolutionary struggle; they also indicate that inner-Party democracy has not been properly developed. Some comrades dare not dispense with face-saving, and fear to offend others lest they themselves incur complaints and counter-criticism. They would rather leave the shortcomings and mistakes alone, taking the attitude of "getting by" and "the less trouble the better," but at the same time they talk about comrades behind their backs. All of this harms the Party and does it no good. Irresponsible criticism and talk are not likely to help overcome the shortcomings and mistakes in the Party but will lead to unprincipled disputes and disunity. We stand for inner-Party criticism and self-criticism which is responsible and beneficial to the Party, and is in keeping with its organizational principles.

Shortcomings and mistakes exist in the Party and so do incorrect non-proletarian ideas, any of which may at certain times develop into a trend, giving rise to differences of principle and impairing the Party's unity of action. Hence, it is impossible to educate the Party, the proletariat and the masses correctly if we do not unfold criticism and self-criticism, constantly expose and correct shortcomings and mistakes, overcome wrong ideas and conduct inner-Party struggle to resolve inner-Party differences, but instead take a compromising attitude and

follow a "middle" line, or try to muddle through in inner-Party struggle.

Liberalism in inner-Party struggle is manifested in yet another way. Thus when a dispute breaks out in the Party, many comrades put aside their work and indulge in aimless debate for days and months on end or let themselves go without restraint; as a result, the unity of the Party becomes looser, Party discipline is weakened, the Party's prestige is impaired, and our militant Party organizations turn into debating societies. Such things have occurred more than once in certain Party organizations. They have absolutely nothing in common with the kind of criticism and self-criticism we advocate. We need criticism and self-criticism, not in order to impair the Party's prestige, undermine its discipline and weaken its leadership, but in order to promote the Party's prestige, consolidate its discipline and strengthen its leadership.

Hence, it is wrong to adopt a liberalistic or a bureaucratic attitude towards the various shortcomings and mistakes in the Party. In order to fight against all undesirable phenomena and resolve differences, we must promote criticism and self-criticism and conduct inner-Party struggle correctly. Only thus can the Party be strengthened, grow and advance.

Comrades who take an extreme attitude in inner-Party struggle are also wrong.

The extreme attitude is the exact antithesis of the liberalistic attitude. It arises because these comrades fail to understand that wrong ideas in the Party have deep social roots and cannot possibly be eliminated at one stroke. At various times and in varying degrees,

many of our Party comrades may reflect certain incorrect ideas existing in society and may commit some mistakes in their work under the influence of non-proletarian ideologies; no comrade can entirely avoid this. If the Party were to refuse to retain or tolerate all comrades who reflect non-proletarian ideologies in some degree, or who have committed some mistakes and yet are not incorrigible, and were to reject them categorically and even expel them, then the tasks of educating the comrades and consolidating the Party's organization would be non-existent. Were our Party to follow such an extreme policy, the comrades taking that attitude would eventually have to be expelled themselves. In particular, these comrades fail to understand that the achievement of communism involves the tremendous and difficult task of transforming all mankind into the selfless citizenry of a communist society, the task of converting men with their many weaknesses into communists with a high level of culture through a long process of tempering and education in the course of struggle. If they did understand this, then they would understand that our Party has the important and constant duty of educating and remoulding people who are already members but whose ideology is not wholly proletarian.

Naturally, the education and remoulding of such Party members is a most arduous task requiring prolonged and patient effort. Yet if we are unwilling to tackle this difficult task and shrink from it, how can we talk about changing the world and all mankind? Since we are determined to undertake, and not to shrink from, the unprecedentedly arduous task of changing the world and all mankind, what other task in the world today can daunt us? Party members who have the communist

world outlook are dauntless, fear no difficulty or hardship, and understand that the process of development is tortuous. Comrades who take an extreme attitude do not understand that the achievement of communism is an arduous and tortuous task, they fear difficulties and crave a straight road, they want to eliminate everything unpleasant at one stroke and leap immediately into the world of their ideals. Thinking and acting in this way, they inevitably run their heads against a brick wall. And after banging and bruising their heads, they quite often become disheartened and lose their confidence in the future of communism. Thus they swing between extremes, from "Left" to Right, thereby fully revealing the essence of their non-proletarian ideology. It is regrettable that this erroneous, extreme attitude towards inner-Party shortcomings and mistakes should still be found to a greater or lesser extent among quite a few comrades, although it is harmful to the Party, to other comrades and to themselves.

Inner-Party struggle is necessary not because we are subjectively addicted to struggle or partial to dispute, but because inner-Party differences of principle do arise in the growth of the Party and in the proletarian struggle. When they occur, "contradictions can be overcome only by means of a struggle for definite principles, for definite aims of the struggle, for definite methods of waging the struggle leading to the desired aim."¹ Compromise is of no avail here. This means that when a dispute has developed into one of principle capable of solution only through struggle, we should unflinchingly wage

¹"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.," J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, p. 4.

inner-Party struggle in order to solve it. It does not mean that we should make a big fuss over small matters, conduct inner-Party struggle with stony faces and never compromise even on routine and on questions of a purely practical nature. "One can, and should, agree to any compromise with dissenters in the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical nature."¹

When opportunist ideas and differences of principle arise in the Party, we must, of course, wage struggles to overcome those ideas and errors of principle. This definitely does not mean that when there are no differences of principle and no opportunist ideas in the Party, we should deliberately magnify into "differences of principle" divergences of opinion among comrades on questions of a purely practical nature.

Comrade Mao Zedong has said: "The Party must on the one hand wage a serious struggle against erroneous thinking, and on the other give the comrades who have committed errors ample opportunity to wake up. This being the case, excessive struggle is obviously inappropriate."²

It is necessary to make severe criticisms of, or even to apply organizational penalties to, those comrades who, after committing opportunist mistakes or other mistakes of principle, turn a deaf ear to persuasion and Party criticism, wilfully and obstinately cling to their errors and resist Party policy, or are double-faced in their attitude. But if these comrades do not cling to their mistakes but

¹ *Ibid.*

² "On Contradiction," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. I, p. 345.

are willing to correct them and give up their previous point of view after sober discussion, persuasion and criticism, or if they coolly ponder over their mistakes or soberly discuss them with other comrades, we should welcome every small sign of progress on their part and not subject them to penalties indiscriminately. In criticism and inner-Party struggle, it is not true that the more stony-faced we are the better, or that the more comrades we punish the better; our highest aim is to educate the erring comrades to the best effect, help them correct their mistakes, educate the entire membership and consolidate the Party.

The "Left" opportunists were clearly wrong in their attitude towards inner-Party struggle. According to these almost hysterical people, any peace in the Party was intolerable — even peace based on complete unanimity on matters of principle and on the Party line. Even in the absence of any differences of principle in the Party, they deliberately hunted out targets, dubbed some comrades "opportunist" and set them up as "straw men" to shoot at in inner-Party struggle. They thought that such erroneous struggle and such shooting at "straw men" were the magic formula for developing the Party and achieving victory in the revolutionary fight of the proletariat. They considered that to stir up trouble out of nothing or deliberately concoct inner-Party struggle was the only "Bolshevik" way. Of course, this is not serious and earnest inner-Party struggle; rather is it a mockery of the Party and a perversion of inner-Party struggle, which is a most serious matter, into a frivolous game. The advocates of such action are not Bolsheviks at all but are either people who are well-nigh incorrigible, or careerists exploiting the name of "Bolshevik."

We have been discussing the attitude to be adopted towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party. It is by combating all that is bad inside and outside the Party that we change the world and mankind, and at the same time perfect the Party and remould ourselves. Inner-Party struggle is the reflection within the Party of the existing contradictions in society between classes and between the old and the new. The Party tempers, develops and consolidates itself in the class struggle outside the Party (*i.e.*, in the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people) and simultaneously becomes consolidated and united through struggle inside the Party, and it is therefore able to give more systematic, correct and effective leadership to the revolutionary struggle of the masses. Hence it would be utterly wrong, advantageous to the enemy, contrary to the laws of development of the class struggle and incompatible with our basic thesis of the transformation of the world and mankind through struggle, if we were to adopt a liberal attitude towards shortcomings, mistakes and other undesirable phenomena in the Party by glossing over internal differences of principle, covering up inner-Party contradictions, evading inner-Party struggle and just muddling along. Similarly, it would be wrong to isolate the struggle inside the Party from the class struggle outside the Party or the revolutionary movement of the masses, and thus turn inner-Party struggle into empty talk. In fact it is impossible to temper, develop and consolidate the Party in isolation from the revolutionary struggle of the masses. However, it would be equally wrong and contrary to the laws of development of the Party, if we were to carry matters

to the other extreme and adopt an extreme attitude towards all comrades who have shortcomings or have committed errors but who are not irredeemable, or if we were to fail to distinguish between them and the enemy, conducting mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggles against them and wilfully fabricating such struggles. We should not break with comrades who have committed errors but who are nevertheless loyal, but we should show concern and sympathy for them, persuade and educate them, and help them temper and reform themselves in struggle. We should not castigate or expel them unless they persist in their mistakes and prove incorrigible.

Although there are still some shortcomings and mistakes, some isolated minor evils in our Party, we are fully confident that with the advance of the working-class movement we can and will get rid of them through the great revolutionary struggles of the masses. The history of nearly two decades of struggle and glorious progress by the Chinese Communist Party, and the world-wide development of the working-class movement, thoroughly convince us of this.

Inner-Party struggle is an indispensable component of the revolutionary struggle as a whole. Our comrades should therefore temper and cultivate themselves both in struggles outside the Party and in the struggle on two fronts inside the Party. Among many Party comrades, however, there is still no genuinely profound appreciation of such inner-Party struggle, and there is insufficient tempering and self-cultivation. This is manifested not only in the frequent unprincipled struggles carried on by some comrades but also in the fact that certain

comrades, including even some with a fairly long history of militant struggle, cannot stand being criticized or misjudged. When fighting the counter-revolutionaries, they never waver, complain, or feel dejected, however ruthless the struggle, however bitter the conditions, and however vicious the enemy's blows. Yet in inner-Party struggle they cannot stand being criticized, attacked, misjudged or wronged, or tolerate even a single unpleasant word. Or they suspect people of making pointed allusions to them, and so they complain and feel very dejected. We really must give this kind of thing our attention.

It must be stated that on the whole these comrades are very good because they wage resolute struggle against the counter-revolutionaries and look upon the Party as a most affectionate mother. After going out to fight hard battles against the counter-revolutionaries, they should receive encouragement, consolation and caresses, and not blows and wrongs, when they return to their great mother's embrace. It is only natural for them to expect such treatment. However, they fail to take one point into account, or fully into account — that our Party still has shortcomings and faults, and that there are inner-Party struggles which every comrade must take part in. Our Party criticizes and combats shortcomings and faults not because it is unfeeling but because such action is unavoidable in the course of the revolutionary struggle. It is necessary for comrades in the course of inner-Party struggle to receive well-founded criticism, for this is helpful to them, to the other comrades and to the whole Party. On the other hand, it is also unavoidable that at times some comrades will receive ill-founded criticisms, or get attacked on certain matters,

or will even be wrongly judged and disciplined. Failing to allow for this, they become shocked and feel most miserable and dejected whenever it occurs.

In this connection, it is my opinion that every Party member should pay attention to uniting with his comrades, be sincere and open, refrain from hurting others by thoughtless or sarcastic remarks, and, in particular, refrain from irresponsibly criticizing comrades behind their backs. The proper attitude to any comrade's mistakes is sincerely to remonstrate with him and criticize him to his face, out of concern for the comrade and a desire to be of help. All of us, and especially those in more responsible positions, must bear this in mind.

On the other hand, it is my opinion that comrades should be morally prepared for inner-Party struggle, should open-mindedly accept all well-grounded criticism and be able to endure misunderstandings or attacks, or even unfairness and injustice; in particular, they should not get provoked or excited over irresponsible and unjustified criticism or rumours. As far as irresponsible misjudgement and criticism are concerned — that is, excluding properly conducted criticism among comrades or through the Party organization — one can try to clear the matter up or offer some explanation when necessary, but if that does not help, one might just as well let others say what they please, provided there is nothing wrong in one's thinking and behaviour. Let us remember the Chinese sayings: "Who never gossips about others behind their backs or is never the subject of gossip?" and "Never mind the storm, just sit tight in the fishing boat." No one in this world can entirely avoid being misunderstood, but misunderstandings can always be

cleared up sooner or later. We should be able to endure misunderstandings and should never allow ourselves to be dragged into unprincipled struggle; at the same time we should always be vigilant and keep watch over our own thoughts and actions.

That is to say, we should take care not to use words that wound other comrades, and should be able to stand injurious language from others.

We are radically opposed to unprincipled disputes in the Party. Since they are unprincipled, they are useless and harmful to the Party, and there is generally little of right or wrong, or good or bad, about them. In such unprincipled struggles, therefore, there is no point in passing judgement as to who is right and who is wrong, or estimating who is better and who is worse, because that is impossible. All we can do is radically to oppose struggles of that kind and ask the comrades involved unconditionally to stop them and get back to principles. This is the policy we should adopt towards unprincipled disputes and struggles. But what should be done if unprincipled disputes do arise and if many of them get tangled up with struggles over principle? What should be done if such disputes knock at our door and we get dragged into them? All we can do in that case is, again, to put the stress on the questions of principle and avoid stressing those not involving any principle. Basing ourselves on the policy outlined here, we should handle such unprincipled disputes strictly and ourselves stand firm on principle from beginning to end, refusing to be dragged into the unprincipled disputes. When someone does something wrong to you, do not throw back something wrong at him.

Always stand by the right to oppose the wrong. Some of our comrades find it very difficult to act in this way, which shows why special attention to self-tempering and self-cultivation is necessary.

Let me now briefly sum up the points discussed.

The aim of ideological self-cultivation by members of the Communist Party is to temper themselves to become staunch and utterly devoted members and cadres of the Party who make constant progress and serve as examples for others. What is required of us is the following:

1. To build up our communist world outlook and a firm Party and proletarian class standpoint through the study of Marxism-Leninism and participation in revolutionary struggle.

2. To examine our own thinking and behaviour, to correct all erroneous ideas and at the same time to judge questions and judge other comrades on the basis of our communist world outlook and our firm Party and proletarian class standpoint.

3. Always to adopt a correct attitude and appropriate methods in the struggle against erroneous ideology in the Party, and especially against erroneous ideology which affects the current revolutionary struggle.

4. To keep a firm control over ourselves in thought, speech and action, and especially to take a firm standpoint and adhere to correct principles with regard to political ideas, statements and activities which are related to the current revolutionary struggle. In addition, it is as well to be careful even over "trifles" (in one's personal life, attitude, etc.). But as for making demands on other comrades, apart from matters of principle and

major political questions, we should not be too severe or fault-finding over "trifles."

In my opinion, the above is what we mean, fundamentally, when we talk about ideological self-cultivation by members of the Communist Party.

ON INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

(A Lecture Delivered on July 2, 1941 at the Party School of the Central-China Bureau of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party)

I INTRODUCTION

Comrades:

We have recently raised in the Party the problem of strengthening our work in steeling the Party spirit of our members. I have heard that the Central Committee has also adopted a decision on this subject, and we hope to receive it shortly. In order to strengthen our work in steeling the Party spirit of our members, we are going to launch a concrete ideological struggle within the Party against the various undesirable phenomena which run counter to the Party spirit. But what is the correct way for us to conduct this ideological struggle within the Party, and what would be an incorrect way? This is the very question I want to discuss.

Everyone knows that our Party is a proletarian party, a party that leads the struggles of the broad masses. If the Party is to fulfil the historical tasks it has shouldered, it must fight against the enemies of the revolution at various periods, and must unite with the various revolutionary strata and classes.

Right from the day of its birth, our Party has never for a single moment lived in any environment but that of serious struggle. The Party and the proletariat have constantly lived inside the encirclement of various non-proletarian classes — the big bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and even the remnants of feudal

forces. All these classes, when they are struggling against the proletariat or when they are co-operating with it, utilize the unstable elements within the Party and the proletariat to penetrate into the heart of the Party and the proletariat and constantly influence the Party and the proletariat in ideology, in living habits, in theory and in action. This is the origin of all kinds of erroneous and undesirable tendencies within the Party. It is the social basis of all kinds of opportunism within the Party, and it is also the source of inner-Party struggles.

Inner-Party struggles are a reflection of the class struggles outside the Party.

From the very day of its inception, our Party has struggled not only against the enemies outside the Party but also against all kinds of hostile and non-proletarian influences inside the Party. These two kinds of struggle are different, but both are necessary and have a common class substance. If our Party did not carry on the latter type of struggle, if it did not struggle constantly within the Party against all undesirable tendencies, if it did not constantly purge the Party of every type of non-proletarian ideology and overcome both "Left" and Right opportunism, then such non-proletarian ideology and such "Left" and Right opportunism might gain ground in the Party and influence or even dominate our Party. This would make it impossible for the Party to consolidate and develop itself or to preserve its independence. This would endanger the Party and lead to its degeneration. Such non-proletarian ideology and "Left" or Right opportunism can corrupt our Party, or certain sections of it, and can even transform the character of our Party or sections of it into that of a non-proletarian organization. For example, it was in this manner that the Social-Democratic parties

in Europe were corrupted by bourgeois ideology and transformed into political parties of a bourgeois type, thus becoming the main social pillars of the bourgeoisie.

Therefore, such inner-Party struggle is absolutely necessary and cannot be avoided. Any idea of trying to avoid inner-Party struggle, or of refraining from criticizing others' mistakes so that they will not criticize one's own errors, is totally wrong.

Inner-Party struggles consist principally of ideological struggles. Their content is made up of the divergencies and antagonisms arising in matters of ideology and principle. The divergencies and antagonisms among our comrades on matters of ideology and principle can develop into political splits within the Party, and, under certain circumstances, even into inevitable organizational splits; but, in character and content, such divergencies and antagonisms are basically ideological struggles.

Consequently, any inner-Party struggle not involving divergencies in matters of ideology and principle and any conflict among Party members not based on divergencies in matters of principle are a type of unprincipled struggle, a struggle without content. This kind of struggle without principle or content is utterly unnecessary within the Party. It is detrimental and not beneficial to the Party. Every Party member should strictly avoid such struggles.

Inner-Party struggle is absolutely indispensable to protecting the purity and independence of the Party, to guaranteeing that the Party's activities constantly proceed along lines which represent the highest interests of the proletariat, and to preserving the Party's basic proletarian character. With this object in view, inner-Party struggles must be conducted from two sides, or on two fronts. This is because the enemy's ideology influences the Party

from two directions, attacking the Party from both the Right and the "Left." This is expressed in the Party by Right or "Left" opportunism.

Therefore, our inner-Party struggle must be directed simultaneously against both Right opportunism and "Left" opportunism, against these two aspects so that our Party can preserve its definite proletarian character. If we fail to do this, if we merely carry on a one-sided struggle, or if we slacken our vigilance and our struggle against either side, then the enemy not only can but assuredly will attack our Party from that very side which we have neglected. In that case, it will be impossible to preserve the Party's purity and independence or to consolidate the Party. It is, therefore, in the course of ceaseless inner-Party struggle on two fronts that our Party consolidates and develops itself.

Comrade Stalin said:

The fact of the matter is that contradictions can be overcome only by means of a struggle for definite principles, for definite aims of the struggle, for definite methods of waging the struggle leading to the desired aim. One can, and should, agree to any compromise with dissenters in the Party on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical nature. But if these questions are connected with disagreements based on principle, no compromise, no "middle" line can save the situation. There can be no "middle" line in questions of principle. Either one set of principles or another must be made the basis of the Party's work. A "middle" line in matters of principle is the "line" of stuffing people's heads with rubbish, of glossing over disagreements, a "line" leading to the ideological degen-

eration of the Party, to the ideological death of the Party.

. . . The policy of a "middle" line in matters of principle is not our policy. The policy of a "middle" line in matters of principle is the policy of decaying and degenerating parties. Such a policy cannot but lead to the conversion of the party into an empty bureaucratic apparatus, running idle and divorced from the masses of the workers. That path is not our path.¹

He added: "Our Party grew and became strong by overcoming internal contradictions."²

This explains the essential nature of inner-Party struggle.

Much has already appeared in the works of Lenin and Stalin in regard to the essential nature of inner-Party struggle and as to why liberalism and conciliationism in the Party are no good. You comrades can read these and I will not say more here on this subject.

The problem I now want to talk about is how to conduct inner-Party struggle. To us this is still a new problem. At present everyone is studying this problem. This is absolutely essential. I do not at this time propose to speak on the problem comprehensively. I will merely present my views, based on my personal observations regarding the historical experiences of the Chinese Communist Party. I invite all comrades to discuss whether or not these views are correct.

¹"The Seventh Enlarged Plenum of the E.C.C.I.," J. V. Stalin, *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, Vol. IX, pp. 4, 5.

²*Ibid.*, p. 8.

II

THE SPECIAL CONDITIONS UNDER WHICH THE CHINESE COMMUNIST PARTY WAS FOUNDED AND THE DEVIATIONS THAT HAVE ARISEN IN ITS INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

What did Marx and Engels do for the world proletariat?

Marx and Engels provided the proletariat with a consolidated and complete ideological and theoretical system. Not only that, they also built an independent organization for the proletariat and led the mass struggles of the proletariat. They created the First International and later organized the Second International as well as the Social-Democratic parties and trade unions in the various European countries. They educated and showed the working class how to organize themselves and how to carry on struggles.

During the period of the Second International (the period before the First World War), the Social-Democratic parties in the various countries carried on widespread organizational work among the workers, extensively broadened the movement for organizing the working class, and attained enormous successes in the field of organization. Since this was the period of "peaceful" development of capitalism and the organizations of the working class were formed in such a period of peace, the distinction between the Party and the trade unions was not yet very clear.

Especially after the death of Marx and Engels, the Second International, led by Kautsky and company, adopted an impermissible line of conciliation towards opportunism within the Party, with the result that oppor-

tunism corroded the various parties of the Second International. By the time of the imperialist era, the era of proletarian revolution, these parties and trade unions revealed their inability to shoulder the revolutionary tasks which the proletariat ought to shoulder in the new period. Consequently, they could not but go bankrupt and decay in the course of the First World War.

Lenin's era was different from that of Marx and Engels. It was an imperialist era, the era of moribund capitalism. It was the era of proletarian revolution. This period demanded that the proletariat build a strong, militant party, a party which was completely consolidated and united, ideologically, politically, organizationally and in action and which had close ties with the proletarian masses. Only by relying on such a party would it be possible to carry on successfully the extremely serious revolutionary struggles. Therefore, in addition to restoring and developing the doctrines of Marx and Engels in all their aspects, Lenin particularly created a complete doctrine concerning the establishment of proletarian revolutionary parties. The system of theories concerning the building-up of our Party was in the main created by Lenin. This doctrine on Party-building was absolutely inseparable from the strategy and tactics of leading the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat.

What were the conditions in the period when Lenin founded the revolutionary party of the proletariat?

At that time, on the one hand, the imperialist war was approaching and the proletariat was confronted with the urgent task of overthrowing the bourgeoisie, seizing state power, and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat. On the other hand, the Social-Democratic

parties of the Second International with their extensive organizations were not yet conscious of the need to overthrow the bourgeoisie and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They neither wanted nor dared to prepare for a revolutionary offensive by the proletariat. Therefore, the parties of the Second International were loosely organized and faction-ridden and could not conduct any serious struggle. As a result, they completely failed to meet the revolutionary demands of the proletariat at the time.

The Social-Democratic parties of the various countries at that time not only fell theoretically and politically into the mire of Right opportunism (for instance, their theory of collaboration between labour and capital, their theory of the peaceful development of capitalism into socialism, their viewpoint that the proletariat could seize power by parliamentary struggles without going through a revolution, and that therefore there was no need for creating strategy and tactics of proletarian revolution, etc.), but they were also thoroughly Right opportunists on the question of party organization. The parties of the Second International and the Mensheviks in Russia advocated liberalism in party organization. They advocated reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organization and held the view that no closely-welded organization or strict discipline was necessary in the Party. They advocated an unprincipled peace within the Party and tolerated the existence of divergent ideological and organizational factions within the Party and so on. To the parties of the Second International, party unity and discipline, self-criticism and struggle within the Party were inconceivable and entirely unnecessary. Such were some of the principal concrete

manifestations of Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question of organization.

At that time, there were also the Economists in Russia and the Syndicalists in Europe (France, for example) who contended that the working class did not need a party organization, who refused to organize parties of the working class or subordinated the parties of the working class to the trade unions, who advocated "independence of the trade unions," and who denied the Party's leadership in the trade unions.

At that time, on the one hand, the militant tasks of the proletarian revolution demanded that there should be a strong fighting party to lead the broad masses and to carry out such tasks. On the other hand, the parties of the Second International with their millions of party and trade union members, were utterly impotent and incapable of fighting. Moreover, their organizational backwardness and laxity were backed up by all kinds of opportunistic views about organization. These were the actual and important conditions when Lenin started to build the Bolshevik Party.

Under the above-mentioned conditions, in order to build up a party capable of leading the proletarian revolution, a party which was completely united ideologically, politically and organizationally, Lenin could not but muster all forces to oppose the ideological and political opportunism of the parties of the Second International, particularly their opportunism on the question of party organization. It was on the question of organization — the conditions for joining the Party — that differences first arose between Lenin's Bolshevik Party and the Mensheviks.

Lenin's Bolshevik doctrine on party-building was worked out in the course of the struggle against Right opportunism regarding organization in the parties of the Second International, as well as during the struggle against the theory of the Economists and Syndicalists that working class political parties were unnecessary. Therefore, Lenin's doctrine on party-building was full of polemics against the various Right opportunist views on organization, against liberalism and conciliationism, against reducing the proletarian party to an ordinary workers' organization, against unprincipled peace within the Party, against factional organizations and activities inside the Party, and so forth. Lenin, in the fight against Right opportunism on the question of organization, definitely laid down that the Party is the most advanced, best organized and best disciplined detachment composed of the most conscious, courageous and progressive elements of the proletariat and is the highest form of class organization of the proletariat. The proletariat has, in addition to the Party, other organizations such as trade unions, co-operative societies, cultural and educational bodies, or even the government, army, etc. Yet of all these proletarian organizations, the Party is the highest form, capable of politically directing all other organizations.

Thus, Lenin drew a definite line of demarcation between the Party and other organizations of the working class. Moreover, he laid down that the principle of Party organization should be democratic centralism, and that the Party should have a unified, iron discipline. These principles of party organization were framed by Lenin in the course of struggle against Right opportunism of the parties of the Second International on the question

of organization. They constitute the main content of Lenin's party-building doctrine.

It was principally in the fight against Right, rather than "Left" opportunism with regard to party organization, that Lenin built up the Party. That was decidedly the situation before the October Revolution. At that time "Left" opportunism regarding party organization had either not yet come into being, or had not been fully developed into systematic opportunism. That explains why Lenin's party-building doctrine was filled with polemics against Right opportunism, that is, against abandoning strict organization and discipline, against unprincipled peace within the Party, against denial of inner-Party struggle and fear of self-criticism, against liberalism and conciliationism inside the Party, against the theory of independence of trade unions, etc. These polemics resulted from the actual conditions existing at the time when Lenin built the Party.

But if we take note of the actual conditions under which the Communist Party of China was built up, we will see that these conditions were entirely different from those which confronted Lenin before the October Revolution.

First, the Chinese Party was built up after the October Revolution when the Russian Bolsheviks had already won victory and set a living example for us. That was why from the very beginning our Party was built in accordance with Lenin's principles and under the guidance of the Communist International.

Second, the Chinese Party, from its founding up to the present time, has never been influenced by the Second International of the European Social-Democratic parties, either ideologically or organizationally.

Third, China, unlike Europe, has never witnessed a period of "peaceful" development of capitalism in which the working class was allowed to participate in peaceful parliamentary struggles. Nor did China have a labour aristocracy as was the case in Europe.

Fourth, petty-bourgeois elements and peasants made up a considerable proportion of the Chinese Party's membership, which also included some idlers.¹ Herein lies the social basis of "Left" and Right opportunism inside the Chinese Party.

Because of these four conditions we have subjectively followed Lenin's principles and path from the very beginning in building the Chinese Party. The majority of our Party members can recite from memory the organizational principles of the Bolshevik Party. Furthermore, the traditions and conventions of Social-Democracy have never existed in our Party. Thus, we have been able to walk along many straight paths. From the very inception of our Party we have conducted self-criticism and ideological struggle, laid down the system of democratic centralism and maintained strict organization and discipline. We did not tolerate the existence of factions and we were violently opposed to liberalism, economism, and the independence of trade unions, etc. Therefore, systematic Right opportunist theories on organization have never been openly advocated in our Party. Ideas that it is not necessary to have self-criticism, inner-Party struggle, strict organization and discipline,

¹ Workers, peasants and other people, who have lost their jobs or their land as the result of the oppression and exploitation by the reactionary government or the landlord and comprador-capitalist classes, and who have resorted to improper methods as their main means of livelihood are referred to as idlers.

a working-class political party, or that trade unions should be completely independent, have had no chance to develop openly in our Party.

The ideological struggle in our Party is still inadequate. However, this is not due to the existence within the Party of any systematic theory against inner-Party struggle. Rather, this is due to our inability to discover divergences in matters of principle because of our low theoretical level or due to the fact that individual responsible comrades employed special methods to suppress self-criticism.

But the special conditions and circumstances prevailing at the time when our Chinese Party was founded gave rise to two kinds of influences. One was favourable, enabling us from the very start to build a Communist Party of the Leninist type. Subjectively, we strictly adhered to the principles laid down by Lenin. From the very outset, our Party has carried out strict self-criticism and inner-Party struggle. This accounted for the rapid progress of our Party and served as a motive force to spur our Party forward.

But the other influence frequently led our comrades to another extreme, to another kind of mistake—the mistake of carrying inner-Party struggles too far, of struggling too intensely without any restraints whatsoever. This resulted in another deviation, a "Left" deviation. . . .

Many comrades had a mechanical and erroneous understanding of Lenin's principles and turned them into absolute dogmas. They believed that the Party's highly centralized organization negates inner-Party democracy, that the need for inner-Party struggle negates peace within the Party; that the political leadership of the Party

— the highest form of class organization of the proletariat — in other mass organizations of the proletariat negates the independence of trade unions and other organizations of the workers and toiling masses; and that unified, iron discipline means the obliteration of the individual personality, initiative and creativeness of Party members. . . .

Many comrades memorized the principles of Lenin as if they were dead things. While they considered inner-Party struggle to be necessary and regarded liberalism and conciliationism as useless, still they applied these principles mechanically and dogmatically. They thought that inner-Party struggles should and must be uncompromisingly carried on regardless of the time, circumstances and issues involved, and that the more bitterly such struggles were conducted, the better. These comrades thought that the more vehement and sharp the form of inner-Party struggle and criticism, the better. They felt that the sharper the controversies between Party comrades, the better. If this was not the case, then they thought that errors of liberalism and conciliationism were being committed.

In order to prove that they themselves were free from liberal or conciliatory tendencies, that they were "100 per cent Bolsheviks," they carried on unprincipled struggles within the Party, irrespective of the actual conditions of time and place. Thus, these people became "rowdies" without any standpoint in inner-Party struggles, "struggle specialists" with no regard for principle, or "brawl experts" given to fighting. They conducted struggle for the sake of struggle. This is disgraceful within the ranks of the proletariat. And of course it does not prove that they were "100 per cent Bolsheviks." On the contrary, it only serves to prove that they had in-

sulted Bolshevism and utilized the name and appearance of Bolsheviks to practise opportunism inside the Party.

Many comrades did not understand that our inner-Party struggle is a struggle over principle, a struggle for this or that principle, for defining the goal of this or that struggle, for choosing this or that method of struggle that may lead to the goal.

These comrades did not understand that on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character we can and must come to agreement with those within the Party who differ with us. They did not know or understand that on issues involving principle, on questions of defining the goal of our struggles and of choosing the methods of struggle needed to reach such goal they should wage an uncompromising struggle against those in the Party who hold divergent opinions; but on questions of current policy, on questions of a purely practical character, they should come to agreement with those within the Party who hold divergent opinions instead of carrying on an irreconcilable struggle against them, so long as such questions do not involve any difference over principle.

This is precisely the traditional style of work in the Party of Lenin and Stalin, which, however, many of our comrades have not yet acquired. They conducted uncompromising struggles over issues on which they should have come to agreement. As a result, there was not a single issue they would not fight over, there was never a time when they would not fight and there was not a single person against whom they would not fight. They struggled against all who differed with them, enforcing absolute conformity. They made no concessions on anything and would not compromise under any circumstances. They

regarded anything contrary as antagonistic and believed that opposition is everything. This constituted their absolutism.

Many comrades did not understand what is principle, what problems involve principle and what are the Party's strategic and tactical lines. Nor did they know how to conduct a struggle by grasping the point of difference over principles, strategic plans and tactical lines. Their theoretical level was still exceedingly low and their political experience was limited. They were not yet able to grasp issues of great magnitude and fight over such issues. However, they rigidly committed to memory the fact that there must be inner-Party struggle and that it is wrong not to wage struggles. So even though they were unable to grasp the important issues and raise problems from the standpoint of the principles involved, nevertheless they still wanted to fight. Since they could only lay their hands on individual phenomena, on individual problems, and since they carried on meaningless and unprincipled struggles and controversies inside the Party against those who hold different views, they therefore created among the comrades disunity, mutual antagonism and organizational splits. Such evil phenomena did exist in our inner-Party struggle.

The above is one kind of deviation in the Chinese Party's inner-Party struggles, an exceedingly grave deviation in the Chinese Party (although such deviations also exist in the parties of other countries). It constitutes inner-Party struggle carried on with too much intensity and without any restraint, which leads to another extreme — that of "Left" opportunism in inner-Party struggle, and "Left" opportunism on the question of party organization. (It negates democracy within the Party, negates inner-

Party peace based on unity in matters of principle, negates the relative independence of trade unions and other mass organizations, negates the personality, initiative and creativeness of Party members.) This deviation was caused by the special environment and conditions of the Chinese Party.

Here I want to mention the fact that many Chinese comrades have not taken notice of Lenin's principled struggle against "Left" opportunism after the October Revolution. Following the October Revolution, a faction of "Left-Wing" Communists emerged within the Russian Party. This group opposed the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty and later there was the dispute on the trade union question. Before the October Revolution, there was a group of Otzovists inside the Bolshevik Party with "Leftist" appearances, but this group was quickly defeated and the situation did not become so serious as that caused by "Left-Wing" Communism at the time of the Brest-Litovsk Peace Treaty, although Lenin also defeated the latter before long.

But "Left-Wing" Communism again emerged in the countries in Western Europe. It raised the slogan of "no compromise," it opposed participation in parliaments. It opposed all legal struggles and necessary alliances with the Left wing of the Social-Democratic parties. These were the circumstances under which Lenin wrote in April, 1920, his book *"Left-Wing" Communism, an Infantile Disorder* to correct such trends.

After the victory of the October Revolution those who previously did not believe that the proletariat could seize power were now faced with the living fact. This fact dealt a fatal blow to Right opportunism.

It was under these conditions that "Left" opportunism was born, which contended that the revolution need not go along any circuitous paths but could gain victory overnight.

Such sentiments also existed in the Chinese Party and at certain periods have even been the dominant sentiments. People committing such mistakes completely disregarded the importance of Lenin's book "*Left-Wing Communism, an Infantile Disorder*. Politically, they were against making any zigzags and against waiting. They maintained that a vanguard minority could launch an adventurist offensive regardless of the fact that the broad masses had not yet caught up with them. They accused others who opposed this of "Right opportunism."

Right and "Left" opportunism on organizational questions results from Right and "Left" deviations on political questions. Since the Chinese Party has committed Right and "Left" political errors in certain periods, it has also committed these errors in organizational matters. Especially during the Civil War period, our "Left" adventurist errors were accountable for the excessively heated inner-Party struggles that took place on questions of organization.

Consequently, there exist three kinds of deviations — if they can be classified in this manner — on the question of inner-Party struggle within the Chinese Party. The first is liberalism and conciliationism within the Party; the second is mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle and "Left" opportunism in organizational matters and in inner-Party struggle; the third is unprincipled disputes and struggles within the Party.

These three kinds of deviations do not differ very much as far as their substance is concerned, because un-

principled disputes and struggles, excessive struggles and liberalism within the Party are not Marxist-Leninist. They are all manifestations of opposition to Marxism-Leninism. They are classified into the above three categories only by their outward forms.

Such are the special conditions under which the Chinese Communist Party was founded, and the deviations that have arisen in its inner-Party struggles.

III THE MANIFESTATIONS OF MECHANICAL AND EXCESSIVE INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

Today I am not going to discuss the deviation of liberalism, which is the first of the aforementioned three kinds of deviations in inner-Party struggle. Although I do not think that at present the deviation of liberalism inside the Party is not serious or that to fight liberalism is unimportant, although I do not believe that our comrades are thoroughly clear about the tendency of liberalism and its manifestations in various concrete problems, — rather I believe that many comrades are still not thoroughly clear — yet I am not going to speak on this subject today. I shall talk about it some other time when I have the chance. Here I merely want to point out that the tendency of liberalism inside the Party has somewhat developed recently and in many cases has become a principal tendency in inner-Party struggle and that ideological struggle inside the Party has not been sufficiently developed. For this reason, many erroneous

tendencies and undesirable phenomena have not been effectively corrected in due time and Party discipline has gradually slackened. This is very bad. This is because our Party has recently taken in large numbers of intellectuals and new Party members who have been strongly imbued with the ideology of bourgeois liberalism, and who have not yet been steeled ideologically, politically or organizationally by the iron discipline of the proletariat. Meanwhile, many comrades who in the past committed "Left" mistakes and stood for excessive inner-Party struggle have now turned the other way round and committed the Right mistake of liberalism. In the circumstances of a long period of the united front, the possibility that the bourgeoisie would exercise influence within the Party has also increased. The covert counter-revolutionary elements in the Party have resorted to every means to develop and support liberalism inside the Party. As a result, the tendency of liberalism has developed in the Party. This tendency should be strongly opposed in our struggle to strengthen our work in steeling the Party spirit. For example, some comrades kept silent about other comrades' mistakes for fear of retaliation. They would not point out the mistakes of their intimate friends in order to conceal each other's mistakes. They would not speak to one's face but would do a lot of irresponsible talk behind one's back. They indulged in irresponsible criticism, gave vent to their grumbles and engaged in gossiping, etc., such phenomena are quite prevalent inside the Party. Moreover, there has developed recently an especially serious phenomenon inside the Party. A certain group of persons fear that others would report their shortcomings and mistakes to the Party or to their superiors. They are

terribly afraid lest others should bring up charges against them. On the one hand, they cannot help committing mistakes which they themselves know to be mistakes; they deliberately commit mistakes although they are aware of them. But on the other hand, they want to prevent other Party members from reporting their own mistakes to the Party or to their superiors and from criticizing them at the meetings. They have done some wrong and improper things and committed mistakes but they are unwilling to expose their mistakes in order to have their mistakes and shortcomings corrected. They conceal their sickness and are reluctant to have their sickness cured. They do not appreciate the truth that only by exposing their mistakes can such mistakes be corrected. They want to cover up their mistakes and hide them as if these mistakes were something more precious than any treasure on earth. For this reason, they not only try to forbid others to look squarely at their mistakes but also try to hold others' tongues and forbid others to report their mistakes to the Party or to their superiors, thus depriving others of the right to criticize and speak within the Party through absolutely proper organizational channels. They intimidate other comrades by saying, "If you dare to report to the superiors I will make you sorry. I will beat you up—you sycophant." They hate vehemently those comrades who have reported to the superiors and spoken about their mistakes. They take it to heart and think of retaliation. These phenomena are the evil indications of having lost completely the spirit of a Party member. They try to sever the connection between the leading bodies of the Party and the rank and file of the Party membership in

order that they may do mischief and evil inside the Party. Such phenomena should be strictly prohibited.

When any Party member has seen other Party members commit mistakes or other things unfavourable to the Party, he must submit reports thereon to the Party and to their superiors. It is incorrect not to make such reports and it is entirely correct to make reports. To prevent others from reporting to the Party and to the superiors about one's mistakes is absolutely unlawful and will never be tolerated in the Party. Of course, the leading body of the Party upon receiving such reports should thoroughly look into the facts and carefully handle the case and should refrain from making any hasty judgement only on the basis of one-sided versions of the story.

We have already decided that at present ideological struggle inside the Party should be properly set going. Therefore, we must oppose liberalism. In certain Party organizations where particularly serious mistakes of liberalism have been committed, we should conduct, on the basis of facts, a concrete struggle against liberalism in order to overcome such mistakes. Several years ago, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote an article against liberalism in which he enumerated eleven manifestations of liberalism inside the Party. His article still holds true to this day and you should carefully study it and try to correct and fight liberalism in accordance with this article. At the same time, liberalism will also be fully discussed in the course in Party building. This is why I don't want to deal with this subject today. What I am going to talk about is the second and third deviations because so far nobody has ever systematically discussed within the Party these two deviations.

What are the manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle? They are as follows:

First, in local Party organizations and in Party organizations in the army, the so-called "struggle meetings" are regularly held. Even in non-Party organizations such as government organs and mass organizations, "struggle meetings" are also regularly held. Such "struggle meetings" are arranged in advance. They are not held for the main purpose of reviewing work. They are held for the purpose of attacking a certain person. Instead of conducting first of all a struggle over the "points at issue," the struggle is directed "against the person." In other words, this struggle is not conducted mainly against certain incorrect ideologies and principles, but against a certain person. The purpose of the so-called "struggle against a certain Li or a certain Zhang" is to deal a blow to a certain comrade who has committed mistakes. The "struggle meeting" is, in essence, a trial meeting against a certain comrade. It is not aimed chiefly at solving problems ideologically but at solving certain problems organizationally. Its purpose is to drive into submission some trouble-makers or some comrades who dare to stick to their dissident opinions — such opinions are not necessarily wrong. Moreover, at every "struggle meeting," organizational conclusions are invariably drawn about the majority of the persons against whom the struggle has been waged. Quite obviously, such a form of struggle is not correct.

Why is it not correct?

First of all, the very term "struggle meeting" is incorrect. It makes no sense at all. Since there are so-called "struggle meetings," are there also any so-called "non-struggle meetings"? It will cause ideological con-

fusion if we consider that there are certain meetings which are specifically devoted to conducting struggle and there are other meetings at which there is no struggle at all. Here it proves that many comrades do not understand the absolute character and the universal character of the struggle. They mechanically divorce struggle from education.

The aim of inner-Party struggle is to educate the Party and the comrades who have committed mistakes. Therefore, inner-Party struggle is in itself a kind of indispensable education within the Party. Education within the Party is also a kind of inner-Party struggle, a relatively mild struggle. Therefore, education and struggle cannot be viewed separately. Struggle is a kind of education and education is a kind of struggle. Any mechanical separation of the two is incorrect.

Furthermore, such "struggle meetings" are a concrete manifestation within the Party of sectarianism and of the erroneous policy of attacking cadres and comrades. They are aimed at attacking the comrades against whom the struggle is waged rather than helping, educating and rescuing the comrades who have committed mistakes. They are chiefly for the purpose of struggle against the person while divergence and antagonism in ideology are overlooked. Hence, such "struggle meetings" often fail to really strengthen the unity within the Party ideologically, politically, organizationally and in action. On the contrary, they often deepen the differences over ideology, politics, organization and action inside the Party. They intensify the disunity and unprincipled disputes inside the Party. They help the growth of sectarianism inside the Party. It is all the more incorrect to hold such "struggle meetings" in non-Party organizations.

Second, the mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle also manifests itself in the following ways. Some comrades hold the view that the more bitter the inner-Party struggle, the better. To them, the more seriously the problem is brought up, the better; the more fault-finding, the better; the more high-sounding terms used, the better; the more name-calling, the better; the sharper the criticism, the better; the more severe and the more rude the manner and the attitude, the better; the louder the voice, the better; the longer the face, the better; the oftener the teeth are bared, the better. In acting in this way they regard themselves as "revolutionary as revolutionary could be." In inner-Party struggle and self-criticism, they pay no attention to appropriateness or moderation and do not stop at appropriate limits. They conduct the struggle without any restraint. Quite obviously, that is entirely incorrect.

Third, some comrades still do not understand that inner-Party struggle is essentially an ideological struggle. Nor do they understand that only by achieving ideological unity can unity inside the Party be maintained and strengthened politically, organizationally and in action and that problems must be solved from the angle of ideology and principle before they can be solved from the angle of organization and action. It is, however, no easy matter to achieve unity, to solve problems ideologically and on the basis of principles, to reform others' ideology and to correct others' long-held principles, viewpoints, and prejudices. This cannot be done simply in a few words or through a simple "struggle meeting." Nor can it be achieved simply by high-handed means or compulsory measures. This can only be achieved through painstaking persuasion and education, through various

kinds of complicated struggles and through a considerable period of education, struggle and practice in revolution. Some comrades do not appreciate the essence of inner-Party struggle in this light. But, instead, they simplify, mechanize and vulgarize inner-Party struggle. They consider inner-Party struggle as a kind of contradiction in organization or in form, or they consider it as fighting, cursing, quarrelling or wrestling. They do not look for real unity and do not solve problems on the basis of principle and ideology. They think that differences over ideology and principle within the Party can be settled by such simple, mechanical and vulgar methods. Quite obviously, that is entirely incorrect.

These comrades do not preserve or achieve unity within the Party by overcoming differences over principle and ideology within the Party and by correcting certain incorrect tendencies and phenomena. On the contrary, they attempt to preserve or achieve unity within the Party by simple organizational means or by high-handed measures, by a policy of attack, by a system of punishment in dealing with Party members. As a result, they bring about various erroneous and excessive inner-Party struggles. Therefore, instead of carefully and considerately persuading comrades on the basis of principle and ideology, they suppress and bully comrades by resorting to simple organizational means, hostile methods and even administrative measures. They draw at random organizational conclusions about comrades and mete out organizational punishments to comrades. Moreover, they ruthlessly punish comrades inside the Party from the bourgeois viewpoint of equality before the law — that is, they mete out the heaviest punishment as provided in the Party Constitution without taking into consideration

what kind of Party members the offenders are and whether or not the offenders have admitted or corrected their mistakes. In this way the system of punishment inside the Party is introduced. They often employ the means of conducting struggles in order to start and push forward work. They purposely look for “targets of struggle” (comrades inside the Party) and conduct the struggle against them as representatives of opportunism. They sacrifice and attack this one comrade or these few comrades, “killing the rooster to frighten the dog” as the Chinese saying goes, in order to make other Party cadres work hard and fulfil the task. They deliberately collect information about the shortcomings and mistakes of the target of struggle and jot down mechanically and piecemeal his not too appropriate words and deeds. Then they view in isolation such shortcomings and mistakes and his not too appropriate words and deeds and regard all these as representing the whole make-up of the comrade. They magnify the individual shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and develop these into a system of opportunism, create an extremely unfavourable impression about this comrade among comrades in the Party and incite their hatred for opportunism in struggling against this comrade. Then, “everybody can inflict blows on a dead tiger.” The psychology of revenge on the part of some persons begins to gain ground and they expose all the shortcomings and mistakes of this comrade and arbitrarily raise these shortcomings and mistakes to the level of principle. They even fabricate some story and on the basis of subjective suspicion and completely groundless rumours, accuse the comrade of various crimes. They will not stop until they drive him into mental confusion. With this done, they are still reluctant to allow

the comrade who has been attacked to make any defence. If he makes any defence they would accuse him of deliberately defending his mistakes or of admitting mistakes with reservations. Then they would deal him further blows. They do not allow the comrade being attacked to reserve his opinions on condition of submission to the Party organization and do not allow him to appeal to the superiors but insist upon his admitting his mistakes on the spot. In case the comrade being attacked has admitted all his mistakes, then they do not bother whether the problem pertaining to principle or ideology has been solved or not. So it occurred inside the Party that in the course of the struggle certain comrades admitted more mistakes than they had committed. In order to avoid attacks, they thought that they had better accept all the accusations. Although they admitted all the mistakes, as a matter of fact they still did not know what it was all about. Here it proves that such methods of struggle cannot cultivate the firmness of a Communist in sticking to the truth.

Fourth, the methods of struggle inside the Party are mixed up with the methods of struggle outside the Party. Some comrades mechanically apply the methods of inner-Party struggle to non-Party mass organizations and employ the methods of inner-Party struggle in conducting struggles against non-Party cadres and the masses. On the other hand, some comrades employ the methods of struggle outside the Party and the methods of struggle against the enemy and against alien elements in conducting struggle against comrades inside the Party. They adopt measures used in handling the enemy and alien elements to deal with comrades inside the Party. They employ all kinds of provocation, estrangement and

conspiracy. They apply all kinds of administrative measures such as surveillance, arrest, trial, imprisonment, etc. in inner-Party struggle. For example, the "Left" mistake committed by some comrades in the hunting down of traitors is largely due to the fact that they have not drawn a strict line between the struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside the Party and that they have mixed up the ideological struggle inside the Party with the campaign to hunt down traitors. Often there are enemy spies hiding inside the Party. But we must rely upon facts in conducting struggle against these hidden spies, expose them and expel them from the Party. But that is entirely different from the struggle waged for the purpose of educating Party members who have committed mistakes. A clear line of demarcation ought to be drawn between these two. The struggle inside the Party and the struggle outside the Party are closely related but their respective methods and forms of struggle must differ.

There are still some comrades (in fact, they can no longer be called comrades) who openly rely upon and make use of the forces outside the Party to conduct inner-Party struggle and to blackmail and intimidate the Party. For instance, relying upon their partial achievements, their troops and rifles, their prestige among the masses and their relations with a certain section of the United Front, some people conduct a struggle against the Party and the higher organizations. They compel the higher organization and the Party to accept their demands and opinions. They adopt an independent attitude towards the Party and declare their independence of the Party. Or they take advantage of the newspapers,

magazines and various conferences outside the Party and even those of the bourgeoisie and the enemy to conduct a struggle against the higher Party organizations and certain comrades and cadres. Quite obviously, this is a mistake which is as serious as that of another group of persons who, relying upon the influence of the Party, coerce, command and oppress the masses and blackmail and impose exactions upon persons outside the Party. These persons conduct struggles against the Party from a non-Party standpoint. Therefore, although they are Communists in name, they have completely departed from the standpoint of the Party and have become enemies of the Party.

Fifth, many problems in our Party are settled at meetings or through meetings. This is good. But in various organizations many meetings are held without preparation or previous investigation and study. Thus many divergent opinions are expressed and disputes often take place in the course of the meetings. Inasmuch as the conclusions of all meetings are invariably made by the leading participants and the conclusions made at such meetings are equivalent to decisions, many defects often occur. I have noticed that controversies at some meetings eventually awaited decision by the instructor or the secretary of a Party branch or some other responsible comrade. But the responsible comrade himself was not sure at all and he was entirely unclear about the question. But since the problem was so pressing, he has to make a conclusion anyway; otherwise he could not be a responsible comrade any longer. This responsible comrade had to make a conclusion and in some cases he was greatly embarrassed and sweated all over. He rashly made the conclusion and his conclusion amounted to a decision.

Things were decided in accordance with this conclusion and of course many mistakes were bound to happen. Some comrades, when they do not feel sure enough to make a decision about a problem, are not willing to say that they are not sure and that they need time to consider and study the problem or to refer the problem to the higher authorities. However, they pretend that they themselves are already sure in order to save face and maintain their positions. They casually make a decision which often turns out to be incorrect. Such things should also be corrected.

In dealing with all problems, all of our comrades should assume the attitude: "If you know a thing, just say you know it; if you do not know, say so," and should not "claim to know what one really does not know." The problems inside the Party cannot be settled in an arbitrary manner. All meetings should reach conclusions. But matters which cannot be decided or problems which are still doubtful or have not yet been cleared up should not be decided casually. Matters decided must be matters of which one feels quite sure. Matters of which one is not sure may be reserved for further consideration or may be referred to the higher authorities. The conclusion at a meeting may not necessarily be made by the most responsible comrade who attends the meeting. Whoever makes the report may make the conclusion after discussion. But the conclusion made by this comrade may not necessarily be equivalent to a decision. The decision made at the meeting may be different from the conclusion made by this comrade. This is also the case with the style of work in the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (B.).

The above are some important manifestations of mechanical and excessive inner-Party struggle.

What I have mentioned above are of course some examples of the worst type. That does not mean that our present and past inner-Party struggle is universally so. But such forms of inner-Party struggle are actually in existence and in a certain period they occupied a dominant position and became the main form of inner-Party struggle.

What results have these incorrect and inappropriate forms of inner-Party struggle produced inside the Party? They have produced the following bad results:

First, they have given encouragement to the patriarchy inside the Party. Under such forms of inner-Party struggle, individual leaders and leading bodies oppress many Party members to such an extent that the latter dare not speak up or criticize thus leading to the arbitrary manner of an individual or a few persons inside the Party.

Second, on the other hand, they have given encouragement to the tendency of ultra-democracy and the development of liberalism inside the Party. Many Party members in ordinary times dare not speak up or criticize and superficially peace and unity prevail inside the Party. But when the contradictions can no longer be concealed and when the situation has become serious and mistakes are exposed, then they begin to engage in wild criticism and struggle, resulting in antagonism, splits and organizational chaos inside the Party which are almost beyond remedy. This is the opposite side of patriarchy inside the Party.

Third, they have prevented the correct establishment of Party life based on democratic centralism with the

result that democratic life inside the Party is irregular, abnormal or extremely lacking.

Fourth, they have impeded the development of Party members' enthusiasm, initiative and creative power and weakened their sense of responsibility towards the Party and their work, with the result that some comrades dare not assume responsibility with enthusiasm, or work or create with a free hand. They have led comrades not to bother to consider and study problems and situations carefully but have encouraged their working style of attending to their work perfunctorily and merely echoing others' words.

Fifth, they have helped the development of sectarianism and unprincipled factional struggle inside the Party. They have given rise to the psychology of fearing criticism and struggle inside the Party and cultivated the conservative psychology of "minding one's own business" among some comrades, the psychology of "the less trouble the better."

Sixth, they have afforded more opportunities for the Trotskyite spies and counter-revolutionary elements to undermine our Party and have furnished more pretexts for counter-revolution to attack our Party. The Trotskyite spies particularly take advantage of contradictions inside the Party and any not too correct inner-Party struggles to carry on their activity of undermining the Party and to win over those elements who have been attacked and who are dissatisfied with the Party. The counter-revolution takes advantage of the struggle against opportunism to conduct propaganda and provocation, and to influence sympathizers outside the Party and unreliable elements inside the Party in order to carry out a policy of estrange-

ment and to undermine the solidarity and unity inside the Party.

The above-mentioned bad results have occurred inside the Party and some of them still remain to be eliminated.

Such mechanical and excessive forms of inner-Party struggle have created abnormal conditions in Party life for a considerable length of time and have caused great losses to the Party. Although they have been corrected in the higher leading bodies of our Party and have ceased to be dominant forms of struggle at present in the Party as a whole, yet in certain organizations at the middle and lower levels and in certain individual organizations, these forms of struggle have not yet been corrected and have continued to exist quite prevalently in varying degrees. As a result life in these organizations is still abnormal. Therefore, we must call serious attention to this deviation so that we may thoroughly eliminate it from our organization and so that our comrades may not repeat these mistakes and may correctly and steadily conduct the ideological struggle inside the Party and push the Party forward.

IV UNPRINCIPLED STRUGGLE WITHIN THE PARTY

Comrades!

Now I am going to discuss another deviation in inner-Party struggles — the unprincipled struggle within the Party. Such a phenomenon particularly and seriously prevails in the Chinese Party. Although there exists a so-called “idle-gossip tendency” in the Parties of foreign

countries, I do not think the situation is so serious as it is in the Chinese Party. So we must make our comrades fully aware of such a phenomenon and take the necessary steps to cope with it; otherwise the hindrance to the Party's unity and work will be too great.

What are unprincipled disputes and unprincipled struggles within the Party?

I hold the view that the following disputes and struggles are unprincipled, that is, they constitute a departure from the common position and principles representing the revolutionary interests of our Party and of the proletariat.

First, some comrades do not raise questions or conduct a struggle against other comrades from the position of the Party or on the basis of the interests of the whole Party, but raise questions and conduct struggles against other comrades within the Party from the standpoint of their personal interests or clique interests. That is to say, their position in conducting inner-Party struggles is not correct. Therefore, their viewpoints, policies and methods in relation to questions are not correct either. They favour or advocate any measures so long as such measures are beneficial to themselves or to a few people. They oppose or reject any measures that are not beneficial to themselves or to the few. Whether or not such measures are beneficial to the Party or to the revolution they do not care, or else they push such measures aside as a matter of secondary importance. So what these people oppose or advocate is entirely unprincipled, a departure from the principles of the Party and the revolution. In other words, their principle is not the principle of the Party and the revolution, but the prin-

ciple of their personal interests. Should every one take his own interests as his principle, then his principle and interests would certainly conflict with those of others and they would be bound to struggle against one another.

For instance, some of you quarrelled or struggled with each other about orderlies, horses, food, clothing, medical treatment, promotion, etc. Such questions fall into the category of personal and unprincipled questions. Comrades do not suggest general principles as to how orderlies, horses, food, clothing and medical treatment should be distributed so that the Party may benefit and do not ask the Party or the school to adopt these principles, but raise questions such as: Why don't they give me an orderly or a horse? Why don't they give me medical treatment? Why don't they promote me? Why don't they give me good food and clothing? Everything is centred on "me" and everything proceeds from the position of "me" and in such a manner disputes are created and struggles are carried on within the Party. Therefore, as long as they personally are satisfied, even if things are otherwise unreasonably arranged, they care not a whit. This is one kind of unprincipled struggle.

Let us take another example, some comrades are opposed to extravagance. Some comrades oppose extravagance from the standpoint of the interests of the Party or from the position of the Party. They point out instances of extravagance which violate the principle of austerity and criticize and oppose them. They also submit proposals regarding economy and ask the Party to adopt them. This is correct.

But there are other comrades who do not oppose extravagance from the standpoint of the interests of the

Party or from the position of the Party. They raise such questions as: Some have squandered so much money, some have had such good food, some have had such good clothing, some have... Well, why shouldn't I eat like that, spend money like that, and have clothing like that? Is it because I am not old enough a veteran or is it because I have rendered no service to the Party? So he stands up and fights under the slogan of anti-extravagance. The reason is simply that he has not yet had a chance to squander like others. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle.

Take another example. In East Anhui, government personnel were given a small salary.¹ So some comrades asked to be sent to work in the government organizations, with the aim that they might get a salary. When they were not allowed to go they launched a struggle under the slogan of opposing government personnel having salaries. Furthermore they did not make any suggestions in principle as to how the living allowances of government personnel should be fixed and then discuss them. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle.

Second, some comrades stir up disputes and conduct struggles within the Party not for the purpose of making Party affairs better, but for the purpose of making them worse, or for ulterior purposes. Such purposes are incorrect. It is also a kind of unprincipled struggle. For instance, in order to cut a figure, to maintain personal position, to save face, or even to revenge themselves against others, some comrades, disregarding the situation

¹ At the time of the Anti-Japanese War government personnel in the Liberated Areas were provided with all daily necessities. Except for some pocket money, they had no salaries.— *Editor*.

and conditions at the time, arouse disputes and conduct struggles against other comrades within the Party, disrupting their work and plans, and undermining order and unity in the Party. This also belongs to this category of unprincipled struggle.

Third, some comrades do not raise questions on the basis of principle, asking the Party to adopt or to give up something, but bring up questions and conduct struggles on the basis of personal sentiment, pleasure or displeasure. They curse and get mad at people because they want to have a momentary fit of gratification and give vent to their ill feelings and grudges. This is also a kind of unprincipled struggle. There are some other comrades who, due to their limited experience and their low theoretical level are unable to raise questions and argue on the basis of principle. They engage in absolutely irreconcilable disputes with other comrades over issues which are of an isolated, piecemeal and purely practical nature, issues of current policy having nothing to do with principle, instead of over issues involving general principle. Therefore, this is also a kind of unprincipled struggle which should not be insisted upon.

For example, some comrades hold differing views with regard to certain battles, certain actions, certain forms of struggle or certain methods of organization. They stick to their own views and argue endlessly without touching the general principle of tactics and strategic planning, the general policy of action and the form of struggle and of organization in general, etc. Their questions are incorrectly brought up, so usually no correct conclusion can be drawn, or any of the differing views could be correct, and fruitless, idle talk is often the result.

Fourth, inner-Party struggle is conducted by fair means or foul without going through the prescribed organizational procedure. Instances are: To win over or attack comrades in an unprincipled way inside the Party; to stir up trouble and cause dissension among the comrades; to plan conspiracies against and set traps for other comrades; to say nothing in one's presence, but indulge in backbiting; to make irresponsible criticisms against the Party; to gossip; to devote oneself to rumour-mongering; to tell lies and to spread libels against other comrades, etc.

The struggles mentioned above are unprincipled struggles. Besides, there are some comrades who mix into principled struggle certain elements of unprincipled struggle or carry on unprincipled struggles under the banner of principled struggles. There are others who are particularly interested in the dispute between a certain person and another, and in the abnormal relationship between one and another, but who are not interested in the sum and substance of their quarrel.

All such unprincipled struggles within the Party are not good and they are detrimental to the Party.

Comrades may ask: What is principle? What are the questions of a purely practical character which have nothing to do with principle? What are the questions of current policy? Why on these questions should I not stick to my views and why should I compromise in every way with other people who differ with me?

Comrades! These are questions that really should be straightened out.

What is principle?

Viewed purely from the angle of theory, what is meant by principle is the general laws governing the

development of things. Particular things are governed by particular laws of development. Similar things are governed on the whole by similar laws of development. What we mean by the question of principle is a question of method which we use in viewing and handling problems in accordance with the general laws governing the development of things. If our general laws governing the observation and handling of problems are wrong, if our position, standpoint and method are wrong, errors will certainly occur in our observation of and dealing with questions. If we understand wrongly the laws governing the development of certain problems then the method with which we handle such problems will certainly be wrong. Therefore, we should not treat a question of principle lightly. If errors occur in principle, then not only individual errors, but also errors of a systematic and persistent nature, affecting a series of practical problems, will occur.

What are the problems of current policy which have nothing to do with principle, and what are the problems of a purely practical character?

Most of these problems are individual problems, problems of daily routine and daily life. For instance, to mobilize and organize the masses is a problem of principle, and on this we all agree. The task of mobilizing and organizing the masses must be concentrated and led by mass organizations and the Army should also help and take part in such a task. All these are questions of principle on which we all agree. That is to say we hold no different opinions with regard to principle. But some of our comrades are of the opinion that the civil transportation corps and the civil transportation department

of the Army should be suspended temporarily and the personnel should be dispatched to work in mass organizations. Some other comrades hold that the civil transportation corps should not be suspended. Some comrades suggest that a mass organization should be divided into four departments, while others suggest it be divided into five departments. All these problems are problems of a purely practical character. None of them are problems of principle.

As another example, at present the general principle of strategy of our war of resistance behind the enemy lines is a strategy of dispersed guerrilla warfare. In case there are no divergent views among us regarding this point, it means we have no divergent views regarding the principle of strategy. Suppose there is a certain commander who, forced by circumstances, or because of a particularly advantageous circumstance, fights a battle of mobile warfare resulting in either victory or defeat. This is an individual practical problem which has nothing to do with the question of principle. Even if one or two of these battles are mistakes, these mistakes are still individual mistakes, so long as the commander does not hold it as a principle to wage mobile warfare behind the enemy lines. Perhaps owing to a specific situation he may even fight a not too bad battle. Therefore, we should not persist in our own views and endlessly argue over such individual, purely practical questions.

As another example, our Army, equipped as it is today, should not in principle attack the strong positions and the major cities of the enemy. If we have no divergent views on this principle, then it would be an individual practical question having nothing to do with principle, should we, in a special situation, or because of a special

necessity, launch an offensive and take a certain enemy position or city.

However, if you say that since we have taken this stronghold or that city, we may launch attacks right away on all enemy strongholds and cities, there the question of principle arises. During the civil war period, some comrades advocated attacks on big cities and directed the Red Army to attack certain major cities. It was a practical problem which concerned principle, because their attacks on big cities were motivated by their advocacy that in principle the Red Army should attack big cities. On such a practical problem which involved principle, we should not make a compromise regarding principle. We should still advocate in principle that no attacks on big cities should be launched.

There are often several solutions for concrete and practical problems. There are often several actually possible roads to take from one place to another. These ways and roads have their respective merits and demerits so far as the situations confronting us at the time are concerned. Some ways and roads are the most advantageous to us but they are risky, so, to play safe, we had better take the less advantageous ways and roads.

Therefore, if divergent views occur over such concrete and purely practical issues, so long as these views do not involve principle, we should try our best to compromise, to make concessions, to accept and subscribe to others' views. "Be good at compromising," then matters can be smoothly dealt with, and questions promptly settled. We should not always persist in our views, always ask others to give up their views, to acquiesce, and to deal with matters in accordance with our views. If so, we would

only delay the settlement of issues, obstruct the progress of work, sharpen the disputes and strengthen the tendency to idle talk in the Party, and obstruct unity among the comrades. That is why we should make all possible compromises with Party members holding different views concerning questions of a purely practical character.

Now we know what are questions of current policy which have nothing to do with principle and what are questions of a purely practical character. They are questions which have nothing to do with the objective of struggle and the form of struggle with which to attain the objective, which do not involve strategy and tactics, which have no concern with our general position and our position in relation to specific issues. The foregoing examples are questions of this kind.

To sum up, our general guiding principle in dealing with all issues is in the interests of the struggle of the Party and the proletariat. Everything must be subordinated to this general principle. All standpoints, opinions and actions against this general principle must be opposed. The various principles are divided into big principles and small principles. The law is that the part is subordinated to the whole, the immediate interests to the long-range interests, the small principles to the big principles. No conciliation or compromise can be made in regard to differences over principle. We must thrash out the questions in order to reach agreement. However, on all issues which have nothing to do with principle we should not be doggedly uncompromising and we should not struggle and argue too emphatically, otherwise our work would be impeded and unity impaired.

I once heard a comrade say that as long as his political stand in inner-Party struggle was "correct" it would not matter, or it was of secondary importance, if he committed some organizational mistakes. So he held that in inner-Party struggle it was permissible to struggle against his opponents by various means incompatible with organizational discipline. Such an argument and viewpoint were obviously incorrect, because he regarded the correct political line and the correct organizational line as things contradicting each other. He did not know that to disrupt the order and organization within the Party is to commit the gravest error in principle. It is particularly so today. To impair the unity and solidarity within the Party is to best help the enemy, to most severely damage the interests of the Party and the proletariat, and to commit an error which is more serious than any other error committed in principle.

On this point, as well as on many other questions of principle, all our comrades should try their best to compare and to differentiate the various questions of principle in relation to the degree of their influence upon the interests of the Party at the time. In accordance with the law that the small principles should be subordinated to the big principles, the part to the whole, we will decide on what questions of principle we should not persist and should make temporary concessions and on what questions of principle we should persist and make no concessions.

To uphold inner-Party solidarity and unity we should sometimes make a temporary compromise with other people within the Party who hold divergent views regarding certain questions of principle which are relative-

ly not so important or so urgent; we should not bring up such questions of principle for the time being, and argue persistently over them. Instead, we should lay our emphasis upon the urgent questions which are of great consequence at the time. Of course, this is by no means a compromise in principle and a middle line, but is a compromise in actual action and is a submission to majority decision.

The foregoing are questions of unprincipled struggle within the Party.

Where do the inner-Party unprincipled struggle and the mechanical, excessive struggle come from? What are their origins? They originate from the following:

First, the theoretical level of our comrades within the Party is in general very low and their experiences in many respects are not yet sufficient. For a long time the leadership and centre of the whole Party did not actually come into being, while up to now in different localities very few leaderships and centres of the Party have actually come into being.

Second, there are many petty-bourgeois elements in the Party. The impetuosity, the frenzy of the petty-bourgeoisie, the revengefulness of the peasant petty-bourgeoisie constantly influenced inner-Party struggles.

Third, the democratic life within the Party is abnormal. The style of discussing questions mutually and objectively among the comrades has not yet been established. The style of judging and dealing with questions rudely and subjectively still exists to a serious extent.

Fourth, opportunists have smuggled themselves into the Party and certain opportunistic psychology exists in the minds of part of our comrades. To show how well

they have been "Bolshevized," they often try deliberately to be "Left," thinking that "Left" is better than Right. Or they attack others so as to raise their own prestige.

Fifth, Trotskyite traitors and counter-revolutionary elements have smuggled themselves into the Party, and they seek to undermine the Party by taking advantage of inner-Party struggle. These treacherous Trotskyites often, under the cover of the Party banner, deliberately attack certain comrades. After that, one of the treacherous Trotskyites would be sent to contact the comrade being attacked, trying to draw him into their gang as a spy.

Such are the origins of the various deviations in inner-Party struggle.

From the very beginning our Party has had severe self-criticism and inner-Party struggles. This is entirely necessary and very good. In our inner-Party struggle a great deal has been correctly and appropriately carried out. Therefore, our Party has in many cases made achievements in inner-Party struggles and has to some extent raised the theoretical level of our Party. There is no denying that these criticisms and inner-Party struggles are the force which pushes our Party forward on the road of progress. Our Party cannot do without them. However, nor can we deny that in the long historical development of our Party, in our inner-Party struggle of the past, there existed the aforementioned typical deviations and errors, and in many cases inner-Party struggle was not conducted in a correct manner. As a result, we paid dearly for our inner-Party struggles. Therefore, what we should do today is to profit by past errors, to see to it that we have not paid high prices in vain, and

to seek a great progress of the Party by studying the historical lessons of the inner-Party struggles of the past.

To obtain greater achievements in inner-Party struggle and to achieve greater progress of the Party at less cost and pain — that is the policy for the present and future inner-Party struggle, which we should lay down by studying the historical lessons of the inner-Party struggle of the Chinese Party. For this purpose, it is necessary that we thoroughly set right the various deviations and mistakes in past inner-Party struggles, and that we conduct inner-Party struggles effectively and properly.

V

HOW TO CONDUCT INNER-PARTY STRUGGLE

Comrades!

Now the question is very clear. It is how to conduct inner-Party struggle correctly and appropriately.

On this question, the Communist Parties of the U.S.S.R. and many other countries have much experience and so has the Chinese Party. Lenin and Stalin have issued many instructions and so has the Central Committee of our Party. Our comrades must make a careful study of these experiences and instructions, which will also be discussed when we come to the question of Party-building. Today I will not touch upon them. I will bring up for the reference of our comrades only the following points, on the basis of the experience of the inner-Party struggle of the Chinese Party.

First of all, comrades must understand that inner-Party struggle is a matter of the greatest seriousness and responsibility. We must conduct it with the strictest and

most responsible attitude and should never conduct it carelessly. In carrying out inner-Party struggle we must first fully adopt the correct stand of the Party, the unselfish stand of serving the interests of the Party, of doing better work, and of helping other comrades to correct their mistakes and to gain a better understanding of the problems. We ourselves must be clear about the facts and problems by making a systematic investigation and study. At the same time, we must carry on systematic, well-prepared and well-led inner-Party struggles.

Comrades must understand that only by first taking the correct stand oneself can one rectify the incorrect stand of others. Only by behaving properly oneself can one correct the misbehaviour of others. The old saying has it: "One must first correct oneself before one can correct others."

Only when one oneself does not vacillate, can one help the vacillating elements to overcome their vacillations.

Only when one oneself is armed with correct principles and theories, can one overcome the incorrect principles and theories of others.

Only when one oneself has a clear understanding of the question of principle, can one help to clear up confusion of others. Only when one oneself has collected much actual data on specific problems and studied more systematically such problems can one be of much help to other comrades and to the Party.

If a comrade does not do this, if he himself in the first place does not adopt the correct position and has not mastered the correct principles, if he has not viewed the objective situation according to principles, or has not systematically studied the problems, or even if he has

some particular shortcomings and is not clear enough himself about certain points, he will not be able to overcome what is incorrect in others, in the course of the inner-Party struggle. If in spite of all these he persists in carrying on the struggle in a headstrong fashion he will in all probability end up in the wrong way.

Only objective hard facts, only experiences tested in practice and only truth can triumph over all.

Our self-criticism and inner-Party struggle are not intended to weaken the Party's organization, solidarity, discipline and prestige or to obstruct the progress of its work. On the contrary, they are intended to strengthen our Party's organization and solidarity, enhance its discipline and prestige, and accelerate the progress of its work. Thus, inner-Party struggle must not be allowed to follow its own course and lead to ultra-democracy. Inside the Party, neither patriarchy nor ultra-democracy is allowed. These are the two extremes of abnormal life within the Party.

Inner-Party struggle must be conducted with the greatest sense of responsibility to the Party and to the revolution.

Second, comrades must understand that inner-Party struggle is basically a struggle between different ideologies and principles inside the Party. It represents antagonism between different ideologies and principles inside the Party. It is imperatively necessary to draw a clear line with regard to ideology and principle. But with regard to organization, the form of struggle, the manner of speaking and criticizing, comrades must be as little antagonistic as possible, must try their best to discuss or to argue over matters in a calm way, and must try their

best not to adopt organizational measures and not to draw organizational conclusions.

In conducting inner-Party struggle comrades must try their best to assume a sincere, frank and positive educational attitude in order to achieve unity in ideology and principle. Only in cases where we have no alternative, when it is deemed imperative, may we adopt militant forms of struggle and apply organizational measures. All Party organizations, within appropriate limits, have full right to draw organizational conclusions in regard to any Party member who persists in his errors. The application of Party disciplinary measures and the adoption of organizational measures are entirely necessary under certain circumstances. Such measures, however, cannot be used casually or indiscriminately. Party discipline cannot be upheld simply by the excessive punishment of comrades by Party organizations. The upholding of Party discipline and Party unity does not in the main depend on the punishment of comrades (if they have to be upheld in such a manner it signifies a crisis in the Party), but rather on the actual unity of the Party in ideology and principle, and on the consciousness of the vast majority of the Party members. When we are eventually fully clear regarding ideology and principle, it is very easy for us to draw organizational conclusions, if necessary. It does not take us a minute to expel Party members or announce voluntary withdrawal from the Party.

With regard to different ideologies and principles, comrades' persistence, opposition and arguments cannot be separated from their obedience to the Party organization, to the majority and to the higher authority, other-

wise, there would be no Party unity and no unity in action. Comrades should never, because of their insistence on principle, oppose the Party organizationally, disobey the majority and the higher authority and begin to take independent action. Such would constitute a violation of the fundamental discipline of the Party.

What we should adopt as the correct method in conducting inner-Party struggle is this: Militancy in the fight over principles and ideologies and the least possible militancy with regard to organization and forms of struggle. Many comrades committed mistakes because on the one hand there was no fight or clear-cut difference with regard to ideologies and principles, but on the other hand, there was excessive fighting with regard to organization and forms of struggle. They argued so much that their faces became red, they cursed so much that they called each other all kinds of names and they fought so much that they avoided meeting each other. Profound hatred developed among them. But strangely enough, no clear-cut differences over principle or ideology were found among them.

Third, criticisms directed against Party organizations or against comrades and their work must be appropriate and well-regulated. Bolshevik self-criticism is conducted according to the Bolshevik yardstick. Excessive criticism, the exaggeration of others' errors and indiscriminate name-calling are all incorrect. The case is not that the more bitter the inner-Party struggle, the better; but that inner-Party struggle should be conducted within proper limits and that appropriateness should be observed. Both over-shooting the target or falling short of it are undesirable.

In pointing out or criticizing the errors of others, comrades must grasp the key points and stress the most important issues. Comrades must explain problems to others in a systematic way and with clarity so that problems may be solved. Comrades should not pile up piecemeal various errors of others and many seemingly true facts, and simply expose them. This will make people think that you are deliberately finding fault with them, attacking them, and dealing them blows.

When you are appraising and criticizing a certain comrade, you should not only point out his shortcomings and errors as if they were everything about him but should also give credit for his accomplishments, meritorious services, good points and those of his views which are correct. Even if only a part or even only a tiny part of his opinion is correct, you should point it out for him and not leave it unmentioned. Only in so doing, can you make a full appraisal and criticism of him, help him improve himself and convince him.

This is the method which we should adopt in inner-Party struggles: appropriate criticism, appropriate attitude and appropriate method as against "over-shooting or falling short of the target."

Fourth, the holding of struggle meetings, either inside or outside the Party, should in general be stopped. The various defects and errors should be pointed out in the course of summing up and reviewing work. We should first deal with "the case" and then with "the person." We must first make clear the facts, the points at issue, the nature, the seriousness, and the cause of the errors and defects, and only then point out who are

responsible for these defects and errors, and whose is the major responsibility and whose is the minor responsibility.

We should not begin by inquiring as to who is responsible for these mistakes and errors. So long as a comrade commits an error unintentionally and is fully aware of it, and is correcting it, we should receive him with open arms and should no longer be fastidious about it. In conducting inner-Party struggles, it is not our policy to deal blows at our cadres and comrades, or attack others or to deal them blows. For such a policy would be in substance the same as the policy of applying the whip and the repressive policy of the exploiting class in dealing with the working people. Our policy is the mutual assistance and mutual examination between comrades.

For particularly mischievous comrades who frequently violate decisions, discipline and Communist ethics, it is not impermissible, but sometimes even essential, to hold some specific trial meetings when it is found impossible to reason with them in matters of principle. But it would be wrong to make such a practice a general one.

Fifth, every opportunity to appeal must be given to comrades who have been criticized or punished. As a rule, a comrade should be personally notified of all records or organizational conclusions that may be made about him, and these should be made in his presence. If he does not agree, then after discussion, the case may be referred to a higher authority. (In the case of anyone who expresses dissatisfaction after having been punished the Party organization concerned must refer the case to a higher authority even if the comrade himself does not want to make an appeal.) No Party organization can prevent any comrade who has been punished from appealing to a

higher authority. No Party member can be deprived of his right to appeal. No Party organization can withhold any appeal.

On questions of ideology or principle the Party member concerned may appeal directly to a higher Party committee or even to the Central Committee by going over the head of the Party organization to which he belongs. In making such an appeal the comrade, however, should first fully explain his views, his reasons and his differences and make all these clear to his Party organization, before making his appeal to a higher authority. He should not keep his mouth shut in his Party organization while indulging in irresponsible talk with a higher Party organization in an attempt to deceive and fool the higher Party organization. Once an appeal has been made, the final decision rests with the higher Party organization, which may cancel, reduce or increase the disciplinary measures taken against a comrade by a Party committee of a lower level.

On questions of ideology or principle, if agreement cannot be finally reached within the Party organization after discussion, the matter may be settled by a majority decision. After that, the minority who still hold different opinions may have the right to reserve their opinions on condition that they absolutely abide by the decision of the majority in respect to organizational matters and in their activities.

When a Party committee of a higher level of a leading organ is asked by a certain number of comrades, or Party committees of a lower level, to hold a suitable meeting for the purpose of examining the work, the Party

committee of a higher level should, whenever possible, call such a meeting to review its work.

Sixth, a clear line should be drawn and a proper link should be established between struggles waged inside the Party and those waged outside the Party. A struggle waged outside the Party must not adopt the same forms as are used in inner-Party struggle, nor vice versa. Particular care should be exercised to avoid taking advantage of outside forces and conditions in waging struggles against the Party or of intimidating the Party. All Party members must take great care to maintain sharp vigilance lest the hidden Trotskyites and counter-revolutionary elements should take advantage of the conflicts and struggles inside the Party to carry on their subversive activities. In conducting inner-Party struggles Party members must not allow themselves to be utilized by these elements. This can be done by strictly observing Party discipline and by carrying on the inner-Party struggle correctly.

Inside the Party, only open struggles and ideological struggles are allowed. No form of struggle which violates the Party Constitution or Party discipline will be allowed.

Seventh, in order to prevent unprincipled disputes within the Party, it is necessary to lay down the following measures:

(1) Party members who disagree with the Party's leading body or any Party organization should submit their views and criticisms to the appropriate Party organization and should not talk about it casually among the masses.

(2) Party members who disagree with other Party members or certain responsible Party members, may

criticize them in their presence or in certain specific Party organizations and should not talk about it casually.

(3) Party members or Party committees of a lower level who disagree with a Party committee of a higher level, may bring the issue to the Party committee of a higher level, or ask it to call a meeting to study the matter, or should refer the matter to a Party committee of a still higher level, but they should not talk about it casually or inform Party committees of a still lower level about the matter.

(4) When Party members discover any other Party member doing something wrong and acting in a manner detrimental to the interests of the Party they must report such activities to the appropriate Party organization and should not attempt to cover up the matter or attempt to mutually shield each other.

(5) Party members should promote an upright style of work and oppose anything of a deceitful nature, oppose any kind of deceitful talk and actions and should severely condemn all those who indulge in idle talk, gossiping, prying into other's secrets and the spreading of rumours. The leading bodies of the Party must from time to time issue instructions forbidding Party members to talk about certain specific matters.

(6) The leading bodies at all levels must from time to time summon those comrades who indulge in idle talk and unprincipled disputes and talk with them, correct them and warn them, or subject them to discipline in other ways.

(7) Party committees at all levels must respect the opinions set forth by Party members. They should frequently convene meetings to discuss questions and re-

view their work, and provide Party members with ample opportunity to express their opinions.

Unprincipled disputes should in general be forbidden and no judgement should be passed on them, because it is impossible to judge who is right and who is wrong in such unprincipled disputes.

When we try to settle unprincipled disputes among the comrades we should never simply start to tackle the dispute itself, but should review and sum up their work and set forth in a positive way and from the standpoint of principle their future perspectives, programme of work, the line to follow, plans, etc. In the course of the summing up of their work, and setting forth their future perspectives, programme of work, the line to follow and plans, we can criticize the incorrect views of certain comrades, and then ask them if they still hold different views. If they do, then it is a dispute in principle. Thus, an unprincipled dispute will be raised to the level of a principled dispute. If they do not have any dispute in principle, then they will be asked to rally together around this summing up of work, these future perspectives and this programme of work, and to struggle together for the fulfilment of the perspectives and programme and to give up all unprincipled disputes. Unprincipled disputes should be settled through the summing up of past work, and the defining of present objectives, and the advancement of the current work. Otherwise, unprincipled disputes cannot be settled.

We should never play the role of a judge in trying to settle an unprincipled dispute, because it is impossible of judgement and settlement. If a judgement were not ap-

appropriate, both sides to the dispute would feel dissatisfied and the dispute would continue.

Issues such as that a certain comrade does not fully trust another or still suspects another, etc. should in general not be brought up for discussion, because discussion on such issues will be of no avail. Such issues can be settled, and a particular comrade can be proved trustworthy and can be cleared of suspicion only in the course of his work, his struggle and his practice.

If comrades introduce into their principled struggles certain unprincipled elements we should only lay emphasis on the discussion of the principled question and should not lay emphasis on the unprincipled elements, otherwise the principled question will be overshadowed.

If a comrade carries on an unprincipled struggle under the cloak of a principled struggle we must point out that he is correct in principle on certain points, and we should not deny such principles because he is making use of them but we should appropriately point out that his position and methods are wrong, and in this way prevent a principled struggle from being turned into an unprincipled struggle.

All in all, inner-Party struggle is fundamentally a form of struggle and controversy over ideology and principles. Inside the Party everything must submit to reason, everything must be reasoned out and everything must have some reason for it, otherwise it will not do. We can do anything without difficulty if we have reasoned it out.

Inside the Party we must cultivate the practice of submitting to reason. The yardstick for determining whether this or that reason is sound is: the interests of

the Party and the interests of the proletarian struggle; the subordination of the interests of the part to those of the whole, and the subordination of the immediate interests to long-range interests. All reasons and viewpoints are sound when they are beneficial to the interests of the Party, to the interests of the proletarian struggle, to the long-range interests of the Party as a whole, and to the long-range interests of the proletarian struggle as a whole, otherwise they are not sound. Any struggle that does not submit to reason or that has no reason for it is an unprincipled struggle. Anything that does not submit to reason or that cannot be reasoned out must be wrong and in such cases, no correct conclusions can be drawn and no ultimate solution can be found. If we still fail to reach agreement after having reasoned it out, then it will be clear who is violating the interests of the Party and the interests of the proletarian struggle. It would then become necessary to draw organizational conclusions in the case of those comrades who persist in their errors, and the point at issue can be solved without difficulty.

In order to enable us to reason things out it is essential to have inner-Party democracy and to straighten out problems by calm and dispassionate discussion. It is most essential for us to study humbly, to raise the theoretical level of the comrades, to have a clear idea of the situation, to make a thorough investigation of the case and to study problems carefully. We can never reason things out if we are careless, subjective, parrot-like, divorced from practice, making no thorough investigation of the case, etc.

If we do not submit to reason, or if we fail to reason things out, then we will have to resort to force, tricks,

the power granted by the Party, and even deceit, for the solution of problems. In that case, inner-Party democracy will no longer be necessary, for inner-Party democracy requires that we all reason things out so that we may take concerted action.

What I mean by "reason" here, of course, is not empty and seemingly true reason, but real facts and the real truth that have been tested by practice. Certain intellectuals are given to idle talk and to indulgence in misleading reasons. They can talk a great deal without basing themselves on facts. They can talk about everything under the sun. Theirs is empty talk, Party jargon and of no use whatsoever but is harmful to the Party and the revolution. Therefore, in promoting the practice of submitting to reason, it is necessary to oppose empty talk and Party jargon, and to advocate objective and materialistic reasons which proceed from reality and are intended for practice. That is to say, "Our theories are materialistic."

Everything must submit to reason! It would not do if it didn't! It would not do either if we reason incorrectly! It would be even more undesirable if we indulge in empty talk! Of course this is a rather difficult job. But only in this way can we become qualified as Bolsheviks.

Bolsheviks submit to reason and they are supporters of truth. They are a kind of men who clearly understand reason and deal with others in real earnest in accordance with reason. They are not unreasonable and irrational struggle-specialists!

Comrades! These are some methods I suggest as to how to conduct inner-Party struggles.

I am of the opinion that our comrades should adopt these methods in conducting inner-Party struggles, in opposing the various kinds of incorrect tendencies inside the Party and in examining the Party spirit of every Party member, and especially that of the cadres, so that our Party may be still further consolidated ideologically and organizationally. This is our aim.

ON THE PARTY

(A Report Delivered in May 1945 to the
Seventh Congress of the Communist Party
of China)

I INTRODUCTION

Comrades:

In his report¹ to the Seventh Party Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong made a penetrating and brilliant analysis of the present international and domestic situation. He made a comprehensive summing-up of the Chinese People's War of Resistance Against Japan during the past eight years and of the line consistently followed by our Party in this war. He formulated a great programme of common struggle for the Chinese people and for all democratic parties and groups throughout the country showing the way to mobilize and unite all the forces of the Chinese people to bring about the final defeat of the Japanese invaders and to build up an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous new China after defeating the Japanese invaders.

Comrade Mao Zedong's report is a militant call to the Chinese people for victory. It is a Magna Charta for building a Republic of New Democracy.

Having travelled a tortuous path beset with immense difficulties in the past twenty-four years of heroic struggle and especially in the last eight years of the War of Resistance, our Party, working together with

¹This report was published under the title *On Coalition Government*.

the Chinese people under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, has finally achieved brilliant successes, and opened up the prospect of a bright future for the Chinese nation and people. Our Party, together with the liberated areas, the Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and other armed forces of the people under its leadership, has become the cornerstone of the nationwide anti-Japanese national salvation movement.

The reason why our Party has been able to achieve these brilliant successes is that from the very beginning of its existence, our Party has been a proletarian party of an entirely new type—a party dedicated wholeheartedly to serving the Chinese people and built upon the most solid theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism in its application to China.

Using Mao Zedong Thought—the theory which unites the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution—as the guide in all its work, our Party has formulated a revolutionary programme and revolutionary policies which fully represent the interests of the Chinese nation and people. It has not only waged an irreconcilable struggle against all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people and all the reactionary political groups that betray the interests of the Chinese nation and people, but it has also routed every kind of opportunism within the Party itself. It is precisely under the guidance of the great Mao Zedong Thought that our Party has gathered together the most loyal, courageous, conscious and well-disciplined representatives of the Chinese working class and labouring people, and has become the organized vanguard of the Chinese working class, fighting most

resolutely and courageously against the enemies of the Chinese nation and people, and knowing how to strike at these enemies and how to avoid their blows.

Our Party also owes its brilliant successes to the fact that it has consistently carried out its fundamental organizational principle of serving the people, which has enabled it to take root among the masses and become a well-disciplined party having close connections with the masses of the people. It is a party of strict centralism based on democracy. It is a party with voluntarily-observed iron discipline and it conducts serious criticism and self-criticism. It does not allow cliques or factionalists to operate within the Party. It admits new Party members with care, and each member must take direct part in a Party organization and in Party work. All such organizational principles serve only one aim—to lead the people to complete emancipation. These principles have been embodied in our Party Constitution since its enactment by the First Party Congress and have been proved completely correct in the great practical struggles of the past twenty-four years. Since our Party is a party organized on these principles, it is assured of successful fulfilment of its political tasks, of unity of action in its struggles, of overcoming all kinds of difficulties, and of leading the people to a great victory.

The broad revolutionary masses of the Chinese people enthusiastically welcome and trust such a party as ours, not only because it possesses a revolutionary programme and policy that fully represent the interests of the Chinese people, but also because it has a closely-

knit organization and iron discipline and is capable of surviving severe, trying battles, in which it has demonstrated its solid organizational strength. In the face of a powerful, cunning and barbarous enemy, the struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation of 475,000,000 suffering people is an exceedingly grave matter. Only a party like ours is sufficiently capable and resolute to lead the entire people to defeat such an enemy and bring about liberation.

The revision of our Party Constitution today does not involve any change in the character of our Party or any revision in the fundamental organizational principles of our Party. On the contrary, we must continue to develop and strengthen the character and principles of our Party on the basis of recent experiences and on the theory of Party-building developed by Comrade Mao Zedong during the past three revolutionary periods. In order to meet the great events which lie ahead, in order to defeat the Japanese invaders and their running dogs, in order to establish an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous Republic of New Democracy, and in order to bring about an enormous increase in the fighting power of our Party and strengthen its connections with the broad masses of the Chinese people, it is vitally necessary to develop and strengthen the character and principles of our Party still further.

However, the Constitution — that is to say, the rules and regulations of our Party — not only defines the Party's fundamental principles but also lays down, in line with these principles, the methods of practical action for the Party organization and the rules governing the organ-

izational forms of Party structure and inner-Party life. The organizational forms and methods of work of the Party are determined by prevailing internal and external conditions and by the political tasks with which the Party is faced, and a certain degree of flexibility must be allowed. When the Party sets forth new political tasks because of changed circumstances and different working conditions, the organizational forms and methods of work have to be changed accordingly; otherwise, old organizational forms and old methods of work will hinder the progress of our Party work and the performance of our political tasks. That our Party is a creative Marxist political party is due to the fact that at no time have we tied ourselves ideologically or politically to any set formulas, or regarded the organizational forms of our Party or any other organizational forms as hard and fast rules that cannot be altered. From time to time we have been able to improve our organizational forms and our methods of work in accordance with the concrete conditions of the development of the Chinese revolution and on the basis of our new political tasks and freshly-acquired experience. Therefore, it is vitally necessary to amend our Party Constitution, in line with the fundamental organizational principles of our Party but taking into account the new environment and the new conditions within the Party.

The Party firmly upholds the inviolability of its fundamental organizational principles. However, it must adapt its organizational forms and methods of work to the circumstances so as to expand the Party's activities and ensure the performance of its political tasks and its unity of action.

We have proposed to the Seventh Party Congress to make many important amendments and supplements to the Party Constitution. Why is it necessary to make such amendments and supplements? The reasons are as follows:

(1) It is now 17 years since our Party Constitution was last amended in 1928 by the Sixth Party Congress. Conditions both inside and outside the Party have greatly changed during these years. Today the Party is faced with the necessity of mobilizing the whole Party membership to carry out entirely new political tasks.

(2) The experiences which our Party has accumulated in directing the revolutionary struggle in China during the last 17 years are extremely rich and vitally important. It is essential to sum up these experiences and use them to reinforce our Party Constitution and to strengthen the construction of our Party.

(3) Because of special circumstances, many provisions of the Party Constitution adopted at the Sixth Party Congress have become inapplicable, with the result that many Party members fail to pay adequate attention to the Constitution and do not implement it with vigour. Therefore, it is incumbent upon the Seventh Party Congress to frame a new Party Constitution that is completely adapted to the actual conditions of today.

It is quite clear that our Party today has certain new and outstanding characteristics which have not existed in any previous period of its history. These are:

(1) Our Party is a party nationwide in scope and of a broad mass character. It is a party in which the people throughout the country are placing their hopes. With its membership totalling 1,210,000, and with its

organizations and members extending over the country, our Party is regarded by the people of the whole country as their sole saviour.

(2) Our Party is a party steeled in prolonged revolutionary wars and it has thoroughly mastered the art of revolutionary warfare. The Eighth Route Army, the New Fourth Army and the other armed forces of the people which have been organized under the leadership of our Party constitute the main forces in the present War of Resistance Against Japan. The Chinese nation and people rely upon these armed forces of the people for the waging of a protracted war against the Japanese invaders, and they will continue to rely on our Party to enable China to become a democratic, united new China after the war is over.

(3) Our Party is a party that has led 95,000,000 people living behind the enemy lines to set up strong revolutionary bases, where democratic reforms have been introduced and where the political, military, economic and cultural construction of New Democracy has been begun, resulting in increased production, an improvement in the people's living standards, greater social stability and a heightening of the level of the people's culture and consciousness. Thus, the Party has been able to mobilize and unite all the people in these bases to repulse the Japanese invaders and to give encouragement to the revolutionary struggles of the people throughout the country. These bases are a pattern for the new China and a guarantee that the people throughout the country will win victory for the revolution.

(4) Our Party is a party that has successfully combated various kinds of erroneous ideas and has

achieved, as a result of the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign,¹ an unprecedented ideological, political and organizational unity and solidarity. The past opportunist lines within the Party have been stamped out and non-proletarian ideas within the Party have been largely overcome in the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign, while the proletarian, Marxist-Leninist ideology and line, as expressed by Comrade Mao Zedong, have gained an unprecedentedly solid victory. A great number of disrupters and spies who were hiding in our Party and trying to undermine the nation have been purged from the Party. Thus, our Party has become united and consolidated — ideologically, politically and organizationally — as never before. This contributes immeasurably to the entire cause of China's liberation.

(5) Last, but by no means least, our Party is a party that has a great leader of its own. This leader is none other than Comrade Mao Zedong, who is the organizer and leader of our Party and of the present-day Chinese revolution.

Comrade Mao Zedong is an outstanding representative of the heroic proletariat of our country and of all that is best in the traditions of our great nation. He is a creative and talented Marxist, combining as he does the universal truth of Marxism — the highest ideol-

¹The Rectification of Three Styles Campaign was launched in 1941-42 by the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong. It was an ideological remoulding campaign conducted throughout the Party, aimed at exposing and rectifying all incorrect ideas and practices displayed by Party members in various fields of work. The principal expressions of such incorrect ideas and practices were sectarianism in the organizational work of the Party, dogmatism in studies and formalism in the propaganda work.

ogy of mankind — with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He has raised the ideology of the Chinese nation to an unprecedented height and shown to the suffering Chinese nation and people the only correct and clear road towards complete liberation — the road of Mao Zedong. Following this road, our Party and the Chinese people launched the great pre-1927 revolutionary movement, of which Comrade Mao Zedong was the organizer. During the Agrarian Revolution, the great Red areas and the Red Army were created with Comrade Mao Zedong as their founder and leader. In the War of Resistance Against Japan, the great liberated areas and the people's armed forces were created — the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, of which Comrade Mao Zedong was again the founder and leader.

Comrade Mao Zedong is the leader of our Party. He is also an ordinary member of our Party, placing himself completely at the service of the Party. He is most scrupulous in the observance of Party discipline in every respect. He is the leader of the masses, yet he bases everything on the will of the people. He stands before the people as their most loyal servant and their humblest pupil.

Because Comrade Mao Zedong is a figure who has risen out of the revolutionary struggles of the masses of the people and who has been tested in more than thirty years of the great Chinese revolutionary struggle, he is intimately known to the entire Party and to the broad masses of the people. The fact that he is the leader of our Party and of the Chinese nation and people, is precisely the result of their faith in him and of their careful choice.

Besides having a great leader of its own, our Party also has a great number of well-trying, firm and resolute cadres who are armed with Mao Zedong Thought and stand closely with Comrade Mao Zedong. These cadres have proved during a long period of struggle to be the most brilliant elements, the cream of the Chinese nation, front-rankers in every field of the Chinese people's revolution and national construction. Because our Party and our nation have such a great leader and a large group of such cadres, we are invincible and will vanquish all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people.

Comrades, our Party is already a Marxist-Leninist party which is nationwide in scope and of a broad mass character, fully consolidated ideologically, politically and organizationally, and with a leader of its own. Today it has already become the determining factor in China's political life.

Such are the main features of the existing situation of our Party.

Such are the brilliant successes our Party has already achieved. They are great victories for all the Chinese people. They are great victories for Marxism-Leninism among the Chinese people. They are victories for the teachings and leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong, the leader of our Party.

However, this does not mean that there are no shortcomings or weaknesses whatever in our Party. Nor does it mean that there are no difficulties ahead. We still have shortcomings and weaknesses. With all that we have achieved we are still far from our goal. There are many difficulties ahead to be overcome.

Our Party is, for the most part, located in the rural districts and the overwhelming majority of Party mem-

bers are of peasant or petty-bourgeois origin. Generally speaking, the theoretical and cultural level of our Party members is not high, although they have been steeled in stern revolutionary struggles. Within the Party itself, some comrades have not yet completely overcome their subjective style of work, while others still display such tendencies as commandism, bureaucracy and warlordism, which estrange the masses from the Party, and the tendency of blind "mountain-top-ism"¹ which undermines the unity and solidarity of the whole Party. These shortcomings and weaknesses in our Party can only be overcome with greater efforts and with more painstaking education.

Our Party, together with the Chinese nation and people, having passed through long, heroic struggles, especially the heroic War of Resistance of the last eight years, is now approaching victory. Our present task is to fight and prepare for the victory; to mobilize and unite all the forces of the entire Chinese people, in coordination with our Allies, for the final expulsion of the Japanese invaders and the recovery of the lost cities and villages; to overcome all the anti-democratic forces throughout the country; and to build an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China. In

¹ A form of local sectarianism which placed sectional interests above those of the whole. One special feature was the display of intimacy with the cadres and comrades of one's own locality and coolness towards the cadres and comrades of other localities. This tendency to sectarianism originated from the fact that during the long years of guerilla warfare the revolutionary bases in the rural districts were scattered and out of contact with each other. As in most cases these revolutionary bases were established in mountainous areas, so this form of sectarianism came to be called mountain-top-ism.

order to achieve these objectives we must vastly intensify the work of our Party, strengthen its organizational role and its leadership among all sections of the masses, and prepare both them and ourselves ideologically, politically, and organizationally for the final great struggle and the most tremendous victory in our history. These are the immediate political and organizational tasks of our Party.

This situation and these tasks facing our Party constitute the starting point for the amendment of our Party Constitution.

II THE GENERAL PROGRAMME OF THE PARTY CONSTITUTION

We have formulated a General Programme to serve as an introduction to the Constitution. It is the basic programme of our Party. It is also an integral part of the Party Constitution — the preamble and general rules of the Party Constitution. Every Party member must accept this General Programme as the basis for his activities. The General Programme will further strengthen the unity and solidarity of the whole Party.

The General Programme embodies the Party's fighting experiences of the last twenty-four years and absorbs the best experiences of the world working-class movement. It is the embodiment of the teachings of Mao Zedong, our Party leader. It sets forth in simple language the Party's character and theory. It explains the character, motive forces, tasks and outstanding characteristics of the Chinese revolution. It defines our

Party's basic policy and the necessary qualifications it must possess in the Chinese revolution. It points out that there is no room for opportunism in the Party. It further deals with self-criticism inside the Party, the mass line and the organizational principles of the Party. All of these points are already included in the General Programme of the Party Constitution. I only want to give certain explanations on the following questions.

1. CONCERNING THE CHARACTER OF OUR PARTY

The General Programme of the Constitution points out at the very beginning that our Party is the organized vanguard of the Chinese working class and the highest form of its class organization. It represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. At the present stage it is working for the creation of a system of New Democracy in China and its ultimate aim is the realization of the system of communism in China. Are there still any doubts about this character of our Party? I think not.

Prior to the founding of our Party in 1921, the Chinese nation and people, led by their most talented representatives, had for eighty years waged successive, heroic revolutionary struggles against imperialism and feudalism. The birth of our Party was conditioned by the international and internal events which were taking place at the time it occurred. Internationally, these were principally the First World War and the Great October Socialist Revolution in Russia. Internally, they were the increasingly ferocious imperialist aggression and feudal warlord oppression, the people's revolutionary

struggles, and the rise of the working-class movement following the May 4th Movement in 1919. These conditions caused Chinese revolutionaries headed by Comrade Mao Zedong to turn for the first time from radical revolutionary democracy to proletarian communism, thereby giving birth to the Communist Party of China.

Since its very birth, our Party has had a clear-cut class-consciousness. It has adopted the proletarian standpoint in leading the Chinese bourgeois-democratic revolution. It has combined the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese working-class movement and the Chinese revolution, and has acquired an exemplary style of work befitting an advanced proletarian political party. All these gave a fresh complexion to the Chinese revolution. Today, after twenty-four years of practical trials and tests in the most difficult, tortuous, and exceedingly intricate revolutionary struggles, the Party has not only brought about a new triumphant situation for the Chinese revolution, but has also accumulated extremely rich experiences which, through Comrade Mao Zedong's crystallization and creative work, have raised the combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution to a higher degree of perfection. This means that our Party has always been a party of a completely new type — a proletarian Marxist-Leninist party — and is even more so now.

The aggregate of Party members of proletarian or semi-proletarian (poor peasant) origin constitutes the majority of our Party, yet the main sections of the Party are located in the countryside and the vast majority of

the Party members come from the peasantry and petty-bourgeois intelligentsia with only a small percentage of workers. This and other conditions of the Party have naturally presented a series of important problems, such as the reflection of a great deal of small producers' ideology within the Party. Even bourgeois and feudal ideologies have found their way into our Party through the channels of petty-bourgeois elements in our Party. Herein lies the social origin of subjectivism, sectarianism, Party jargon, and political and organizational opportunism in our Party. However, this state of affairs cannot alter the fact that our Party is a political party of the proletariat.

The proletarian character of our Party is determined by the following factors:

(1) It was in the epoch of the great world proletarian revolution that our Party came into existence, and it developed on the basis of China's revolution in 1927 and the great working-class movement before the revolution. Our Party took over the best traditions of the world Marxist-Leninist movement and has maintained uninterrupted contact with the Chinese working-class movement.

(2) Our Party has developed in strict accordance with the Marxist-Leninist teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong in regard to China and in accordance with the political and organizational line formulated by him. All those who opposed this line have been proved wrong by history. The Marxist-Leninist leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong possesses unlimited prestige. It has also a great number of cadres — many of whom have emerged directly from the working-class movement — who have been steeled in prolonged

struggle and are armed with Marxism-Leninism and the teachings of Mao Zedong and who are fully capable of taking up the cause led by the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong.

(3) The proletarian programme and policy of the Party are different from those of any other party. Because of this programme and policy, our Party alone has organized and led the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal New-Democratic Revolution of the Chinese people, enabled the Chinese proletariat to fulfil its tasks in the present bourgeois-democratic revolution to the fullest extent, and ensured the revolutionary leadership of the mass of the people by the proletariat for the ultimate goal of socialism and communism.

(4) Every Party member must observe the iron proletarian discipline of the Party. Every Party member is required to abide by the Party Programme and Constitution and to become an active worker in a Party organization. The Party preserves and strengthens its proletarian unity ideologically, politically, and organizationally at all times. It purged from its ranks all alien elements and hopelessly incorrigible opportunists.

(5) More than twenty years of civil war and national war have steeled our Party. Hundreds of thousands of Party members have given up their respective occupations in society for a long time and engaged in revolutionary military collective life and life-and-death struggle. They have had to undergo a stern ideological and organizational schooling and tempering; as a result, their class-consciousness and collective will have been raised and their sense of organization and discipline strengthened. They have come to understand that the need for the solidarity and unity of the entire Party in

face of the enemy demands that every Party member should implicitly obey the Party's centralized leadership. All this has meant that wavering elements in the Party have been continuously eliminated in the course of serious revolutionary struggles.

(6) Through Marxist-Leninist education, Party members of petty-bourgeois origin have undergone a thorough-going ideological reform, which changes their former petty-bourgeois nature and imparts to them the qualities of the advanced fighters of the proletariat.

A party founded, steeled and educated in such a manner is certainly not inferior, to say the least, to the proletarian party in any capitalist country.

The social origin of the Party membership is not, however, the sole determining factor. The determining factors are our Party's political struggles and political life, its ideological education and its ideological and political leadership. The General Programme of our Party and its organizational principles ensure the dominance in the Party of the proletarian ideology and proletarian line. However widespread the reflection of petty-bourgeois ideology in the Party, it cannot be tolerated and is being constantly corrected through Party education and the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign. Moreover, it has been proved bankrupt, because it is incompatible with the interests of the people.

The social origin of our Party membership does not determine the character of our Party, just as the social composition of the membership of the Labour parties in certain European countries does not determine their character. Although the majority of their members come from the working class, those Labour parties are not political parties representing the working class.

They can never perform the tasks of the working class in those countries.

In China, a great number of petty-bourgeois revolutionaries have joined our Party. This is a very good thing. Our Party must not reject them. True, our Party should pay the greatest attention to recruiting the advanced elements among the workers. But it is also necessary to draw in large numbers of advanced elements from all sections of the labouring people. Only then will it be possible for our Party to become a powerful party of a broad mass character. It is an inevitable historical law that the ranks of the proletariat are constantly being replenished by the entrance of petty-bourgeois elements.

Being transitional classes, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry are bound to go through a process of disintegration under the capitalist system. A small number of them will join the bourgeoisie, but the majority will go bankrupt and swell the ranks of the proletariat. During the period that they remain as transitional classes, the petty bourgeoisie and the peasantry may accept the political leadership of either the liberal bourgeoisie or the proletariat. And ideologically they may accept the influence of either the bourgeoisie or the proletariat. Hence, in certain historical conditions, large numbers of revolutionary elements among the petty bourgeoisie may join the proletarian party and accept proletarian education. The proletarian party, our Party, is capable of educating and reforming petty-bourgeois revolutionaries.

Experience shows that after joining our Party on our terms, most of them did seriously study and accept the Party's education in Marxism-Leninism and Mao

Zedong Thought, observe Party discipline, and take part in the practical revolutionary struggles of the people. In the course of doing this they have changed their original character and become Marxist-Leninists — fighters of the proletariat. Many of them have even sacrificed their lives for the Party's cause, the cause of communism in China.

But among these people there was also a very small number who, after joining the Party, failed to study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought sincerely and correctly. They failed to change their old viewpoints or styles of work, and sometimes even stubbornly opposed proletarian viewpoints and styles of work and attempted to reconstruct our Party and rebuild its internal life according to their own petty-bourgeois concepts and tastes. Thus, quite naturally, they not only failed in themselves to become genuine Marxist-Leninists — fighters of the proletariat — they were also responsible for many mistakes and disagreements within the Party. Historical experience has shown that this is always the case.

Therefore, all those who join our Party must seriously study Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is particularly true of the petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements, who both before and after their admission into our Party must study even harder in order to remould their ideology, discard their old class viewpoint in favour of the class viewpoint of the proletariat, and overcome their subjective, individualistic and sectarian tendencies. They cannot hope to become good Party members without such a reform. This is often a long, painstaking process, and an agonizing one at that for many petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements when they are not yet fully awakened. This is a particularly

important problem and an outstanding feature in the building up of our Party.

The fundamental contradictions inherent in our Party are those existing between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies. The most important of these contradictions is that between the ideology of the proletariat on the one hand and the ideology of the peasantry and petty bourgeoisie on the other. Our Party-building and Party work can only advance and develop if these contradictions are tackled at every stage, by intensifying the education and steeling in Marxism-Leninism, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, and by continuously weeding out the petty-bourgeois and other non-proletarian ideologies which are reflected in our Party. If, on the contrary, petty-bourgeois ideology is allowed to spread freely within the Party, even to the extent of dominating the Party's leadership and repressing the development of proletarian ideas, our Party-building and our Party work will certainly retrogress and decline. Hence, the principal problem in our Party-building is ideological remoulding, *i.e.*, educating and reforming our Party members, especially the petty-bourgeois revolutionary elements, with the aid of Marxism-Leninism — the scientific ideology of the proletariat. In other words, it is a problem of combating and overcoming non-proletarian ideologies of every description inside the Party.

China's petty bourgeoisie is numerically great. A large number of our Party members are of petty-bourgeois origin. China's proletariat and our Party in the past were in their infancy, lacking experience. Our Party had neither sufficient ideological preparation in Marxism-Leninism before its foundation nor adequate time after its foundation for theoretical study, for it

immediately immersed itself in turbulent, practical, revolutionary struggle. For these reasons, our Party suffered for a long time from inadequate Marxist-Leninist ideological schooling. Thus, it was possible for the unreformed petty-bourgeois elements inside our Party to propagate under the cloak of Marxism-Leninism what was in essence opportunism, taking advantage of the ideological backwardness of many Party members and utilizing the petty-bourgeois sentiments in the Party. This is the reason why petty-bourgeois ideology gained a temporary ascendancy in the Party's leading bodies at certain periods.

When petty-bourgeois ideology was in the ascendancy in the Party leadership, right or "left" opportunist lines were carried out not only politically but also in the field of Party-building and Party organization.

The right opportunist line in Party-building and Party organization was expressed in the liberalist line pursued by certain comrades. These comrades attempted to turn our Party into a party of petty-bourgeois liberalism. They opposed and discarded the Party strictness in ideological and organizational matters. They undermined the Party's democratic centralism and iron discipline by enrolling Party members en masse and without discrimination, by allowing all sorts of erroneous ideas to develop within the Party without correcting them, by abandoning vigilance against the Party's enemies and saboteurs, by encouraging "showing off" within the Party and by supporting loose discipline, factional tendencies and spontaneity within the Party. It is quite obvious that if this had been allowed to continue it would have prevented our Party from accom-

plishing anything and brought about its eventual collapse.

The "left" opportunist line in Party-building and Party organization was expressed in the ignoring of China's characteristics by some comrades, who mechanically imported the experiences of fraternal Parties abroad in Party-building and turned them into absolute dogmas. They placed an exaggerated emphasis on inner-Party centralism and inner-Party struggle; they admitted no compromise, and laid stress on mechanical discipline. They discarded inner-Party democracy and harmony, serious discussion and criticism of problems, and consciousness and initiative on the part of Party members. They liked to issue orders within the Party and to rule arbitrarily, like patriarchs. They pursued a policy of obscurantism. They encouraged blind obedience on the part of Party members and carried on merciless inner-Party struggles and penalization. They punished, expelled or purged Party members wholesale. As a result, mechanical discipline and a feudalistic order prevailed in the Party and inner-Party life became stagnant. This may have created a temporary appearance of inner-Party unity. But such unity was false, superficial, and mechanical. If the false unity were exposed, a state of inner-Party anarchy and ultra-democracy would be revealed. Such a line would obviously destroy our Party and turn it into a narrow, lifeless, sectarian faction.

These two deviations are the reflections of petty-bourgeois liberalism, sectarianism, and rashness on the question of organization.

Apart from the two deviations mentioned above, there were still other comrades who, because of their

ideological and political weakness and ignorance, stressed only the organizational aspect of Party-building, instead of emphasizing the ideological and political building up of the Party with the result that Party-building became a formality. They favoured and promoted the so-called "honest fellows" who were capable of nothing but blind obedience. They feared and blamed those who could do their own thinking, who were highly capable and who refused to obey blindly. They attached too much importance to the petty trifles in other people's daily life but failed to pay attention to the one task of supreme importance — namely, to cultivate and raise the consciousness of the Party membership from the ideological and political standpoints and thus to strengthen the organization and discipline of the Party. They further failed to understand that in order to attain this objective, it is essential first of all to arouse and raise the consciousness of the higher and middle-ranking cadres. They concentrated their attention only on those Party members who were workers or peasants, and they were afraid of capable intellectuals.

They were busy with so-called organizational "leadership," holding meetings, running hither and thither, occupying themselves with all kinds of trifling matters. But they did not use their brains, and were incapable of bringing organizational leadership on to the same level as ideological and political leadership. As a result, the Party's organizational work was divorced from its ideological and political leadership. This is blindness in Party-building. This is obviously not the way to build up a proletarian Marxist-Leninist party. Opportunism inside the Party is likely to take advantage of such a situation.

Our Party has ceaselessly waged uncompromising struggles against such erroneous lines and has overcome them. Our Party has unanimously supported and followed Comrade Mao Zedong's line of Party-building. In sharp contrast to the erroneous lines mentioned above, this correct line of Comrade Mao Zedong first of all laid stress on the importance of ideological and political building up as well as organizational building up. He repeatedly told us that ideological education and ideological leadership should hold first place in our Party leadership.

Comrade Mao Zedong has formulated detailed and comprehensive political, military, and organizational lines for our Party. In the Resolution of the Gutian Conference¹ in 1929, he emphatically pointed out the various deviations originating in non-proletarian ideology inside the Party and called upon our comrades to correct them once and for all. He also adopted a creative method of education in the form of Rectification of Three Styles to correct all the petty-bourgeois ideologies reflected in the Party — subjectivism, sectarianism and the use of Party jargon, which are modes of thinking and organization and monotonous repetition in expression, all characteristic of petty-bourgeois ideology. He considered the course

¹In December 1929, the Communist Party organization within the Fourth Red Army held its Ninth Party Congress at Gutian in west Fujian. The Congress reviewed the various non-proletarian deviations in the Army and adopted a resolution drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong. The Congress is of tremendous historical significance because under the leadership of Comrade Mao Zedong it delivered the Army led by the Chinese Communist Party from warlord and petty-bourgeois deviations and developed it into a disciplined army closely linked up with the masses and guided by proletarian ideology.

of our Party's development as a process through which the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism was to be integrated ever more closely with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. He showed the close connection of the process of Party-building with the Party's political line, with our Party's relationship to the bourgeoisie and to armed struggle.

Comrade Mao Zedong's *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, the second part of *On the New Stage, Introducing "The Communist," Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work, Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing, Decisions by the Central Committee on the Furtherance of the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign* (April 3, 1943), *Some Questions Concerning Methods of Leadership* (June 1, 1943) and other works are the expression of his Party-building line, a correct line formulated according to our Party's special features. The carrying out of this line has enabled us to overcome all kinds of opportunist and erroneous lines in relation to Party-building with the result that the Party has made tremendous progress and achieved great success.

It is clear that if our Party had followed the aforementioned incorrect lines of Party-building it could not have become a party of the working class, even if there were a higher percentage of workers in our Party membership. As we have followed Comrade Mao Zedong's Party-building line, we can build, and have already built up, a Marxist-Leninist party of the working class even though the number of workers in our Party membership does not yet constitute the majority.

For long years the main sections of our Party have been in the rural districts. This is due to the fact that China is a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country, with a broad

mass of peasants constituting the main force of the present revolution, and that the Chinese working class, oppressed in the cities and for a long time unable to carry on revolutionary activities freely, sent its vanguard to the countryside, there to organize the broad mass of its allies and act in co-ordination with them for the liberation of the cities when the moment arrived. This is the actual meaning of our Party's long-term work in the countryside. Under the peculiar conditions existing in China, only in this way can our Party represent the Chinese working class, and carry out the tasks of the working class at the present period. If our Party had not acted in this manner it could never have represented the Chinese working class. This is because the present revolution in China is essentially a peasant revolution. Basically the immediate task of the Chinese working class is to emancipate the Chinese peasantry. The great peasant war in China under the leadership of a proletarian party will differ from all other peasant wars in Chinese history, and its victory is fully realizable. It is only natural and logical that our Party, as the vanguard of the working class, should have directed its greatest efforts for a long time towards organizing and leading this peasant revolution in the countryside.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that our Party represents the interests of the Chinese nation and people. Of course, this is the essence of our Party and of Mao Zedong Thought. The interests of the Chinese proletariat are at all times identical with the interests of the Chinese people. The New-Democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism now being waged by our Party is in the interests not only of the working class but also of the peasantry, the petty bour-

geoisie and the bourgeoisie. The Communist Party of China can only succeed when it stands, not merely for the partial and immediate interests of its own class, but for the interests of the whole people, and when it organizes and unites not only its own class but the entire nation and people for the struggle. The proletariat cannot achieve its own liberation if it fails to liberate the people as a whole.

On the other hand, the Chinese working class and the labouring people as a whole constitute the main body of the Chinese nation. It is their interests that form the foundation of the interests of the Chinese nation and people. In fighting for the creation of an independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China, the Chinese Communist Party is representing the interests of the entire Chinese nation and people as well as those of the Chinese working class. The same will be true in the future when the Party will fight for the realization of socialism and communism, because the building up of a socialist and communist society means the final emancipation of mankind as a whole.

2. CONCERNING THE GUIDING THEORY OF THE PARTY

The General Programme of the Party Constitution states that the Chinese Communist Party guides all its work by Mao Zedong Thought — the theory that unites the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution — and that it is opposed to any dogmatic or empiricist deviations. As for the heritage of the past, whether Chinese or foreign, we neither reject nor accept it without discrimination; we accept

critically what is valuable and useful and discard what is valueless and inapplicable, basing ourselves on Marxist dialectical materialism and historical materialism. All this is very clear.

What needs explaining is Mao Zedong Thought.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution stipulates that Mao Zedong Thought shall guide all the work of our Party. The Constitution itself states that it is the duty of every Party member to endeavour to understand the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is a most important historical development in our present revision of the Constitution. I believe that this Congress and the entire Party will heartily support this stipulation.

For over a century the Chinese nation and people have suffered incredible hardships. Their bitter and costly struggles for their own emancipation have created a fund of priceless experience. Their practical struggles and the experiences gained in them inevitably gave rise to the creation of great theories of their own, thus showing that the Chinese people are not only capable of fighting but also that they have a modern scientific revolutionary theory. Because of the political and economic weakness of China's bourgeoisie, because of its lack of contact with the people and its limited outlook and thinking, its representatives could only advance a certain kind of revolutionary programme and certain democratic ideas, all the good points of which we have already adopted. But they could not build up a systematic revolutionary theory, much less a comprehensive, systematic and scientific theory in relation to the whole course of Chinese history and the Chinese revolution. Such a theory can only be created by the representatives of the Chinese

proletariat, of whom the greatest and most outstanding is Comrade Mao Zedong.

This Congress should ardently welcome the fact that since the foundation of the Chinese Communist Party there has been created and developed a unique, integrated, and correct theory concerning the people's revolution and national reconstruction in China. This theory has led our Party and our people to great victories and it will continue to lead our Party and our people to ultimate and complete victory and liberation. This is the greatest achievement and glory of our Party and the Chinese people in their long struggles and it will bring blessings to our nation for generations and generations. This theory is none other than Mao Zedong Thought — Comrade Mao Zedong's theory and policy in regard to Chinese history, Chinese society and the Chinese revolution.

Mao Zedong Thought is the theory that unites Marxist-Leninist theories with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution. It is communism and Marxism applied to China.

Mao Zedong Thought is the further development of Marxism in relation to the national-democratic revolution in a colonial, semi-colonial and semi-feudal country at the present period. It is the best expression of Marxism applied to a given nation. It has grown and developed in the long revolutionary struggles of the Chinese nation and people and in the three great revolutionary wars (the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution and the present War of Resistance Against Japan). It is as Chinese as it is thoroughly Marxist.

It has been formulated through the application of the Marxist world outlook and social outlook — dialectical

materialism and historical materialism. In other words, it has been formulated on the solid foundation of Marxist-Leninist theories, by taking into account China's national traits, by profiting from the exceedingly rich experiences of modern revolutions and those of the Chinese Communist Party in directing the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese people, and by making a careful and scientific analysis of such experiences. It is the theory and policy for achieving the emancipation of the Chinese nation and people. It has been developed on the basis of the interests of the proletariat and consequently the interests of the entire people, by applying the scientific method of Marxism-Leninism and by synthesizing China's history, social conditions, and all her revolutionary experiences. It is the only correct theory and policy to guide the proletariat and all the working people of China in their fight for emancipation.

Mao Zedong Thought — the theory and practice of communism applied to China — has grown and developed not only in the course of the revolutionary struggles against domestic and foreign enemies but also in the course of the struggles of principle against various erroneous opportunist ideas within the Party — Chen Duxiu-ism,¹ Li

¹A right opportunist line as represented by Chen Duxiu, secretary-general of the Communist Party of China in 1921-27. It advocated giving up the leadership of the proletariat, thus sacrificing the interests of the broad masses of workers and peasants in order to get along with the bourgeoisie. After the Chinese revolution was betrayed in 1927 Chen Duxiu became a liquidator. Finally, Chen Duxiu joined hands with the Chinese Trotskyites and turned out to be an open renegade.

Lisan's line¹ and the subsequent lines of "left" deviations, tendencies to capitulation, dogmatism and empiricism. It is our Party's only correct guiding theory and its only correct general line.

The birth, development, and maturing of Mao Zedong Thought has a history of twenty-four years. It has been repeatedly tested in the course of the numerous bitter struggles of millions upon millions of people and has been proved to be objective truth, the only correct theory and policy to save China. Historical events have shown that whenever the revolution followed the leadership of Mao Zedong and his thought it succeeded and developed; but whenever it departed from that leadership, it failed or had to retreat.

The combination of Marxist theory with the practice of the proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism and the practice of the Russian revolution in particular, gave rise to Russian Bolshevism — Leninism-Stalinism, which not only led the Russian people to complete emancipation but also guided and still guides the peoples of the whole world in their struggle for emancipation. What Comrade Mao Zedong has done as a disciple of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin is precisely to unite the theories of Marxism-Leninism with the actual practice of the Chinese revolution, thus giving rise to Chinese communism — Mao Zedong Thought — which has guided,

¹A form of "left" opportunism as represented by Comrade Li Lisan. Its special feature was to deny the necessity for making a correct estimate of the relative strength of the contending forces and the relationship between the different classes in each mass revolutionary action. It rashly advocated carrying out armed uprisings in the leading cities which were then under the white terror of the enemy. Later on Comrade Li Lisan admitted and corrected his mistakes.

and is guiding, the Chinese people towards complete emancipation. It has made great and useful contributions to the struggle for the emancipation of the peoples of all countries in general, and of the peoples in the East in particular.

Mao Zedong Thought, his world outlook and his style of work, is Marxism being developed and perfected in application to China. It constitutes the integrated theory of revolution and national reconstruction for the Chinese people. It is found in Comrade Mao Zedong's writings and in our Party literature. It embodies Comrade Mao Zedong's analysis of the present world situation and China's special conditions. It is Comrade Mao Zedong's theory and policy in regard to New Democracy, the emancipation of the peasantry, the revolutionary united front, revolutionary wars, revolutionary bases, the establishment of a Republic of New Democracy, Party-building, and culture. This theory and policy are as thoroughly Marxist as they are Chinese and are the highest expression of the intellect of the Chinese people as well as their highest theoretical attainment.

Because of the distinctive peculiarities in China's social and historical development and her backwardness in science, it is a unique and difficult task to apply Marxism systematically to China and to transform it from its European form into Chinese form; in other words, to solve the various problems of the contemporary Chinese revolution from the standpoint of Marxism and with the Marxist method. Many of these problems have never been solved or raised by the world's Marxists, for here in China the main sections of the masses are not workers but peasants, and the fight is directed against foreign

imperialist oppression and medieval survivals, and not against domestic capitalism.

This can never be accomplished, as some people seem to think it can, by memorizing and reciting Marxist works or just by quoting from them. It requires the combination of a high degree of scientific and revolutionary spirit. It requires profound historical and social knowledge, rich experience in guiding the revolutionary struggles and skill in using Marxist-Leninist methods to make an accurate and scientific analysis of the social and historical objective conditions and their development. It further requires boundless and indefatigable loyalty to the cause of the proletariat and of the people; faith in the strength, creative power and future of the masses; skill in crystallizing the experiences, will and ideas of the masses and their application in mass work. It is only thus that original and brilliant additions to Marxism-Leninism can be made, on the basis of each specific period of historical development and the concrete economic and political conditions in China. It is only in this way that it has been possible to express Marxism-Leninism in plain language, easily understood by the Chinese people, to adapt it to a new historical environment and to China's special conditions and to turn it into a weapon in the hands of the Chinese proletariat and all labouring people.

No one but our Comrade Mao Zedong has so splendidly and successfully performed the extremely difficult task of adapting Marxism to China. This constitutes one of the greatest achievements in the history of the Marxist movement all over the world. It is an unprecedented extension of Marxism — the best of all truths — to a na-

tion of 475 million people. This is something for which we should be particularly grateful.

Our Comrade Mao Zedong is not only the greatest revolutionary and statesman in Chinese history, but also the greatest theoretician and scientist. He has not only dared to lead the entire Party and the entire Chinese people to wage struggles that shook the world, but his theoretical attainments and his moral courage are also of the highest. In the theoretical field, he has been boldly creative, discarding certain specific Marxist principles and conclusions that were obsolete or incompatible with the concrete conditions in China, and replacing them with new principles and new conclusions that are compatible with China's new historical conditions. This is the reason why he has been able to carry out successfully the difficult and gigantic work of applying Marxism to China.

Because of inadequate theoretical preparation, our Party and many of our Party members have encountered great difficulties in their work, and have made some unnecessary detours. Now, thanks to Comrade Mao Zedong's painstaking work and inspired creation, the theoretical groundwork has been fully laid down for our Party and the Chinese people. This will greatly enhance their self-confidence and their fighting power and accelerate the march of the Chinese revolution towards victory. Therefore, the important task now is to mobilize the entire Party to study and disseminate Mao Zedong Thought, and to arm our membership and the revolutionary people with it, so that it may become a living, irresistible force. For this purpose, all Party schools and training classes must adopt Comrade Mao Zedong's writings as basic teaching material and the cadres must study

Comrade Mao Zedong's writings systematically. All our Party press must propagate Mao Zedong Thought in a systematic manner. The propaganda departments of the Party should edit Comrade Mao Zedong's important works in the form of popular reading matter adapted to the level of the average Party member.

Having overcome thought-stifling dogmatism in the Party, we must make further efforts to remove the obstacle of empiricism and start a campaign in the Party to study Mao Zedong Thought. We may then anticipate a great upsurge of Marxist culture in the Party. This means making ideological preparation for the victory of the people's revolution in China.

Mao Zedong Thought is the foundation of the present revised Party Constitution and its General Programme. It is the duty of all Party members to study it, to disseminate it and to follow its guidance in their work.

3. CONCERNING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION

The General Programme of the Party Constitution points out that present-day Chinese society is semi-colonial and semi-feudal in character. But the liberated areas, with a total population approaching 100,000,000, are of a New-Democratic character. This illustrates the economic and political unevenness and complexity in the character of present-day Chinese society.

Because of this character of Chinese society, because of the existence of the powerful Chinese Communist Party, because of present world conditions and because of the fact that the basic motive force of the Chinese

revolution is the mass of the people with the peasantry as its main force under the leadership of the proletariat, the Chinese revolution cannot be either a bourgeois-democratic revolution of the old type or a proletarian-socialist revolution of the newest type. It is a revolution which in character is a bourgeois-democratic revolution of a new type. In this revolution, the basic motive forces are the proletariat, the peasantry and the petty bourgeoisie. But other classes may join the revolution, which has broad allies both at home and abroad. For this reason, the task of the Chinese Communist Party at the present stage is to unite all classes, strata, nationalities and individuals capable of taking part in the revolution to fight for the complete elimination of the oppression by foreign imperialism and domestic feudalism and for the establishment of a Chinese Republic of New Democracy, based on an alliance of all revolutionary classes and the free union of all nationalities. Only after this revolution has been thoroughly completed, only when China's social economy has developed to the fullest extent possible in a New-Democratic country, only when many necessary preparatory steps have been taken, and finally, only when the needs and the wishes of the Chinese people have been consulted, can the Chinese proletariat build up a socialist and communist social system in China. This question, which has led to some confusion and much debate in the Party in the past, has now been definitely clarified.

The General Programme of the Party Constitution also points out many other characteristics of the Chinese revolution, such as its uneven development, its protracted nature, the complexity of its struggle, and the importance of armed struggle and of revolutionary bases in the

rural districts at a given period. All these points have now also been clarified.

The question of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution was the most controversial issue within the Party in the past. Misunderstanding on these problems has invariably led to various kinds of opportunist mistakes in the Party. It is in the struggle against opportunism on such issues that Mao Zedong Thought has attained its full development. Therefore these characteristics must be definitely explained in the General Programme of the Party Constitution. It is necessary for every Party member to understand them thoroughly.

The best explanation of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution is to be found in the history of our Party. Along this glorious, unique, historical path, and under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought in relation to the understanding and utilization of these characteristics, our Party has grown from a small group of Marxists founded after the May 4th Movement of 1919 to the powerful party it is today, leading strong revolutionary bases.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed on the basis of the workers' movement, in the Chinese people's struggle for emancipation, and in the course of the revolutionary struggle against foreign imperialist oppression of the whole nation and domestic feudalist oppression of the mass of the Chinese people. It has grown in the course of the revolutionary struggles against all the enemies of the Chinese nation and people. The history of our Party is the history of the Chinese working class uniting and leading the mass of the people in revolutionary struggle against foreign imperialism, which oppressed the whole nation, against domestic

feudalism, which oppressed the people, and against the lackeys and hidden agents of both.

The Chinese Communist Party has developed and steeled itself in three great revolutionary wars—the Northern Expedition, the Agrarian Revolution and the War of Resistance Against Japan. In other words, the Chinese Communist Party has developed and steeled itself in the course of protracted armed struggle. The history of these three revolutionary wars covers a long period of the history of our Party.

The Chinese Communist Party has grown up in the course of uniting closely with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It has grown up in the course of uniting with the bourgeoisie to fight the common enemy and whilst conducting at the same time a many-sided struggle against the compromising, reactionary character of the bourgeoisie. The history of our Party is, therefore, the history of closely uniting with the broad masses of peasants and the urban petty bourgeoisie. It is also the history of uniting with and struggling against the bourgeoisie.

The Chinese Communist Party has grown up in the course of establishing great revolutionary bases, particularly the revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It has grown up in the course of carrying out in these bases the political, military, economic and cultural construction of New Democracy. For a very long time the history of our Party was a history of the building up of bases for the contemporary Chinese revolution, particularly the revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It was a history of successful experiment in different kinds of New-Democratic reforms and construction in these

bases, which helped to educate our Party and the people throughout the country.

Lastly, the Chinese Communist Party, as represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, has developed and consolidated itself through its struggles against inner-Party opportunism which ignored or misunderstood the characteristics of the Chinese revolution, against dogmatism, against empiricism, against Chen Duxiu-ism, against Li Lisan's line, against the subsequent "left" line, and against capitulation. It has developed and consolidated itself by uniting the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism ever more closely with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. The history of our Party is a history of the opposing and crushing of all kinds of inner-Party opportunism. It is a history of the continuous combination of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution as represented by Mao Zedong Thought.

All this constitutes the concrete historical road our Party has traversed.

This historical road gives the best explanation of the character and motive forces of the present Chinese revolution, its uneven development, its protracted nature, the complexity of its struggle, and the importance of armed struggle and of revolutionary bases in the rural districts. It indicates that the development of the Chinese revolution has its own special features. It explains the decisive role which the Marxist-Leninist leadership of the proletariat is playing in this revolution.

The historical road our Party has traversed is the historical road which our Party leader, Comrade Mao Zedong, long ago defined on the basis of the characteristics of the Chinese revolution. The road marked out

by Comrade Mao Zedong is most correctly and most fully representative of the history of our Party and the contemporary revolutionary history of the Chinese nation and the Chinese people. In spite of the fact that at certain historical periods it was impossible for Comrade Mao Zedong to determine formally and organizationally the action of the entire Party, these historical periods particularly demonstrated that the real history of our Party and the correct revolutionary orientation of the Chinese proletariat and people were to be found where Comrade Mao Zedong was, and that they continued, existed and developed around Comrade Mao Zedong as their representative and centre of gravity, and not at any other place or with any other person as their centre of gravity.

Our Party, guided by Mao Zedong Thought, has developed and steeled itself in the long course of the Chinese revolution with its special characteristics. It will, in the long years to come, continue to fight for its goal and develop and steel itself through more profound understanding and better use of these characteristics under the same guidance. That is why in the General Programme of the Party Constitution special emphasis is laid on these characteristics, which will remain until China's New-Democratic revolution has won complete nationwide victory. Therefore, every Party member must constantly bear in mind these characteristics and must not forget them for a single moment if he is to avoid or reduce mistakes; otherwise many mistakes of the past may be repeated.

For example, ignorance of the New-Democratic character of the Chinese revolution at the present period has resulted in right or "left" deviations in policy.

Furthermore, failure to understand the extreme unevenness of the Chinese revolution and the resultant complexity of the revolutionary struggles has given rise to over-centralization, impractical formalism, over-simplification, generalization, and lack of adequate flexibility in our work. Failure to understand the protracted nature of the Chinese revolution has resulted in inadequate spiritual preparation for the long-drawn-out hard struggles, which in turn has given rise to different forms of rashness or pessimism in difficult times. Failure to understand the importance of armed struggle in the Chinese revolution has led to an underestimation of army work, and lack of attention to the acquisition of military knowledge. Failure to appreciate the importance of revolutionary bases in the rural districts has resulted in overstressing an urban point of view in rural circumstances as well as in neglecting rural work. On the other hand, failure to appreciate the importance of city work at certain periods has led to a lack of concern for city work and to a clinging to rural conservatism. Failure to realize the necessity of carrying on long-term and patient work among all sections of the masses of the people has given birth to reckless practices of adventurism and commandism.

It is quite insufficient for our comrades to understand these characteristics merely in a general sense. It is necessary to take them into consideration in all our work and in dealing with every concrete issue if we are to avoid or minimize mistakes. These characteristics should therefore become part of our Party's fundamental programme, or at least of the fundamental programme for the present stage.

4. CONCERNING THE MASS LINE OF THE PARTY

The General Programme and detailed provisions of the Party Constitution lay particular stress on the Party's mass line. This is another feature of the present revised Constitution, because the mass line is a fundamental political and organizational line of our Party. This means that all our Party organizations and Party work must be closely linked up with the masses of the people.

Comrade Mao Zedong has repeatedly pointed out to us that the mass line should be applied in all our work. In his report to this Congress, he again urged us in most sincere terms to do our work by following the mass line. He said that one striking feature distinguishing us Communists from any other political party was our very close contact with the broadest masses of the people. He asked us "to serve the people wholeheartedly and never for a moment divorce ourselves from the masses, to proceed in all cases from the interests of the people and not from the interests of individuals or groups."¹

He wanted our comrades to understand that "the supreme test of the words and deeds of a Communist is whether they conform with the highest interests and enjoy the support of the overwhelming majority of the people."² He further told us that we are invincible "as long as we rely on the people, believe firmly in the inexhaustible creative power of the masses and hence

¹ "On Coalition Government," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. III, p. 265.

² *Ibid.*, p. 266.

trust and identify ourselves with them."¹ He pointed out that "commandism is wrong in any type of work, because in overstepping the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of voluntary mass action it reflects the disease of impetuosity."² "Tailism in any type of work," he added, "is also wrong, because in falling below the level of political consciousness of the masses and violating the principle of leading the masses forward it reflects the disease of dilatoriness."³ All these teachings of Comrade Mao Zedong are extremely important and should be carefully studied and grasped and earnestly carried out by every Party member.

This mass line of ours is possible only with a proletarian party. Our mass line is a class line, the mass line of the proletariat. Our views with regard to the people and our relationship to them differ basically from those of the exploiting classes.

We fully understand the decisive role which the vanguard of the masses can play in the struggle for the emancipation of the people. The complete emancipation of the masses of the people is possible only when they have such a vanguard as our Party; otherwise they would be without revolutionary leadership. Without such a revolutionary leadership the people's revolution would meet with failure. Only under the firm and correct leadership of our Party and only by carrying on the struggle on the political lines laid down by our Party can the Chinese people achieve their complete emancipation.

This is one aspect of the problem.

The other aspect is that the vanguard of the masses must establish proper and close relations with the

¹⁻³ *Ibid.*, p. 266.

masses. It must stand for the people's interests in every field, above all in the political field. It must adopt a correct attitude towards the people and lead them by correct methods. Only by so doing can the vanguard be closely united with the masses; otherwise there is a danger that the vanguard will become isolated from the masses. In that case, the vanguard will not be the vanguard of the people. It would not only fail to perform its task of emancipating the people, it would also run the risk of being wiped out by the enemy. This means that the vanguard of the masses must have a thorough-going and clear-cut mass line in all its work.

What causes the vanguard to become isolated from the masses?

First of all, the vanguard will isolate itself from the masses if it fails to perform its task as the vanguard of the people; if it fails to represent at all times and in all circumstances the maximum interests of the broadest possible sections of the people; if it fails to define the correct tasks, policies and methods of work at the right time; and if it fails to stick to the truth and to correct its mistakes in good time. In other words, tailism and laissez-faire practices will lead to isolation from the masses.

In our Party, there has not as yet been any open advocacy of spontaneity or any tailist "theory" of following at the heels of the spontaneous mass movement or of dispensing with the leadership of the proletarian party. But Chen Duxiu-ism in the latter period of the Revolution of 1924-27 and capitulationism in the early period of the War of Resistance Against Japan were both a kind of tailism, lagging far behind the mass revolutionary movement of the time. Both were in-

capable of setting forth correct tasks, policies or methods of work to represent the people or inspire them to go forward, with the result that isolation from the people ensued and the revolution sustained losses and defeat. In addition, some comrades have committed errors of a tailist nature in various fields of their work.

For instance, some comrades in their practical work regarded the Party as an army, government, or trade union appendage, instead of as the highest form of class organization. Others in their practical work displayed inertia and conventionalism, remained satisfied with things as they were, let things run their own course and lost their keenness for making improvements. They failed to put forward the correct tasks, policies and methods of work based on the actual conditions of the masses at a given time and place so as to lead them forward, and thus they violated the principle of leading the masses step by step. They yielded to the backward ideas of the masses and reduced themselves to the level of an ordinary worker, a peasant or even a backward element, thus abandoning their vanguard role. Sometimes they compromised with the incorrect ideas of the masses and followed at the tail of spontaneous mass movements, failing to give the masses correct and far-sighted leadership. This tendency is bound to isolate us from the broad masses because the masses do not need such people to lead them.

Secondly, the vanguard will isolate itself from the masses of the people if and when its attitude and methods of leadership are incorrect, if it fails to make the masses realize the correctness of the Party's slogans through their own experiences and to act accordingly, or if the slogans and policies are too advanced or too "left," or the

forms of struggle and organization it advocated are impossible to carry out or unacceptable to the masses. In other words, commandism, adventurism and closed-doorism (sectarianism) invariably lead to isolation from the masses.

Some comrades have committed mistakes of commandism, adventurism and closed-doorism. Some, for instance, have been irresponsible towards the masses in their work. They did not believe that it was the masses who were emancipating themselves. Instead, they stood above the masses to fight in their stead, to bestow emancipation on the masses, and to issue orders. Such comrades were over-impetuous. Being only superficially active, they did not know how to transform the Party's slogans and tasks into those of the people, or how to enlighten the masses and await the proper time for their awakening. Nor did they know how to take steps to help the masses to revolutionize themselves. They tried to compel the masses to accept the Party's slogans and tasks simply by issuing arbitrary orders and forcing the masses into action. Thus they violated the voluntary principle regarding the masses. Especially when doubt and dissatisfaction had arisen among the masses because of slogans that were too advanced or policies that were too "left," they tried all the harder to carry on the work by issuing orders, by coercion or even by punishment. An extreme form of this kind of mistake was to find fault everywhere, to look for shortcomings and bad examples, to criticize, condemn and punish in such a way as to frighten the people and the cadres in order to push the work forward. The comrades did not bring out the good points or hold up the good examples so that they could be studied, developed and systematized.

They did not hold up the heroes and model workers as an example or publicize the good experiences so as to encourage the Party members and the people and help them to progress and overcome their mistakes. They lashed out in all directions and tried to get things done simply by issuing orders. Instead of learning from the masses and benefiting from the people's new ideas and suggestions, they tried to force everyone to do things their way. Such a tendency led to serious isolation from the masses, and aroused the resentment of the masses against the individual comrades or even against the Party.

In addition to the two tendencies mentioned above, the tendencies of bureaucracy and warlordism have been noticeable in some of our comrades. Such tendencies also mean serious isolation from the masses of the people.

The tendency to bureaucracy was shown by some comrades who did not work on the basis of serving the people and who lacked responsibility towards the people and the Party. Typical examples are those who loafed around all day long, doing nothing but issue orders. They did not investigate, study or learn from the masses. They rejected criticism from the masses, ignored the rights of the people, or even demanded that the people serve them. They did not scruple to sacrifice the interests of the people for their own benefit. They became corrupt and degenerate and lorded it over the people.

The tendency of warlordism was shown by some comrades who ignored the fact that our army was the army — or the armed force — of the people, a most important instrument of the people for the defeat of their enemies and for their own liberation. They looked on the army as a special force standing beyond or above

the people, or as the means of building up the personal influence or position of a small number of individuals. As a result, they introduced bureaucratic and dictatorial methods of work into the people's army.

The effect of this behaviour, as shown in the relations between officers and men and between different ranks, was that the army was commanded merely by the issuing of orders and the meting out of punishment, and not by reliance upon initiative and consciousness. Secondly, the effect was shown in the relations between the army and the people. Some comrades did not ensure that their subordinates pay strict attention to discipline in relations with the people. These comrades lacked feelings of love for the people. Instead, the people were subjected to coercion, violence and insults. As a result, the army became separated from the people. Thirdly, the effect was shown in the adoption of a purely military approach to the relationship between the revolutionary army and the revolutionary government, in an attempt to place the army above the government and to run the government by the army, just as a warlord would do.

It is very clear that such tendencies have nothing whatsoever in common with a people's army.

The wrong tendencies in our Party which led to isolation from the masses arose because of the cultural backwardness of the working people and the influence of the exploiting classes of the old society. The petty-bourgeois elements and other elements in our Party who had been long separated from social production were often susceptible to such influences, which resulted in various tendencies of isolation from the masses. These tendencies have their own deep social origin and were even mentioned in the General Programme of our Party

Constitution. Further development of the revolution, involving much harder work, will give rise to the possibility of the growth of such tendencies among us. We must, therefore, wage a constant struggle against them in order to maintain and constantly strengthen our relations with the broad masses of the people. As Comrade Mao Zedong puts it, we must constantly "sweep the floor and wash our faces" so that political dust and dirt and political germs may not cloud or poison the minds of our comrades or the body of our Party.

The masses of the people must have their own powerful vanguard, which on its part must be most closely united with the widest possible sections of the people. Only thus will the emancipation of the masses of the people be possible. Therefore, our Party, the vanguard of the Chinese people, must constantly liquidate tendencies such as the above which estrange it from the masses, and must unite more closely with the masses of the people. This is the mass line of our Party, the mass line of Comrade Mao Zedong. It is a line designed to establish correct relationships between our Party and the people. It is a line which enables our Party to adopt a correct attitude and correct methods for leading the masses. It is a line which aims at establishing a correct relationship between our Party's leading organs and individuals on the one hand and the masses of the people they lead on the other.

According to Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party's policies and methods of work must spring from the masses and go back to the masses. In other words, the organizational as well as the political line of our Party should come correctly from the masses and go back correctly to the masses. Our Party's correct political line

cannot be separated from its correct organizational line. Although partial, temporary disharmony may occur between these two, it is impossible to imagine a correct political line existing alongside an incorrect organizational line or *vice versa*. The one cannot be isolated from the other. What is meant by a correct organizational line is the mass line of the Party, the line of intimately linking the Party's leading cadres with the broad masses inside and outside the Party, the line that comes from and returns to the masses, the line that combines general calls with individual guidance as a method of leadership.

In order to carry out thoroughly the mass line of our Party and of Comrade Mao Zedong, the General Programme and provisions of the Party Constitution have drawn particular attention to the following mass standpoints which must be instilled into the mind of every Party member.

Firstly, there is the standpoint that everything is for the masses, the standpoint of serving wholeheartedly the masses. From its very beginning, our Party was founded to serve the people. All the sacrifices, efforts, and struggles of Party members have been made for the welfare and emancipation of the masses of the people and for nothing else. This is the greatest glory of us Communists. This is something we are particularly proud of. Hence, any standpoint that sacrifices the interests of the people for personal interests or the interests of small cliques must be wrong. So long as they are devoted to their duty and have a more or less good record, all our Party members and those who have joined the revolutionary ranks are serving the people, whether they are aware of it or not, whether they occupy im-

portant, leading positions or are merely privates, cooks, or grooms. They are all of them directly or indirectly serving the people at their different posts. Therefore they are all equal and honourable. We must develop a higher level of consciousness among all Party members and personnel so that they may serve the people and hold themselves responsible to the people on the basis of a higher level of consciousness.

Secondly, there is the standpoint of assuming full responsibility to the masses of the people. As we serve the people we must hold ourselves responsible to them and enable them to obtain real benefit and emancipation through our service. We must try our best to avoid mistakes or reduce them to a minimum in order not to harm the people or cause them loss. In order to benefit the people, the tasks, policies and methods of work we adopt must all be correct. If they are not correct, harm will be done to the people's interests. Should that happen, we must earnestly carry out self-criticism in order to ensure prompt rectification. This means that we must know how to serve the people, to serve them well and not badly. Hence, under no circumstances should we adopt an easy-going attitude towards the people. We must be seriously responsible.

It is also necessary to understand the unity between responsibility to the people and responsibility to the leading bodies of our Party. This means that our Party members, when carrying out the instructions of a leading organ or an individual leader, must be held responsible to that leading organ or individual leader. But it is wrong to make any distinction between responsibility to the Party leadership and responsibility to the people. Only by holding oneself responsible to the peo-

ple can one say that one has assumed the highest and final responsibility. It must be understood that the interests of the Party are identical with the interests of the people. Whatever benefits the people also benefits the Party and must be carried out by every Party member with heart and soul. Likewise, whatever injures the people also injures the Party and must be opposed or avoided by every Party member. The interests of the people are precisely the interests of the Party. The Party has no special interests of its own beyond the people's interests. The maximum good for the greatest number of people — this is the highest criterion of truth, and consequently, the highest criterion of all the activities of our Party members. Any Party member who is responsible to the people is also responsible to the Party, and he who is irresponsible to the people is irresponsible to the Party. It must be understood that responsibility to the Party and responsibility to the people are identical. They should be unified, and must not be separated or set in opposition to each other.

When shortcomings or mistakes are uncovered in the directives of the leadership or of individual leaders in regard to tasks, policies or style of work, suggestions for correction should be made with a sense of responsibility to the people. It is essential to distinguish between right and wrong, and not to take things lightly; otherwise, it would mean irresponsibility not only to the people but also to the Party.

Party discipline must be observed and Party unity maintained, because the maintenance of such discipline and unity is in the basic interest of the Chinese people. There must be no undermining of Party discipline or unity on the pretext of assuming responsibility to the

people. Nevertheless, any shortcoming or error committed by a leading body or individual leader must be corrected. It is the duty as well as the right of every Party member to help in this respect, for any such shortcomings or errors are disadvantageous to the people, hence also to the Party. The spirit of our Party membership in relation to sincere self-criticism, a critical attitude towards one's own errors and those of the leadership, and the observance of Party discipline, is part of the spirit of responsibility towards the people.

Thirdly, there is the standpoint of faith in the self-emancipation of the people. Comrade Mao Zedong constantly teaches us that the masses of the people are truly great, that their creative power is inexhaustible, that we are invincible only when we rely on them, that the people alone are the real makers of history, and that real history is the history of the masses of the people. Marx pointed out long ago that the toilers emancipate themselves. Their salvation depends not upon emperors, gods, nor heroes but upon themselves, as the *Internationale* says. This means that only through the people's own struggles and efforts can their emancipation be achieved, maintained and consolidated. It cannot be bestowed or granted by any outsider. Nor can it be fought for or secured through the efforts of any one except the people themselves. Hence, an attitude of gratuitously bestowing emancipation on the masses or of fighting in their stead is wrong.

The masses make their own history. Their emancipation must be based on their own consciousness and willingness. They select their own vanguard. And, under the leadership of this vanguard, they must organize themselves and fight for their emancipation by

their own efforts. Only thus can they consciously secure, retain and consolidate the fruits of their struggles. The enemies of the people can be overthrown only by the people themselves. It cannot be done in any other way. The emancipation of the people by the efforts of the vanguard alone, without the people's own genuine consciousness and mobilization, is impossible. History does not move forward, nothing can be accomplished, in this way. Even such matters as reductions of rent and interest, the formation of mutual-aid teams or co-operative societies — all of which concern the immediate interests of the people — will become so superficial that rent reductions will be mere paper transactions, co-operative societies or mutual-aid teams will exist only in form, unless they are taken up voluntarily and consciously by the masses themselves, not bestowed on them or organized for them from outside their ranks.

The cause of the Communists is nothing but the cause of the masses of the people. However correct our programme and policy may be, they cannot be carried out without the direct support and consistent struggle of the masses.

With us, therefore, everything is dependent on and determined by the people's consciousness and voluntary action, without which we can accomplish nothing and all our efforts will be in vain. But as long as we rely upon the consciousness and voluntary action of the masses and as long as such consciousness and voluntary action are genuine, then, with the addition of the Party's correct leadership, every aspect of the great cause of the Party will finally triumph. Therefore, when the masses are not fully conscious, the duty of Communists — the vanguard of the masses — in carrying out any kind of work is to

develop their consciousness by every effective and suitable means. This is the first step in our work and it must be well done no matter how difficult it is or how much time it may take.

Only when the first step has been taken can we start on the second step. In other words, when the masses have reached the necessary level of consciousness, it is then our responsibility to guide them in their actions — to guide them to organize and to fight. When this has been brought about we may further develop their consciousness through their actions. This is how we lead the masses step by step to fight for the basic slogans of the people as put forward by our Party. We Communists, and the advanced elements and outstanding figures among the masses, can play no higher part in the people's cause. Nothing more than this can be expected. If we attempt to play a greater part than this, all kinds of errors — such as individual heroism, commandism, arbitrary management of things and the bestowing of favours on the masses — may ensue.

In the struggle for the emancipation of the people, a Communist should act and can only act as a leader or guide to the masses of the people. He should not and cannot act as a "hero" taking the place of the people in the task of conquering the world. In their revolutionary struggle the masses of the people are in urgent need of far-sighted and steadfast leaders and guides as an indispensable factor for their success. But they do not need "heroes" to conquer the world for them, for such "heroes," who are isolated from the masses, can achieve nothing for the cause of emancipating the people.

Fourthly, there is the standpoint of learning from the masses of the people. In order to serve the people

well, to kindle their consciousness and to give guidance to their actions, we Communists must first of all possess certain qualities. We must have foresight, or forethought. This means that we must be the harbingers of enlightenment, the only people capable of helping the less enlightened. Besides our whole-hearted devotion to the cause of the people's emancipation, our inexhaustible enthusiasm and our spirit of sacrifice, we must have adequate knowledge, experience and vigilance before we can successfully raise the people's consciousness, lead their actions and serve them well. Learning is indispensable if we are to acquire knowledge, experience and foresight.

We can enrich our knowledge by studying Marxist-Leninist theories and by studying the history and lessons of the people's struggles in foreign lands. We can also learn from our enemies. But what is most important is to learn from the masses, for their knowledge and experiences are the most abundant and practical and their creative power is the greatest. This is why Comrade Mao Zedong has time and again told us to learn from the masses before we can educate them.

Only when our comrades have humbly learned from the masses, crystallized the knowledge and experience of the people and turned it into systematic knowledge of a higher order, will they be able to take positive steps to develop the consciousness of the people and give guidance to their activities. If, instead of doing this, we devise a set of schemes in a self-conceited way out of our own imagination or mechanically introduce a set of schemes based on historical or foreign experiences, with the aim of leading the masses and developing their consciousness, it will certainly prove futile. In order to

learn unceasingly from the masses, we must not stand isolated from the people for a single moment. If we do so our knowledge will be extremely limited and we will certainly not be intelligent, informed, capable or competent to give them leadership.

"An ordinary person is often nearer to the truth than some of our higher bodies.

"In order to give leadership to our cause, it is far from enough to rely solely on our own experiences, the experiences of the leaders. In order to exercise correct leadership, to the experiences of the leaders there must be added the experiences of the rank and file of the Party membership, of the working class, of the toiling masses, as well as of the so-called 'persons of no consequence.'

"It is only possible to achieve this when there are the closest connections between the leaders and the masses, between the leaders and the rank and file of the Party membership, the working class, the peasantry, and the working intelligentsia.

"To maintain and consolidate the connections with the masses, to be ready to listen to the voice of the masses — herein lies the strength of the Bolshevik leadership and the reason for its invincibility."¹

Such is Stalin's advice to the Communists of the Soviet Union. It is a universal truth.

The task of leaders and leading bodies is to exercise correct leadership, have a correct idea of the situation, grasp its essence, set forth the tasks, make decisions, and mobilize and organize the masses to carry out these decisions and supervise the work. To do this well, it is nec-

¹J. V. Stalin, *Defects in Party Work and Measures for the Liquidation of Trotskyites and Other Double-Dealers.*

essary to learn from the masses and to follow the line of "coming from the masses" and "going back to the masses," otherwise no leadership can be satisfactorily carried out.

This is what the standpoint of learning from the masses means.

The standpoints of "everything for the people," of holding oneself responsible to the people, of having faith in the people's ability to emancipate themselves, and of learning from the people constitute our mass standpoints. These are the standpoints of the vanguard of the people in regard to the people. Only with such standpoints, such firm and unequivocal mass standpoints, can our comrades carry out a clear-cut mass line in their work and exercise correct leadership.

Some comrades commit the error of regarding as mass work only the work of such mass organizations as trade unions or peasants' associations, to the exclusion of all others. All Party activities or those under Party leadership are mass activities, and should be carried out, without exception, through the masses, from a mass standpoint and on the basis of the mass line. The mass line and mass standpoints are required for each and every activity.

Work in our Party is also a kind of mass work and should be carried out according to the mass line, since the Party itself is part of the masses of the people and furthermore is dedicated to serving the people.

Our work in the army is also a kind of mass work to be carried out according to the mass line, since the army itself is part of the masses of the people and is also dedicated to serving the people.

Of course, different lines of work have their particular forms of procedure which should not be confused

with one another. Thus, forms of work in trade unions and peasants' associations should be distinguished from those in the Party and the army. Nevertheless, all of them are mass work.

Naturally, the masses of the people are not all alike and our work is therefore varied and intricate. Our comrades, in their respective fields, must each directly serve a specific section of the people, such as the workers of a factory, the peasants in a village, the staff members of an office, the soldiers of an army unit, or just a handful of people. However, they have the common objective of serving the Chinese people as a whole.

Hence our comrades must correctly grasp the relationship between the part and the whole, so that while directly engaged in partial activities and serving a section of the people they are indirectly promoting and strengthening the entire revolutionary cause and serving the entire people. Their standpoint must cover both part and whole. It is wrong to keep an eye only on the part to the neglect of the whole or *vice versa*. The parts and the whole must be unified.

When there is conflict between the partial, temporary interests of the masses of the people and their total, long-range interests, the former must be subordinated to the latter. This means that a small reason must be subordinated to a big reason, and a small principle to a big principle. This is a very intricate problem; however, there can be a thorough-going mass line only when our comrades know how to think and how to correctly discern and co-ordinate the partial and the basic interests of the people in any specific situation. Otherwise, they may consciously or unconsciously support the temporary interests of a section of the people in opposition to the

long-range interests of the majority of the people, thus isolating themselves from the masses.

In all sections of the masses there are generally to be found the relatively active elements, the intermediate elements and the backward elements. In the initial stages the active elements are usually in the minority, while the intermediate and the backward elements make up the broad masses. In accordance with the mass line, attention must be paid to the majority, that is, the intermediate and backward elements; otherwise the advanced section will become isolated and nothing can be done satisfactorily. The slogans for action and the forms of struggle and organization that we put before the masses must be acceptable to the intermediate and the backward elements. The development of the people's own consciousness and initiative is chiefly concerned with these elements. A mass movement is possible only when these people are awakened and inspired to action.

We must pay particular attention to educating, uniting and organizing the active elements so that they may become the nucleus of leadership among the masses. However, it must be clearly understood that we are not organizing the active elements merely for their own sake and that it is absolutely impermissible to isolate these elements from the intermediate and the backward masses. Our intention is to attract and set in motion the intermediate and backward elements by means of the active elements. In other words, it is for the sake of rallying the broadest possible masses that the active elements are to be organized. If the intermediate and backward masses are not yet awakened, we must know how to enlighten them as well as how to wait for them. If we are unwilling to wait but recklessly rush forward

with merely a small number of the active elements following us we shall isolate ourselves from the masses and end in failure.

The peasantry constitutes over 80 per cent of China's population. Taking the nation as a whole, consideration for the majority of the masses of the people mainly implies consideration for the peasantry. Our mass standpoint is intimately connected with our rural standpoint. Under the present conditions, the Chinese working class would certainly not be able to fulfil its own task if it ignored China's peasantry or if it did not attach special importance to the emancipation of the rural districts.

In view of the low cultural level of the masses of the Chinese peasantry and other sections of the people, except for the intelligentsia, it is all the more necessary in our work to combine individual guidance with general directives and to set a whole campaign in motion by breaking through at one point. General directives alone will never succeed with masses of a low cultural level. This is due to the fact that the masses, especially the peasantry, usually consider problems on the basis of their personal experiences instead of on the basis of our general propaganda and slogans. In carrying out our work we should break through at one point to give an example to the masses and let them see and understand things for themselves. It is only by giving concrete examples to the masses, and particularly to the intermediate and backward elements, that we can encourage them and afford them opportunities and facilities to understand problems, thereby instilling in them the confidence and courage to act upon the Party's slogans, and arousing an upsurge of mass enthusiasm.

The reason why army heroes, labour heroes and model workers have recently begun to play an outstanding role in various places, and have become the best propagandists and organizers for the masses, is that it is through such familiar personalities, examples and experiences that the masses are enabled to understand the issues and to raise their consciousness and self-confidence. This also explains why revolutionary reconstruction in China's revolutionary bases is playing an educational and enlightening role for the people of the whole nation and is developing the consciousness and self-confidence of the entire nation. The same is true where a leadership breaks through at one point in order to provide concrete experiences for the reinforcement of its general directives. It is difficult for the masses to understand general directives which are not borne out by concrete experiences familiar to them.

Thus we must take care of the whole and the majority, and reject closed-door-ism and sectarianism. We want close connections with the masses, and we are against bureaucracy and warlordism.

We want to lead the masses forward, but we do not want commandism. We want close relations with the masses, but we do not want tailism. We should start from the level already attained by the masses in developing their consciousness and leading them forward. In our work we must co-ordinate the highest principles with the closest possible connections with the masses. Such is our mass line. This is, of course, difficult to carry out. But it is the only way to become a good Marxist and Communist.

So much for the explanation of the General Programme.

III PARTY MEMBERSHIP

The Party Constitution provides that a person may be admitted as a Party member only after attaining the age of eighteen. This is because a person generally becomes relatively firm in political judgement only after that age.

Persons under eighteen who were admitted into the Party before the revision of the Constitution shall retain their membership.

A youth who is politically mature at an earlier age, that is, one who is qualified for membership before eighteen, may be specially accepted as a probationary member, provided it is deemed a loss to the Party if he is not admitted. However, the change to full membership can be effected only after he has reached eighteen.

Besides the age qualification for the admission of new members, the Party Constitution classifies the persons to be admitted to the Party into four categories, in accordance with their respective social status. Such classification is necessary in view of the present social conditions in China.

The first category consists of workers, casual labourers, farmhands, poor peasants, city poor, and revolutionary soldiers. The required qualifications of those recommending them as well as their terms of probationary membership, are comparatively moderate. This means that there are no special restrictions on the admission into the Party of proletarian and semi-proletarian elements. Persons brought up in our revolu-

tionary ranks from childhood are accorded the same treatment.

By city poor are meant bankrupt handicraftsmen, peddlers, peasants who are unsuccessful in their attempts to get jobs in the cities, and casual labourers who depend upon casual employment for their subsistence.

The second category consists of revolutionaries from the petty bourgeoisie, whose admission should be recommended by relatively experienced Party members and whose probationary period is one year. This is due to the fact that the ideology of people from this social stratum is usually more complex, and they often have misgivings about the discipline of our Party and about participation in serious revolutionary struggles. Therefore there should be a longer probationary period, with more experienced Party members making the recommendation.

The term "salaried employees" as used in the section of the Constitution dealing with this category, does not include high-ranking officials of the old regime.

Since the Chinese revolution has not yet succeeded on a nationwide scale and since our Party is still underground in the greater part of China, there are large numbers of revolutionaries who want to join our Party but cannot find the way. Therefore, the Party Constitution provides that in areas to which the revolution has recently expanded, persons of the first and second categories may be admitted by temporarily lowering the qualifications for persons making the recommendation and also by shortening the probationary periods. But such temporary measures shall be decided upon by the Party committee of the province or border region.

The third category consists of revolutionaries who formerly belonged to the middle and upper strata of the exploiting classes, whose ideology is even more complex, and who find it more difficult to accept the Programme and discipline of our Party. Therefore, the Constitution provides that their application for joining the Party must be recommended by experienced Party members and be approved by a relatively high Party committee, while their probationary period is two years.

The fourth category consists of persons who have accepted other political faiths and joined other political parties or groups. The Party Constitution provides that their application for joining the Party must be recommended by even more experienced Party members and their admission shall be effected only after being investigated and approved by a still higher Party committee. However, there should be a distinction between an ordinary member, a relatively responsible member, and a highly important and responsible member of another political party. As to a person who can prove that he joined the Kuomintang under coercion, or through group enrolment against his will, or without his voluntary consent, and that he did not participate in its political activities after joining it, he shall be admitted into our Party in accordance with the procedures applicable to his social status, instead of being treated as a person with other political affiliations.

Members of all other political parties shall, generally speaking, be admitted into our Party only after they have left their respective parties.

Members of certain social organizations such as trade unions, peasants' associations or cultural institutions, who

have not joined any political party or group, shall be admitted according to their respective social status.

A former member of our Party applying for readmission after leaving the Party must follow the procedure for the fourth category, as such a person, having displayed political vacillation, should have the recommendation of more experienced Party members, and the investigation should be conducted by a higher Party committee. However, his probationary period may generally be shortened.

Should a member apply for reinstatement because his Party connections have been involuntarily broken off, he is to be reinstated immediately after his application has been verified by the Party committee of a province or border region or at any higher level. He need not go through the procedure required of a new member.

It is provided in the Constitution that each new member should go through the procedure for admission individually, which means that he must apply in person, sign the application form, and have responsible letters of recommendation from the Party members making the recommendation. His application should be discussed and decided upon by a general membership meeting of a Party branch and approved by a competent higher Party committee. Membership through group enrolment shall be considered null and void. The ceremony of admission may vary from place to place as necessary.

The responsibilities of those making the recommendation and of the Party committees deciding on and approving the admission of a new Party member are provided for in the Constitution. Such provisions are very important and must be observed scrupulously by the Party committees at all levels concerned, as some have failed in this respect.

Since the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, our Party has developed tremendously. It has enrolled over one million members and set up nearly one thousand county Party committees and several tens of thousands of Party branches. It has thus organized and led the 95,000,000 people of the liberated areas in waging the heroic war, and led the people's revolutionary struggles in territories under Japanese or Kuomintang rule. These are brilliant achievements. But shortcomings and mistakes have also been made by some Party committees in recruiting members and in consolidating Party organizations.

Some of the Party committees, especially higher committees such as those of provincial, border area, regional and county levels, have shown a lack of responsible leadership, concrete work, concrete guidance and the summing-up of experiences. In spite of the fact that the enrolment of new members is of vital importance in building up the Party, they simply assigned this work to the Party branches or sub-district Party committees or merely gave them enrolment quotas with a time limit. As a result, the work of expanding the membership was left to take its own course without leadership. It even happened that persons who lacked integrity or political reliability, or were the least experienced in Party-building or possessed no verified records, were placed in charge of recruiting new members and setting up lower level organizations of the Party. This has resulted in considerable damage to the Party's organizational purity and to its strictness. Under such conditions, not only have unreliable and vicious elements of all kinds sneaked into our Party, but even some branches of an undesirable composition have appeared. Such occurrences in our

branches have manifestly been the result of lack of leadership in Party affairs on the part of higher Party organizations. In order to put an end to such a state of affairs and prevent its recurrence, and in order to build up an advanced party of the working class, the Party committees at all levels and especially the higher Party committees should raise the question of the expansion of the membership to the position of importance it deserves. It is also necessary to sum up past experiences in order to place this work on the right track.

In the villages what kind of people should be admitted into the Party? They should be those who have displayed their activity and ideological integrity in struggles against the enemy, in the struggles for rent and interest reduction, in the production campaign, and in the various other revolutionary struggles. Where such struggles or campaigns have not developed, and where consequently there are no such activists, then, except for accepting certain conscious elements, there should be no large-scale expansion of membership. Only with the development of various movements and the emergence of a large number of active elements and after an appropriate period of propaganda and investigation, may a relatively larger number of members be recruited from their midst. The development of such movements is quite uneven in the rural districts and the emergence and progress of active elements is by no means uniform. The work of recruiting new members should therefore vary from place to place. We cannot issue a universal call for the expansion of membership but must base the work on specific investigations and concrete directives.

It is the same with recruiting Party members in the armed forces, factories, public offices, and schools, where only those who have displayed their qualities in battles and in other struggles may be admitted after a process of propaganda and education.

The Party Programme, policy and Constitution should be popularized among the active elements of the masses before a membership drive is conducted.

It is most important to place this work under the charge of functionaries who are absolutely reliable and experienced in Party-building as well as pure in ideology and style of work. They must have been tried and tested. Where such elements are lacking, they should be reared and trained before being entrusted with this task, and there should be constant specific guidance and education in the course of the work. They are the organizers of the Party. There should be a number of such tested and trained organizers in every such regional, county, or sub-district Party committee to carry on this regular work. In confirming or approving the admission of new members they should be relied upon by these committees to conduct detailed conversations, to participate in investigation and verification. Recruiting of new members may thus become a regular work without losing the Party's leadership and control.

Recruiting new members is one of the regular activities of a Party branch. The branches must not become inactive in this respect just because there are membership organizers. Yet, while recruiting must be carried on by the Party branches, there should be close guidance on the part of higher Party committees, which in turn also rely upon such a group of tested organizers in giving guidance.

As provided in the Constitution, those introducing new members must submit truthful and responsible information concerning the applicants for membership. The approval of the admission of new members by a higher Party committee must be done with a serious sense of responsibility and must never become a matter of mere formality.

In short, the work of increasing the membership must be conducted properly so that the advanced elements among the masses may be drawn into the Party. This requires not only the active efforts of the Party branches and the rank and file of the Party membership, but also the correct leadership by the higher Party committees.

Although the membership of the Party in the liberated areas is quite large, yet in more than half of the villages there are no Party branches and in a great number of these villages there is as yet not a single Party member. There are only a few border areas where the number of villages with Party branches exceed 50 per cent of the total, while in several other regions, over half the villages have no Party members.

In order to strengthen the leadership of the Party it is necessary to establish in each and every village a Party branch with anything from a few to several score members. Therefore the increase of the membership and the setting up of new Party branches must be continued in the liberated areas. Due to the considerable progress that has been made in recent years in the villages where Party branches exist, through fighting the enemy and through struggles for rent and interest reduction, through production campaigns, through the Rectification of Three Styles and examination of cadres, large numbers of active elements have come to the fore. It is from

their midst that Party members should be recruited. In newly liberated territories there is an even greater necessity for membership recruiting drives. The enrolment of more members is one of the Party's important organizational tasks in the liberated areas. This work should be properly carried out in the manner mentioned above. Past shortcomings must not be repeated.

Neither membership recruiting drives nor the consolidation of Party organizations can proceed in complete isolation from other activities or from mass struggles. It is from amongst the active elements in these activities and struggles that new Party members should be drawn in. And it is only through these activities and struggles that Party branches and sub-district and county Party organizations can be consolidated. Take a rural Party organization for example. It can be consolidated only when it has led the masses to achieve a widespread reduction in rents and interest and a general development of production, thus raising the class consciousness and the living standards of the masses; when it has organized a good militia to protect the people in the struggle against the enemy; when, through popular election campaigns, it has enabled the masses to understand the importance of holding political power; and when it has carried out effective co-operative, cultural and sanitary work. Such local Party organizations will be consolidated, since they will have forged their links with the masses through these activities and will have developed the consciousness of the masses and helped them to become experienced. Their own inner solidarity will also have been reinforced and they will have acquired a better understanding of Party policy and gained more practical experience.

The period of probationary membership for new Party members was not provided for in the Constitution passed by the Sixth Party Congress, but in practice they were fixed locally from two months to one year, varying from place to place. Experience has shown that a probationary period of two or three months means virtually nothing in the villages and it is also insignificant in public offices, schools or in the armed forces. Essential educational work for probationary members has seldom been carried out.

The new Constitution provides for three different periods of probation, half a year, one year, and two years. But the Party committee to which a new Party member belongs may prolong or shorten the term of probation. The purpose of the probationary period, as pointed out in the Constitution, is to provide the probationary member with elementary Party education and to allow the Party organization to observe his political qualities. That is to say that attention must be paid to the education and observation of a new member as a part of the Party's organizational work; otherwise probation will mean very little. It is extremely important to educate the probationary members so as to help them understand the Party Constitution, Programme and policy and build up their basic communist outlook with a correct attitude towards organization, labour and the masses, and a materialist outlook which consists in seeking the truth in facts.

A Party member is free to leave the Party. Hence the Constitution provides that upon receipt of an application to leave the Party, and after the applicant has returned all his Party documents and records, the Party branch should strike his name from the Party rolls. This

illustrates that withdrawal from the Party is free while admission into the Party is conditional and not free.

The Constitution provides for the expulsion of Party members. In the case of a member of a Party committee at any level, such expulsion must be decided upon by the said committee in plenary session and must be approved by its superior Party committee.

IV THE DUTIES AND RIGHTS OF PARTY MEMBERS

The duties and rights of a Party member are set forth in the present revised Constitution. I think such stipulations will guarantee a more normal development of our inner-Party life, raise the activity and sense of responsibility of our Party members for the cause of the Party, and assure the Party's unity of action.

As to the duties of a Party member, the Party Constitution first of all calls upon him to endeavour to raise the level of his consciousness and to understand the fundamentals of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought. This is because herein lies the decisive factor as to whether a Party member is capable of making appropriate contributions to the people's cause. Without a high degree of consciousness and an understanding of such fundamentals, a Party member cannot make contributions to the people's cause consciously and properly, nor can he become a good Party member.

The Party's organizational unity is based on the premise of the ideological unity of members laid down by

Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, without which the Party's unity in organization and action has no foundation, its discipline cannot be established on a voluntary basis, disputes may occur, and the Party's fight for the cause of the people may be jeopardized. Within the Party we stress the consciousness of Party members. All Party work is carried out mainly by relying on the consciousness and initiative of the Party membership. While the Party promotes the consciousness of its members by every possible means, each Party member must do his utmost to learn by himself and to constantly raise his consciousness in order to have his own ideas clarified. Hence, this task holds first place in the duties of a Party member.

Such a provision in the Party Constitution means that a member studies for no other purpose than for the people's cause. In other words, it is the inescapable duty of every member to the Party and the people to learn Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought untiringly, and to raise his consciousness and straighten out his ideas. If a Party member shows a lack of concentration or takes up an incorrect attitude to his studies and becomes self-conceited and does not strive to improve himself, he will be assuming an irresponsible attitude towards the people's cause.

Next, the Constitution provides that every Party member must strictly observe Party discipline, participate actively in the political life of the Party and the revolutionary movement in China, put into practice the Party's policy and the decisions of Party organizations and fight against everything inside and outside the Party which is detrimental to the Party's interests. These duties of a Party member have long been recognized by everyone.

Here we stress the necessity of a Party member's active participation in inner-Party political life, instead of merely emphasizing 'the necessity of participation in its organizational life, for a Party member's concern about all things relating to the Party ought to be on a political basis and he ought to be politically responsible to the Party. Every Party member should show a responsible attitude in taking an active part in Party elections, meetings, and decisions.

Under no circumstances may a Party member jeopardize the Party or do anything detrimental to the interests of the Party. He must also fight against anything and everything inside and outside the Party that endangers the interests of the Party.

The Constitution provides that it is the duty of every Party member to serve the masses of the people, to learn and report their needs in time, and to explain to them the Party's policy so as to consolidate the Party's relations with them.

The Constitution provides that a Party member should not only observe the discipline of the Party, but should also set an example in observing all laws and regulations of the revolutionary government as well as the discipline of all revolutionary organizations, including the revolutionary army, revolutionary mass organizations, and revolutionary institutions. Every Party member should set an example in his sphere of revolutionary work. Observance of the discipline of the Party must be coupled with observance of the discipline of the revolutionary government and organizations and these two should not be placed in opposition. The Party demands that every one of its members should set an example in the observance of the people's revolutionary discipline and the discipline

of the revolutionary government and organizations. Any member who fails to do this will be violating Party discipline. Comrades who regard these two duties as incompatible should take effective steps to remedy their mistakes.

Ours has long been a big party and it is bigger than ever now. It is, moreover, the party which is in power in the liberated areas. Except for a small number of professional revolutionaries the overwhelming majority of the Party members should each have an occupation and master it. However much revolutionary zeal we possess, if we have not mastered our profession or trade we cannot lead the people, or build up a strong and prosperous country.

The Constitution provides that each Party member is entitled to the following rights:

(1) To participate in free and full discussion in Party meetings and in Party publications of problems concerning the carrying out of Party policy;

(2) To elect and be elected within the Party;

(3) To submit proposals or statements to any Party organization up to and including the Central Committee;

(4) To criticize in Party meetings any Party functionary.

These provisions regarding membership rights will undoubtedly stimulate the activity and sense of responsibility of the rank and file of the Party and ensure that the membership fight against everything detrimental to the Party's interests. They will arm the Party so that it may effectively combat arrogant, self-conceited bureaucracy and commandism, improve the relations between the leadership and the rank and file and thereby improve Party work all along the line.

All these rights of the membership must be respected. But it has often happened otherwise in practice. For example, some comrades devised various means to prevent the expression at meetings of ideas which were against their own. They imposed various restrictions on elections. They forbade Party members to submit proposals or statements to higher Party organizations, delayed or withheld the transmission of Party members' appeals, forbade the criticism of responsible leaders by Party members at Party meetings. Some commandist and bureaucratic elements even took reprisals against Party members because of criticism and self-criticism. These harmful practices must be thoroughly eradicated.

While submission by the minority to the majority must be absolutely upheld in our Party, the proper rights of the minority must also be respected. A minority, on condition that it pledges its submission to majority decisions, is entitled to state its views in opposition to the majority and to cast its dissenting votes at meetings. Party organizations must see to it that the minority shall not be wrongly treated or suffer at the hands of the majority. A minority is entitled to retain its opinions when it is unconvinced, provided that it submits to the decisions of the majority.

The protection of such fundamental rights of the minority is required by inner-Party democracy and it is also indispensable. This is because under certain conditions truth may not be on the side of the majority but may lie with the minority. Under ordinary conditions, when the majority is right and the minority wrong, we grant these rights to the minority to give it a chance to correct its incorrect ideas in a proper manner.

The Party Constitution provides that criticism of any Party functionary, including any responsible member, at Party meetings is an inalienable right of every Party member. This provision is contrary to current practice in some places where criticism of responsible personnel is forbidden at Party meetings. It must be pointed out that this habit is bad and mischievous, as it encourages bureaucracy and commandism and paralyses the initiative and sense of responsibility of the rank and file of the Party membership and should therefore be corrected. As soon as this Congress has approved the provision in question, this habit shall no longer be permitted, and the prevention of a Party member's criticism of any Party functionary shall become illegal and be regarded as a violation of the Party Constitution.

It must be clearly understood that only when a person may speak his mind freely without fear of giving anyone offence will it be possible for Party members to make a clean breast of things without holding anything back. Only in this spirit can inner-Party solidarity and discipline be built up and strengthened.

All Party members are entitled to participate in elections in all situations where it is possible and necessary to hold them as well as to be elected to the leading bodies of the Party as provided in the Party Constitution. No restrictions should be added other than those stipulated by the Constitution.

Party committees at all levels should forward without delay all proposals, statements, and appeals submitted by any member to the Party's leading bodies.

Only through full protection of such democratic rights of the membership may we reduce non-organizational, non-political or unprincipled criticism, utterances or ac-

tions and diminish gossip. The criticism, utterances, or actions of the rank and file of the membership can then be guided along a responsible and correct path and in a direction beneficial to the Party's cause.

Of course it is possible for anti-Party elements and hidden spies and wreckers within the Party to try to carry on sabotage by taking advantage of inner-Party democracy. But the rank and file of the membership will not tolerate such activities and will act in conjunction with the leading bodies of the Party to eliminate such elements.

All shortcomings in our Party must be remedied. But this can be done and the Party's vitality preserved and developed to its highest degree only by fostering the initiative and sense of responsibility of all Party members. The Party Constitution accords the foregoing rights to all Party members in order to develop the initiative and sense of responsibility of the entire Party membership. I believe that the entire Party membership will make use of such rights to shoulder the responsibility for remedying all shortcomings, to promote good practices in the Party, to advance Party activities, and to place our Party on a foundation never before so sound and powerful. Such is our hope.

V DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM WITHIN THE PARTY

Our Party is not simply the aggregate of its membership. It is a unified organic body established accord-

ing to a definite principle. It is a combination of leaders and rank and file. It is an integration of the Party headquarters (the Central Committee), the Party organizations at all levels, and the broad membership constituted according to a definite principle of inner-Party democratic centralism.

Three Party members in a factory or village do not necessarily constitute a Party organization. They must be organized according to the principle of democratic centralism. Under ordinary conditions, one of the three should be the group leader and the other two the members of the group, so that in all activities there will be a leader and two followers. Only then can this group become a Party organization. This type of organization generates new strength. The strength of the proletariat lies in organization.

As laid down in the Party Constitution, democratic centralism means centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized leadership. It is both democratic and centralized. It reflects the relationship between the leadership and the followers, between higher and lower Party organizations, between individual Party members and the Party as a whole, and between the Party's Central Committee and Party organizations at all levels on the one hand and the rank-and-file Party members on the other.

What does it mean when we say that Party centralism is centralism based on democracy? It means that the leading bodies of the Party are elected by the membership on a democratic basis and enjoy their confidence. It means that the rank and file, or its representatives, decide on the resolutions and policies of the Party, which are centralized from the rank and file on a democratic basis, and are

then persistently maintained and carried out by the leadership in conjunction with the rank and file. The authority of a leading body of the Party is given by the Party membership. Therefore, the leading body is empowered, on behalf of the membership, to give centralized leadership in the management of all Party affairs and to command obedience from the lower organizations and the Party membership. Order within the Party is built on the principle of the subordination of the individual to the organization, the subordination of the minority to the majority, the subordination of lower organizations to higher organizations, and the subordination of all the constituent Party organizations to the Central Committee. This means that the Party's centralism is based on, instead of separated from, democracy. It is not individual autocracy.

Why do we say that the Party's democracy is democracy under centralized leadership? It means that every Party meeting must be convened by a leading body and carried through under proper leadership. The adoption of every resolution or ruling is preceded by thorough preparation and careful deliberation. Every election has a carefully prepared list of nominees. The Party as a whole has a unified Party Constitution and unified discipline which all Party members must observe, and a unified leading body which must be obeyed by the entire membership. This means that inner-Party democracy is neither democracy without leadership, ultra-democracy, nor anarchy within the Party.

Democratic centralism within the Party is a system which unites the leadership of the Party with the broad rank and file of the Party membership. In other words, it is a process of synthesis of the opinions of the rank and

file by the leading body and the carrying out of such synthesized opinions among the rank and file. It is the expression of the mass line within the Party.

Some comrades do not understand that the centralism of the Party is based on democracy. Consequently, they separate their leadership from inner-Party democracy, and from the rank and file of the Party membership, and call this "centralism." They think that their authority as leaders needs no mandate from the Party membership but can be arrogated by them. They think their leading positions require neither election nor the confidence of the Party membership and the lower Party organizations but can be assumed by themselves. They think that their policies and resolutions need not be centralized from the rank and file on a democratic basis and then decided by them but can be issued arbitrarily. They stand above the rank and file of the Party membership, instead of joining with the rank and file. They command and control the Party, lording it over the Party organizations, instead of acting within the organization of the Party and obeying and submitting to the control of the Party. They want to act independently of the upper Party organizations in the name of inner-Party democracy, but they suppress the democratic rights of the Party membership and lower Party organizations in the name of inner-Party centralism. In fact, they observe neither democracy towards their subordinates nor centralism towards their superiors.

While others must obey and observe majority decisions and Party discipline, they, as leaders, feel entitled to do otherwise. They observe none of such basic organizational principles as the subordination by the individual to the organization, the subordination of the minority to the majority, and the subordination of lower Party organiza-

tions to higher Party organizations. Party rules and resolutions, in their opinion, are written for ordinary Party members but not for those who are leaders. This is an anti-democratic, autocratic tendency in the Party and a reflection of the ideology of the privileged classes in society. It has nothing in common with our Party's centralism. It is a deviation which does however exist within our Party and should therefore be completely wiped out.

There are other comrades who do not understand that democracy inside the Party is democracy under centralized leadership. They therefore divorce their actions from the Party's centralized leadership and from the Party as a whole. They pay no attention to the overall situation or to the long-range interests of the Party as a whole. They act freely and without restraint within the Party, guided solely by their own interests and views. They neither abide by Party discipline nor carry out the decisions of the Party's leading bodies. They indulge in all kinds of non-organizational, non-political, and unprincipled utterances and actions. They either deliberately resort to exaggeration in order to spread dissension within the Party or engage in endless gossip or wrangling, never taking the trouble to see whether or not there is a critical situation or an emergency. They even take advantage of some temporary lack of understanding among the Party membership, due to insufficient consideration of their proposals, to take the vote on their own proposals and fulfil their own designs in the name of "the majority."

This represents the idea of ultra-democracy which has nothing in common with our Party's democracy. The danger of such an idea, as Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out, "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."¹

The source of this idea "consists in 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

The tendency to anti-democratic absolutism and the presence of ultra-democracy inside the Party are two extremes of inner-Party life; yet the latter often appears as a kind of retaliation against the former. Thus wherever there is a serious tendency to absolutism, there ultra-democracy may arise. Both are wrong tendencies detrimental to and destructive of genuine Party unity and solidarity. The sharp vigilance of the whole Party is required to guard against their occurrence.

Now we must fully develop the democratic way of life in our Party and bring about a high degree of inner-Party democracy. At the same time a high degree of centralism in Party leadership must also be achieved on the basis of this highly developed democracy.

In his report to the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth Party Congress, Comrade Mao Zedong said:

The patriarchal system born of small-scale production is predominant in our country, and there is so far scarcely any democratic life on a nationwide scale. This state of affairs, when reflected in our Party, accounts for an inadequacy of democratic life. It im-

¹⁻² "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. I, p. 108.

pedes the full development of the activity of the whole Party. Meanwhile it contributes to insufficient democracy in the mass movement and the united front.

The situation has changed since the Sixth Plenum. Considerable progress has been made both in the democratic movement in China's liberated areas and in inner-Party democracy, especially through the Rectification of Three Styles and the review of Party work. A free and penetrating examination of Party history and the Party line by the cadres prior to the Seventh Party Congress contributed to a substantial development of inner-Party democracy and ensured adequate preparations for the Congress. However, whether we view the Party as a whole or take the local Party organizations separately, it must be said that democratic life within the Party is still insufficient and needs to be developed further. This is why many provisions for the extension of inner-Party democracy are included in the Party Constitution.

Our Party is still waging a war and it must be stressed that this war is of a protracted nature. Until there are changes in our technical conditions and in the situation of our enemy, this war remains basically a kind of guerilla warfare. Therefore, meetings and elections must be held in so far as conditions of guerilla warfare permit. There should be no unwarranted curtailment of inner-Party democracy on the pretext of the war situation.

In the liberated areas, whenever large meetings and elections can be held, Party congresses at all levels and membership meetings must be called according to the provisions of the Constitution in order to elect the Party's leading bodies at all levels.

It is provided in the Party Constitution that in electing a leading body of the Party, not only does the presidium of the Congress have the right to submit a list of candidates, but every delegation and every delegate must be assured of the right to nominate candidates and every elector must have the right to criticize any candidate or candidates or propose alternative ones. The candidate list must be fully discussed. Voting must be carried out on the basis of the list either by secret ballot or by open vote.

It is provided in the Party Constitution that congresses of lower Party organizations¹ shall be convened once in every two years. This means that there must be a new election of the leading bodies of the lower Party organizations once in every two years. Between congresses, the convocation of conferences to deliberate and decide on immediate tasks is necessary and possible. In the past we have held various kinds of cadres' meetings to review and decide on our work, but in future this work should be carried out by conferences and congresses. Elections should be held only once in every two years, as too many elections are unnecessary and will handicap our work. Therefore, in addition to Party congresses, Party conferences are needed to review and plan our work. Such conferences may be held once or twice a year according to local needs, with representatives selected by lower Party committees. Such conferences have the power to remove members of a Party committee and to replace them by by-election, but the removal or replacement of Party committee members must be approved by the Party

¹Lower Party organizations include all Party organizations other than the Central Committee. — *Translator.*

committee in question. This is because such a conference, although its power is greater than that of the cadres' meetings of the past, remains a lower organ than the Party committee.

Provincial or border area, region, county or sub-district Party congresses and conferences may be held in rotation. For instance, this year the province, border region and county may hold congresses while the region and the sub-district hold conferences. Next year the region and the sub-district may hold congresses while the province, border region and county hold conferences.

The Party committees at various levels should be broadened so as to include people in charge of various lines of work and cadres who maintain good connections with the masses of the people. According to the Constitution, a standing committee should be organized within each Party committee to take charge of the day-to-day work. The standing committee should also include cadres in charge of various lines of work so that it may become a regular leading nucleus of the various lines of work in its territory. A leading Party committee may, when necessary, avail itself of one or two assistant secretaries to help the secretary, so that all Party work may be taken care of without hitch. No committee at any level should confine its activities to inner-Party organizational work; each should strive to become a body directing all the activities in its territory. Inner-Party organizational work is only part of the work of a Party committee and it should be specially assigned to the committee's organizational department. Therefore, every Party committee's decisions and plans of work, if they are of a general character, should be discussed and decided upon by meetings of the entire committee. After decisions

have been reached collectively, assignment of individuals should be made to put these decisions into effect.

A crucial factor in broadening inner-Party democracy lies in the fostering of criticism and self-criticism among Party members and cadres. Comrade Mao Zedong stresses self-criticism in his report, pointing out that serious self-criticism is an outstanding feature which distinguishes us from other political parties. We must develop a positive sense of responsibility among our Party members and cadres in regard to Party policy and Party work, thus enabling them to use their reasoning power, raise problems boldly and properly and express their views. Those in charge of the leading bodies of the Party at all levels must be the first to practise thorough-going self-criticism on the defects and errors in the work carried out under their leadership. They must set an example to the Party membership and the cadres and be fully prepared in their minds to accept criticism from others, without becoming resentful or insolent when so confronted, or resorting to repression or punishment of their critics. Only in this way can the development of inner-Party democracy be encouraged. Otherwise, Party congresses and conferences, even if held regularly, may just be lifeless, undemocratic gatherings filled with dull and repetitious speeches, while listening to reports and voting may be nothing but pure routine.

Many of our comrades, including some in responsible positions, still do not know how to conduct a meeting or make it successful. Thus many meetings have ended in failure or produced poor results. Sometimes meetings become a serious burden on the Party membership and the masses. It is obvious that the holding of too many meetings does not in itself constitute democracy. Meet-

ings must be well conducted, and be permeated with a spirit of democracy, criticism, and self-criticism. In this connection we must observe Comrade Mao Zedong's directives on "How to Make Party Members Interested in Attending Meetings," embodied in the *Resolution of the Gutian Conference*.

Experience proves that wherever a comrade in a responsible position seriously practises sincere and necessary self-criticism before the Party membership and the masses, the people and the Party membership there will develop their criticism and self-criticism and their activity will be heightened, their internal solidarity will develop, their work will improve and their defects will be overcome; while the prestige of the responsible comrade will increase instead of being undermined. There is a great deal of evidence both in the Party and among the masses, to prove this. On the other hand, wherever a responsible comrade lacks the spirit of self-criticism, refuses or fears to criticize or reveal his own defects or mistakes, or tries to cover them up; when he expresses no gratitude for criticism and, instead of being pleased to be told of his faults, blushes to the ears and makes acrimonious retorts or looks for a chance to revenge himself on his critics, the result is just the opposite. Democracy and self-criticism among the Party members and the people will not develop, their activity will not be heightened, their internal solidarity will not be achieved, the defects will not be overcome and the work will not improve; furthermore, the prestige of that comrade will vanish. Therefore, the responsible personnel of all local Party organizations have a tremendous responsibility for the promotion and broadening of democracy within the Party.

The Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies and responsible personnel of the Party organizations at all levels should submit reports on their work at stated intervals to the Party members and lower Party organizations which have elected them. In any such report, not only the current situation and the accomplishments but also the defects, weaknesses, and mistakes in the work should be discussed, with a request that the electors and lower Party organizations should give their opinions and comments. Experience shows that the responsibility for errors and shortcomings in the work of many lower Party organizations or cadres does not always rest with them but with the higher leading bodies. Many such errors and shortcomings are due to the failure of the higher leading bodies to assign the tasks and clarify the policy at the right moment, or, if they have defined the tasks and clarified the policy, to a failure to tackle the pertinent problems systematically and thoroughly. Sometimes mistakes are due to errors in the tasks and policies defined by the higher leading bodies. When this happens, it is not right to "pass the buck" and lay too much of the blame on the lower Party organizations, on the membership or on the cadres, for this will undoubtedly undermine their confidence and activity. Of course, the lower Party committees, the Party members and the cadres must show a similar spirit of self-criticism towards their own defects and mistakes.

The essential aim of inner-Party democracy is to allow full rein to the initiative and activity of the Party members, raise their sense of responsibility towards the cause of the Party and encourage them or their representatives to express their opinions fully, within the scope of the Party Constitution. In this way they can take an active

part in the Party's work of leading the people and the unity and discipline of the Party will be strengthened. Only through a genuine extension of inner-Party democracy can voluntary Party discipline be strengthened, inner-Party centralism established and consolidated and correct leadership given by the leading bodies. Therefore the Party Constitution provides that the leading bodies of the Party at all levels shall carry on their work in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy.

To allow the practice of a high degree of democracy within the Party is not intended to weaken inner-Party centralism in any way. On the contrary, a high degree of democracy goes hand in hand with a high degree of centralism. A high degree of democracy and a high degree of centralism should be combined and should not be counterposed. Only through the practice of a high degree of democracy can a high degree of centralism of leadership be attained, and only under a high degree of centralism of leadership based on democracy can a high degree of democracy prevail. It is wrong to assert that centralized leadership will be weakened by practising a high degree of democracy. Thus, the Constitution provides that when a leading body at any level carries on its work in accordance with the principle of inner-Party democracy, it should not hamper inner-Party centralism or distort inner-Party democracy, which is proper and beneficial to centralized action, into anarchistic tendencies — assertion of "independence" and ultra-democracy.

Inner-Party democracy must be encouraged to proceed along lines beneficial to the cause of the Party, that is, the cause of the people, and it should neither weaken the fighting will and fighting solidarity of the Party nor become a tool for saboteurs, anti-Party elements, splitters,

opportunists and adventurists. Thus the Constitution provides that a thorough review of and debate on the policy and line of the whole Party or of a lower Party organization may be undertaken only under proper leadership, and when conditions permit. In other words, it must not be carried out in a state of emergency but must be properly decided by the central organs of the Party or by lower bodies as the case may be, or must be demanded by a majority of the lower organizations or a higher organization.

Inner-Party democracy must be broadened, but Party decisions must be carried out unconditionally. The subordination of the Party members to the Party organization, of lower Party organizations to higher Party organizations, of the minority to the majority and of the constituent organizations of the Party to the Central Committee — these principles as laid down in the Constitution must be observed unconditionally.

Some comrades make the carrying out of these principles contingent on such matters as their own acceptance of the correctness of the resolutions or instructions; or the ability, position, length of Party membership and cultural level of their superior, whether he has treated them well or badly, or whether he belongs to the same group. It must be clearly stated that no conditions such as these apply. A Communist best expresses his spirit of discipline precisely when he is in danger or when there are serious differences between him and the Party over matters of principle or personal matters. It is only when he unconditionally carries out organizational principles even when he is in a minority that he can be considered a highly disciplined and principled Party member who is mindful of the whole situation and understands the subordination of

partial interests to those of the whole, the subordination of a small truth to a big truth and the need to submit differences over secondary principles and personal matters to the supreme principle of Party unity and Party discipline.

In no circumstance should we Communists encourage blind obedience. Since we are now in the midst of guerilla warfare, conducted over dispersed rural districts, whose internal and external conditions differ widely from each other, in carrying on our work we should pursue a policy of "decentralized operations under centralized leadership." Over-centralized operations and equalitarianism are both erroneous. But, decentralized operations do not mean assertion of "independence." They mean independent actions and the ability to do independent work. They must not be separated from centralized leadership, indeed, they must have centralized leadership.

Conditions being what they are, it often happens that the decisions and instructions of a leading body do not cover every situation in every place, but are only of a general character. Consequently, while they are applicable to ordinary areas, they do not suit certain special areas. It also often happens that they contain mistakes and are impracticable. In such conditions, we should not advocate blind performance or obedience. Instead, we should encourage intelligent and sincere action. This means that a serious study of both the circumstances and the decisions and instructions is necessary. When the latter are found to contain mistakes or to be at variance with the local situation, one should have the courage to bring them to the attention of a higher body with a request for their withdrawal or amendment, instead of trying to enforce them blindly and obstinately, which leads to

waste of the people's time and money and isolates us from the masses. In so doing the lower Party organizations are by no means being insubordinate. Nor are they committing the error of asserting "independence," but they are sincerely carrying out the decisions and instructions. The outstanding Party members are those who are capable not merely of independent deliberation but also of helping to correct the errors and defects of a higher body. They should be especially encouraged.

In carrying out the decisions and instructions of the higher bodies, there may be three kinds of approach. The first is to carry out only those decisions and instructions which suit one's taste and disregard others which do not. This is assertion of "independence" pure and simple and is impermissible, whatever may be the pretext. The second is blind, mechanical fulfilment of decisions, without taking the trouble to examine whether or not the particular decisions and instructions are applicable, or to study the existing circumstances. This is a blind rather than a serious carrying out of decisions and instructions of a higher body and is consequently also impermissible. The third is to study the decisions and instructions on the one hand and the circumstances on the other, to resolutely carry out what is practicable, and to report what is impracticable to the higher body, giving detailed reasons and requesting amendments. This is an intelligent and sincere manner of carrying out decisions and instructions and it is the only correct approach. We not only do not oppose, but should by all means encourage, this kind of creative power and activity on the part of a Communist. The Party opposes disregard for discipline and the practice of asserting "independence," but advocates and encourages initiative on the part of every Party member in

tackling problems and in doing his work independently under the general direction of the Party.

A leading body should allow its lower organizations and membership to set forth their suggestions and questions and to propose revisions to its decisions and instructions, which, when found really to contain mistakes or defects, should be corrected accordingly. If the lower ranks are wrong, satisfactory explanation should be given to straighten out their ideas, while the wrong practice of taking harsh measures against them should be definitely avoided. If the higher body insists on the execution of a decision or instruction, despite appeal for revision, then it should be carried out, and the lower ranks should cease persisting in their own stand or resisting the decision.

The discipline of the Communist Party is based on voluntary subordination. It should not be mechanical nor should it restrict the activity and initiative of the membership. There should be a combination of the membership's discipline and initiative.

The Party Constitution provides that a Party organization at any level shall ensure that publications under its guidance popularize the decisions and policy of its higher organizations and of the central bodies. This is necessitated by the Party's unity and its national character. The decisions and policy of the Central Committee and other higher Party organizations should be disseminated everywhere, and no ideas contrary to these should be publicized. The ideology of Marxism should be disseminated while ideologies contrary to it should not. This is not being satisfactorily carried out by some of our lower Party organizations. Some papers do not give sufficient publicity to the decisions and policy of the Central Committee, and it even happens that they carry

articles at variance with the decisions and policy of the Central Committee. Therefore, Party organizations at all levels must check up on this and correct such practices.

With regard to issues which are of a national character the Party Constitution provides that prior to a statement or decision by the Central Committee no lower Party organizations or their responsible personnel shall take the liberty of making their views public or issuing decisions on such issues, although they may hold discussions among themselves and raise their proposals to the Central Committee. This, too, is essential to the Party's unity and its national character. The Party as a whole can have only one orientation or line, not several. It can adopt only one attitude or take one viewpoint on a national issue, not several. Lower Party organizations should not exceed their powers by publicly issuing their views in place of or prior to the Central Committee on issues which should and must be decided upon and made public by the Central Committee. No responsible Party leader, including members of the Central Committee, should publicize their views on national issues without the Central Committee's approval. They may discuss their views at the meetings of lower Party committees and make suggestions to the Central Committee. But it is impermissible for them to make public, either inside or outside the Party, views not yet made known by the Central Committee or to circulate and disseminate these views among other lower Party committees. The reason is that should such views or decisions conflict with those of the Central Committee it would leave a very bad impression in the Party and among the people, or before our enemy. We did not stress this point when we had only very limited wireless facilities. But now when such facilities are ample this

point must be emphasized. The Central Committee has called attention to this point a number of times during the War of Resistance Against Japan.

As to local questions, the Constitution authorizes lower Party organizations to make independent decisions, provided these decisions do not conflict with the decisions of the Central Committee and other higher organizations. In this connection, undue interference or making of decisions for the lower Party organizations on the part of a higher body should also be avoided. While it is necessary for a higher body to make suggestions to a lower organization in order to help it reach correct decisions, the power of decision must rest with the latter.

At present our Party is still underground in many areas. A Party organization in such circumstances must adopt special forms to carry out its work. Hence the Constitution provides that open organizational forms and methods of work of the Party which are unsuitable for a Party organization operating in secret may be modified. This provision is necessary. Organizational principles provided in the Constitution must be carried out by the whole Party, but the organizational forms and methods of work of the Party should be modified according to the changing circumstances and conditions. This is a point which has already been dealt with.

VI THE PROBLEM OF CADRES

It can be seen from our Party Constitution that the leading bodies of our Party at all levels are of tremendous importance for the Party and its cause. Since the leading

bodies of the Party at all levels are composed of cadres, the problem of cadres is therefore a problem of vital importance.

The cadres of the Party are the nucleus of the Party leadership and of the Chinese revolution. Everyone knows that "cadres decide everything." Without cadres, it would be impossible to carry out our Party Programme and policy through the masses, or to achieve the emancipation of the Chinese people. Large numbers of cadres have been steeled in the course of our Party's heroic struggles during the past twenty-four years. In the interests of the emancipation of the people, they have demonstrated the noblest revolutionary qualities of the Chinese people in their self-sacrifice, their profuse creative power and their perseverance. They are, as Comrade Mao Zedong puts it, "the pride of the Party and of the whole nation." But for the sacrifices and efforts of a great many of our cadres in the past, the people's cause would not have achieved so much as it has today. Without the concerted efforts of the entire body of our cadres in the future, the cause of the emancipation of the people will not be able to attain complete victory. Hence the problem of Party cadres is virtually an all-decisive issue in the cause of the Chinese people. Even a relatively serious mistake on this issue would impair the Chinese people's cause.

Our cadres come from the masses and work among them. They should be the leaders of the masses of the people and at the same time should carry out the mass line. They are the nucleus of leadership among the masses, emerging from the struggles of the masses and in turn directing their struggles. The cadres are therefore a part of the masses that deserves our special regard. It is

precisely because of our regard for the masses and their cause that we think particularly highly of their cadres. Our regard for cadres starts from our regard for the masses. It is not isolated from our regard for the masses, nor is it held for its own sake. Therefore, cadres who have isolated themselves from the masses, or who instead of serving the masses well, have done harm to the masses do not deserve our regard. The Party must reform such cadres by strict education. Thus one of the most important criteria for appraising cadres lies in their mass standpoint and mass line and in the intimacy of their connections with the masses.

Coming from different walks of life our cadres generally are of two categories: those of worker and peasant origin and those of student and intellectual origin. However, both categories fight and work for a common goal. Of these two categories, the first makes up the majority of our cadres. In the first category itself, the cadres of peasant origin constitute the majority. These facts prove that our Party is the vanguard of the Chinese working class. In the entire history of China only a party like ours has been able to educate and train up thousands upon thousands of distinguished cadres from among the ordinary workers and peasants. It is only under our Party's education and encouragement that they have achieved such a development today as heroes of the nation's cause. This is to the credit of our Party, and to the credit of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

Each of these two categories of Party cadres has merits and defects which need to be developed or eliminated as the case may be. The worker and peasant cadres should endeavour to maintain and broaden their connections

with the masses and their popular style of work. Meanwhile they should overcome their cultural and theoretical deficiencies. The cadres from the intellectuals on the other hand should foster the spirit of seeking truth from the facts and the mass standpoint, eliminate their idealistic standpoint and their lack of regard for labour, for workers and peasants, and strive to mix with the masses of workers and peasants.

Both categories are indispensable to the success of the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation and neither can be dispensed with. Therefore it is just as wrong to disregard and despise the worker and peasant cadres as it is wrong to disregard and despise or discriminate against cadres from the ranks of the intellectuals. Both categories must respect each other and learn from each other. Close unity and co-operation between them in all circumstances is decisive for the progress and victory of our cause.

In each of these two categories there is a distinction between old and new cadres, with the latter in the majority. Most of the cadres who joined our Party after the beginning of the War of Resistance Against Japan have done splendid work for the people, undergone excellent training, and become well experienced in the struggle. Our Party has been constantly reinforced with large numbers of new cadres. It is only with such reinforcements of new cadres that the cause of our Party can succeed. The relationship between the new and old cadres, that is, the proper attitude to be adopted by each towards the other, is a problem of constant importance within our Party.

Comrade Mao Zedong has repeatedly called attention to the importance of this problem, pointing out that "all old cadres, therefore, should welcome the new ones with

the utmost enthusiasm and show them the warmest solicitude," and that "cadres, new and old, should respect each other, learn from each other and overcome their own shortcomings by learning from each other's strong points, so as to unite as one in the common cause."¹ However, it must be pointed out that some comrades have not yet paid sufficient attention to this important directive of Comrade Mao Zedong. It still happens that new cadres have a poor opinion of the old cadres, who in turn look down upon and fail to welcome and look after the new cadres. From now on they must reflect upon this and correct it once and for all. Only if the old and new cadres unite and co-operate on all matters can we carry out our tasks.

Cadres also differ from each other owing to the difference in the nature, record, and location of their work in the course of the revolution, resulting in the distinction between the military and the civilian cadres, between the cadres of one army and those of another, between the cadres of one place and those of another, between the cadres of one department and those of another, between local cadres and those from outside, etc. Each of these cadres is versed in a certain field of revolutionary work but weak in others, and each has his merits and defects. Therefore, they ought to respect, help, and learn from each other, instead of meeting each other with distrust, complaint or friction. Comrade Mao Zedong has stressed the proper relationship between these cadres in his report on Rectification of Three Styles, and every cadre and Party member must act accordingly. Only with a high

¹"Rectify the Party's Style of Work," *Selected Works of Mao Zedong*, Eng. ed., FLP, Beijing, 1977, Vol. III, p. 47.

degree of solidarity and co-operation between these cadres under all circumstances can our common cause be advanced.

The cadres policy of our Party and of Comrade Mao Zedong is, above all, a policy of solidarity among the cadres, solidarity between the worker and peasant cadres and the intellectual cadres, between the old and the new cadres, between cadres in different fields, between the cadres from different places of work, and between the cadres of the entire Party. Hence, anything which stands in the way of solidarity ought to be overcome.

On what basis should the solidarity of our cadres be built up? What impedes their solidarity?

Our Party is neither a family group nor a trade guild. It is a revolutionary political party welded by a common ideology and common political programme. The solidarity of our cadres is consequently neither unprincipled nor founded on personal interests or feelings, but based on Marxist-Leninist ideological unity, on a common faith and a common programme for the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation, on the correct line of the Central Committee of the Party, and under the correct leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Mao Zedong. Therefore as long as we are united ideologically, as long as we have the same faith and programme to serve the people, and so long as we all support and carry out the line of the Central Committee and fight hand in hand under the leadership of the Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, then irrespective of what kind of cadres we are or what place or field of work we are assigned to, we must be united. There is no reason not to be united. Petty differences in personal life or differences of sentiment must not be permitted to sow discord among us.

This is the firm foundation of the solidarity and unity of the entire Party and of all cadres.

The basis of our solidarity will be lost if, among our Party members or cadres, there is anyone who advocates dogmatism or empiricism instead of Marxism-Leninism, who stands by personal or clique interests instead of those of the entire people, who goes against the line of the Central Committee instead of carrying it out, or who asserts "independence" instead of accepting the leadership of the Central Committee and of Comrade Mao Zedong; in other words, if there is anyone who departs from the Party's common programme, from the principles of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought, or from the interests of the people as a whole, and embraces subjectivism, sectarianism and mountain-top-ism. Only through uncompromising and correct struggle to overcome these erroneous tendencies can solidarity be achieved. These tendencies in the Party — opportunism, dogmatism, empiricism, sectarianism, mountain-top-ism, etc. — are detrimental to our solidarity and must be overcome.

It may be said that as the result of several years' study of Party history and as the result of the Rectification of Three Styles, dogmatism in the Party has already been subjected to severe criticism. Although remnants of it still survive and attention should still be given to overcoming them, it is not so prevalent as before in the Party. Our comrades have become more sensitive to its smell, and its growth in the Party will from now on meet with great difficulty.

Empiricism in the Party has also been subjected to a certain amount of criticism during the Rectification of Three Styles and Party history studies, and it, too, is de-

creasing in the Party. Yet it should be pointed out that the criticism of it is still insufficient, many of our comrades still lack a keen sense in smelling it out, and it still has some influence in the Party. This is, to a certain extent, an obstacle to the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and to inner-Party solidarity. We must therefore thoroughly overcome the empiricist deviation by keeping up the spirit of the Rectification of Three Styles in order to further the solidarity of the whole Party.

In spite of the fact that the most serious sectarianism in the Party has been basically overcome through several years of the Rectification of Three Styles and studies of Party history, a tendency to blind mountain-top-ism which undermines inner-Party solidarity still exists in certain sections of the Party. There are objective and historical causes for the birth of this kind of blind mountain-top-ism:

(1) The big percentage of petty-bourgeois elements both inside and outside the Party;

(2) The prolonged separation one from another of different sections of the Party under conditions of rural guerilla warfare, resulting in special backgrounds, connections and styles of work which are different from each other;

(3) Insufficient Marxist-Leninist education in the Party.

Hence comrades in different sections of the Party with a mountain-top-ist sentiment often unconsciously display the following typical undesirable characteristics. They relish solely their own glorious history but fail to appreciate or simply ignore those of other sections. They appreciate only their own achievements, knowing nothing

about their own shortcomings. Consequently comrades in other sections are permitted only to sing praises to their achievements but not to criticize their defects even though they are real and obvious. On the other hand, they see nothing but defects in the other sections of the Party, hence they have nothing but criticism for others. Nor do they take into account and appreciate the difficulties of others. In their own company they talk and joke, and get along together perfectly, looking after each other and conversing without reservation. But they are inaccessible, aloof, indifferent and inconsiderate to those outside their own group. In their inner-Party relations they tend to act together as a group and even join in holding others back.

There are some people in the Party who are overbearing, causing others to be apprehensive.

This typical tendency to mountain-top-ism often exists in certain sections of the Party, *e.g.*, between local and outside cadres, between army and civilian cadres, between cadres of one section of the army and those of another section, or between the cadres of one district and those of another, thus weakening solidarity and giving rise to discord and friction which ought not to take place. This tendency to mountain-top-ism is in most cases blind and unconscious. Therefore people who display this tendency invariably fail to admit their mistake until they have been properly talked to and convinced about it. The blindness of this tendency, when utilized by some elements with ulterior motives, may cause serious disputes in the Party.

The blind tendency to mountain-top-ism is a special type of sectarianism without an apparently mistaken political programme, but with numerous incorrect political and organizational views, serious tendencies of ex-

clusionism and conservatism and a serious isolation from the masses. It is anti-Marxist and anti-Leninist. It weakens the solidarity and unity of the entire Party and represents a tendency towards factionalism. Hence, it must be opposed and eliminated. This is a principle which must be clearly understood and there must not be the slightest doubt on this point.

When we point out the existence of mountain-top-ism in the Party and give the objective causes of its origin some comrades seem to feel the need of this tendency and are rather proud of it. They regret its non-existence. They want to build up, strengthen and legalize this tendency within the Party, thus developing blind mountain-top-ism into conscious mountain-top-ism. It is quite obvious that this idea is contrary to the principles of Marxism-Leninism.

The tendency to mountain-top-ism in the Party must be eliminated. The boundaries dividing the "mountains" must also be swept away. Just as in the struggle against other errors, hasty and rash measures should be avoided. It is necessary to understand first of all the objective existence of this tendency, taking into consideration its blind character and its objective and historical background. It is also essential to patiently develop Marxist-Leninist education, and to raise the consciousness of the cadres and of the Party membership in order to enable them to carry out self-examination. It is particularly necessary that those comrades who are in an advantageous position and those who are holding leading positions should set an example in conducting such self-examination and self-criticism, so as to eliminate this tendency first by getting rid of its blindness and then by its gradual removal. The tendency to mountain-top-ism can only

be eliminated after our comrades have developed Marxist-Leninist consciousness.

Another obstacle to the unity of our cadres is the "knapsacks" on their backs. Almost every category of cadres has both strong and weak points. But many comrades very often exaggerate their own strong points while neglecting their weak points and the strong points of others. Thus, they easily become arrogant, look down upon others and cannot stand others' criticism or "gossip." As a result, their strong points become their "knapsacks" and obstacles to their further progress as well as to the unity between cadres. Therefore their strong points become their weak points.

For instance, worker and peasant cadres are often proud of their social origin and look down on the cadres from the ranks of the intellectuals. The latter on their part, because of their knowledge, "return the compliment." The old cadres on account of their seniority and longer record of struggle often look down on the new cadres and the new cadres, considering themselves more intelligent and capable, look down on the old cadres. The army cadres by virtue of their ability in warfare look down on the civilian cadres and the civilian cadres on account of their richer experience look down on the army cadres. The cadres of one army unit on account of having won more battles look down on the cadres of another army unit and *vice versa*. In addition, the cadres of different regions and departments often look down on each other on account of their respective accomplishments and knowledge.

Because of the "knapsacks" on their backs, some comrades look down upon others. This inevitably arouses resentment and engenders disunity among the cadres. This

is the reason why Comrade Mao Zedong calls upon our cadres to examine their "knapsacks" and get rid of them in order to free themselves spiritually, in order to enable them to establish connections with the masses and commit fewer mistakes, and in order to unite the whole Party.

However, many comrades are blind to the "knapsacks" on their backs. Many comrades do not realize that their "knapsacks" are too much of a heavy burden and are therefore loath to throw them off. So the cadres must raise their consciousness and guard against arrogance, which not only handicaps the further development of their merits and achievements but also even turns their merits into defects. That is why Comrade Mao Zedong calls upon us to learn to use our brains, to think properly, to analyse things and to do away with the blindness that is prevalent in our Party so that the merits of our cadres may be developed and their defects overcome, and progress may thereby be made from day to day and from month to month. On the basis of such progress the unity among our cadres will be greatly strengthened.

Our cadres must throw away their "knapsacks," mountain-top-ism, and subjectivism. They must use their brains to analyse all important problems. They must raise their consciousness, eliminate blindness, be humble and cautious, guard against arrogance and impetuosity, and unite as one man under the line and leadership of the Central Committee headed by Comrade Mao Zedong. Our success will then be assured. This is the immediate task of all cadres of the Party.

The unity of our cadres is inseparable from their progress. They are two sides of the same thing. Without studying Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and without raising the level of their consciousness it is

impossible to throw off the "knapsacks," to eliminate blind mountain-top-ism, to overcome subjectivism, to realize the importance of rallying the Party members and the masses of the people, or to eradicate self-conceit and complacency. Therefore, there must be a continuous strengthening of the education of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought plus a continuous development of criticism and self-criticism — the driving force behind our Party and of our cadres — in the spirit of the Campaign for the Rectification of Three Styles, so that we may overcome our defects and raise our consciousness. Therefore, the cadres policy of our Party is a policy for the improvement of our cadres, a policy of overcoming their defects and raising their consciousness by criticism and self-criticism.

There have been continual sacrifices and losses of cadres during the relentless revolutionary wars. Moreover, the development of the revolution calls for a steady increase in the number of cadres. Large numbers of capable new cadres have emerged from the mighty torrent of the mass struggle. All this confronts us with the daily, serious task of selecting and promoting cadres.

How shall we select and promote cadres? What are the standards?

Our cadres should be imbued with the warmest communist revolutionary zeal combined with cool-headed revolutionary reason.

Our cadres should be boundlessly loyal to the cause of the people and intimately linked with the people, capable of independent orientation in intricate circumstances, unafraid of shouldering the responsibility for making decisions, and highly disciplined and well-train-

ed in Marxism-Leninism, both in fighting the enemy and in inner-Party struggles over matters of principle.

In regard to cadres policy, Comrade Mao Zedong told us at the Sixth Plenum of the Central Committee elected by the Sixth Party Congress that the criteria for our cadres policy were, among other things, "resolute carrying out of the Party line, observance of Party discipline, intimate connections with the masses, ability to work independently, willingness in work, and unselfishness."

In short, the best cadres are those who can best serve the masses of the people.

All our comrades know that the criteria mentioned here are correct. Yet there are some comrades who have brought forth other criteria. They suggest that a cadre's Party standing and his qualifications should be the first and only consideration in selecting and promoting cadres. There are also those who think only of a cadre's ability to speak and to write irrespective of whether he is a practical person or not. Other criteria are blind obedience and personal connections. These criteria for selecting and promoting cadres are obviously incorrect.

Then how shall we appraise cadres?

It should be done along two lines. Firstly, a cadre should be examined minutely and intimately by the leadership to find out his capabilities and limitations, his merits and defects, his whole personal history and his record of work. Secondly, a cadre should be examined at the place where he does his work and through the rank and file under his leadership. It is only by combining both these methods that there can be a relatively comprehensive and correct appraisal of a cadre and deviations can be avoided.

Some comrades hold that cadres can only be examined from the top. In other words, it means the examination of the subordinates by their superiors, according to the former's reports on their work. This idea is incorrect. Such examination is of course necessary, and it is one of the effective means. But it is far from sufficient. Cadres must also be examined from the bottom up. This is to say, the leading cadres must be examined by the masses, by those whom they lead. This is the most effective way.

The Party Constitution provides measures for the examination, selection and promotion of cadres by the masses and by the rank and file. These measures consist of the examination of the leaders by the rank and file of the Party membership in various Party meetings, conferences and congresses; and it is done by hearing the leaders' reports on their work, by the criticism of the leaders' defects and by the election of leading bodies. The principle of democratic centralism as laid down in the Party Constitution must be effectively enforced in the Party. The setting up of the Party machinery by the elective method, the right to nominate and to reject candidates, and the freedom of criticism and self-criticism — all these must be effectively carried out.

We believe that the appraisal and selection and promotion of cadres both from the top down and from the bottom up will yield correct results in this respect. This explains why it is stipulated in the Party Constitution that all leading bodies of the Party should be established by the elective method and approved by the higher Party committees.

The Party organizations in many districts have not yet paid sufficient attention to the selection, promotion and

development of local cadres to do responsible work in their home districts, especially the development of local cadres for military work. For instance, the data for 1943 show that in Taipei Area, of the 37 cadres of eight regional Party committees there were only nine local cadres (or 24% of the total) in comparison with 28 outside cadres (or 76% of the total). Of the 37 cadres of county Party committees under the control of four regional Party committees in Taiyue Area only six (or 16%) were natives of these counties, while 31 (or 84%) were outsiders. In Taihang Area, of the 18 cadres of five county Party committees under the control of the Sixth Region Committee only five (or 28%) were natives and 13 (or 72%) were outsiders. These figures indicate that local cadres are rarely placed even on county or regional Party committees, let alone other still higher leading bodies of the Party.

Recent reports from the Taihang Area Party Committee stated that of the region's total of 5,000 cadres at different levels and in various fields of work, local cadres formed 80%, with only 20% outsiders, indicating a change in the percentage of local cadres as compared with 1943. But in many leading bodies the majority of responsible cadres come from outside. And in the distribution of cadres, especially in responsible work, the cadres are often sent to outside positions instead of being assigned to their home counties or regions. Hence there is still a preponderance of outside cadres in positions of responsibility. This situation must be effectively altered. Similar conditions with regard to local cadres are also found in many other revolutionary bases.

Such practices as the arbitrary appointment of responsible members of lower Party committees, the haphazard

transfer of cadres of lower Party committees, and the sending of "imperial envoys" still persist in the Party organizations in certain areas. For instance, according to reports from South Hebei, secretaries of regional Party committees there had been transferred six times or more in seven years, with five times as the minimum; secretaries of county Party committees had been transferred from five to 13 times. Comrade Liu Hongfan, secretary of the Fourth Region Party Committee, took up the secretaryship of county Party committees eight times in six years. Such haphazard transfer of cadres of lower Party committees must cease.

In areas newly won over to the revolution it is generally necessary to send in outside cadres to carry on the work, but attention should be paid to sending in comrades who are natives of those areas. When cadres from other places are dispatched, they should be told to act only as guides to the local cadres, to do their utmost to help the local cadres and to prepare to hand over their work to them. The cadres from outside must not handle everything exclusively or deprive the local cadres of the opportunity to participate in the work.

In areas where there are already local cadres and leading bodies, no appointees should be sent from outside. But if it must be done, those to be sent must be told emphatically to learn and study the local situation under the leadership of the existing leading bodies and the cadres that are already there, to work devotedly, and to render assistance to the cadres who are already there. They must be told to refrain from domineering like overlords.

Extreme care must also be exercised by higher Party committees in dispatching inspectors to lower Party organizations. These inspectors must be cautioned not to

become "imperial envoys." In short, the past practice of doing things merely by issuing orders must be radically changed.

All members of the Party should realize that the significance of the Party's particular emphasis on the work of developing, selecting, and promoting local cadres is not merely a matter of cadres but a very serious matter of establishing connections between the Party and the masses of the people. Of course the cadres from outside must also maintain connections with the masses and take root among them, but they can only establish such connections through the local cadres and take root by developing a large number of excellent cadres from among the local populace. Isolation from local cadres means isolation from the populace. Lack of respect or regard for local cadres means disrespect or disregard for the Party as well as for one's relations with the masses. Experience tells us that the key to the establishment of close connections with the masses of the local populace is to build up sound relations between the outside and the local cadres and to secure the genuine support of the majority of the local cadres for the outside. The main yardstick for measuring our Party work in a given place is whether or not we have developed a sufficient number of good cadres and leaders from among the people in a given place.

The Party values its local cadres because it attaches great importance to its connections with the masses of the people. It does not value the local cadres for their own sake, nor does it neglect or look down on outside cadres. Our Party has a great number of competent cadres who are capable of working anywhere throughout the country, as they have gone through a process of tempering, and have had vast experience. They are the most precious

assets of the Party. However, if we only have a group of such cadres without the co-ordination of numerous local cadres everywhere, or, if they fail to foster, select and promote a host of local cadres and establish good relations with the majority of the local cadres wherever they may go, then the cause of our Party — the cause of the people — will certainly be unable to develop or succeed.

If, on the contrary, the outside cadres can establish good relations with the local cadres and with the masses of the people everywhere, then we are sure to make progress and win. Herein lies the essence of the problem. Of course the local cadres should forge links with the masses. Those who isolate themselves from the masses or behave badly deserve no place. Meanwhile, instead of rejecting outside cadres, the local cadres should learn from them. But it is primarily and mainly the responsibility of the outside cadres to respect, develop, and help the local cadres.

It should be understood that it is for political reasons and for meeting the needs of the objective situation that the Party lays stress at certain periods on the fostering of one or more categories of cadres; it is for no other reason. It is not because such cadres are exceptionally likable or superior to the rest. The cadres problem and the cadres policy of the Party should be understood in a political light, instead of merely from an organizational point of view; least of all, merely from the point of view of the cadres problem itself.

It is of vital importance to form a regular, sound, and united nucleus of leadership that links up with the masses of the people. The leading bodies at all levels and the membership of the Party should pay attention to the

setting up of a nucleus of leadership for each locality and for each department in their daily work and struggle. But such a nucleus cannot be formed in a hurry or at one single stroke. It must be done through a long period of work and struggle, sometimes even through a tortuous path of failures and successes, of errors and corrections. Every organization of our Party must know how to organize its nucleus of leadership and to select and send the best cadres to replace those who are incompetent or whose style of work is bad.

However, the transfer of responsible cadres, the reorganization or reconstruction of any leading Party body must be undertaken as a matter of strict responsibility to the Party and to the people. It should not be allowed to take its own course or be handled with carelessness. A higher Party organization should not transfer the responsible cadres of its lower organizations at random. Random transfers should not be made even in elections which are provided by the Party Constitution. The reorganization or reconstruction of any leading body of the Party is advisable only when it means a turn for the better, and will be more beneficial to the people. If such a turn is not assured, or if the result of any such reorganization will be just the opposite, then there should be no reorganization. It is necessary to exercise patience in helping and educating any such leading body, thus enabling it to learn in the practical work and in the mass struggles.

Some of the cadres who have made mistakes should be replaced, but not all of them, as in many cases they are no worse than those who have made no mistakes and they may possibly be even better or more useful in serving

the people, if they can really understand and correct their mistakes.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the leading bodies of the Party from the sub-district committees up are to be re-elected every two years. More frequent re-elections should be avoided unless absolutely necessary. Cadres are to be permitted to remain when re-elected. It is inadvisable to reshuffle cadres at random, even in re-elections, unless it is necessary and unless they can be replaced with better cadres. Of course, new elements may be taken in. Both the higher leading bodies and the rank and file of the Party membership should bear this in mind and act in this matter seriously and with caution. Only by so doing can we benefit the people's cause.

Considerable achievements have been recorded in the education of cadres during recent years, but it still requires constant attention. Our cadres should be well educated in the practice of correct criticism and self-criticism at Party meetings, in reviewing our work, in Party schools and training classes, and in the Rectification of Three Styles Campaign. The education of sub-district and village cadres should be emphasized as they are in direct contact with the masses of the people and are the ultimate agents to carry out all the policies and decisions of the Party. Generally speaking, this education has been neglected by the various leading bodies of the Party. Hence, the training of these cadres should be carried out systematically and extensively. If they lack a correct mass line, correct style of work and a correct understanding of Party policies, none of our Party policies can be carried out satisfactorily among the people in the villages.

Although considerable achievements and progress have been made in recent years in absorbing and promoting non-Party cadres in different fields of the people's cause, and in bringing about solidarity and co-operation between Communist and non-Party cadres, much remains to be desired. Here shortcomings still remain among our cadres, such as their lack of serious attention to absorbing different categories of talented non-Party elements in the people's service, their lack of skill in working with non-Party cadres or helping them in their work, or, as among certain comrades, the survival of sectarian, monopolistic or exclusive styles of work. Consequently in some places it still happens that non-Party cadres hold only nominal positions with no actual power to act, and that they are dissatisfied with their work. In this connection, all Communist cadres must strictly examine themselves, and get rid of their defects in order to achieve success in absorbing and uniting non-Party cadres. Communist cadres must know how to stimulate the initiative of non-Party cadres and help them to achieve success in their work and build up their prestige in working for the people's cause, thereby attracting the broad sections of the best elements into the service of the people. In dealing with non-Party cadres' errors in principle and their political differences with us, patient persuasion should be used. Only thus can the cause of the Chinese people triumph, and the unselfishness and devotion to the people of the Communists be manifested.

When a Communist cadre works under a non-Communist, he must be a model in obedience to leadership and in performance of duty. To correct our defects in this respect, the Communist cadres should first call a certain number of meetings among themselves to review

their work and then carry on self-criticism among non-Party cadres, and encourage them to voice their criticism of Party cadres until both sides can say what they want to say without the slightest reservation and until misunderstandings are dispelled, errors corrected, and solidarity and co-operation furthered in their common cause of serving the people. Such measures have been carried out in some places with good results and should become a general, regular practice everywhere. In some places the relations between Party members and non-Party members have been surveyed both inside and outside the Party and criticism and self-criticism have been carried on both inside and outside the Party, resulting in a great improvement in such relations. Such steps should be widely carried out in every public office, school, factory and village, with sufficient preparation and good leadership to bring about better relations between Party and non-Party cadres, and between Party members and the non-Party masses everywhere.

It must be made known to the entire Party that every government office, army unit, mass organization, economic institution, popular educational body, city or village is invariably based on an alliance between our Party and the non-Party masses; our Party members are usually in the minority, sometimes they form a very small percentage of the whole while the non-Party elements, including members of democratic parties and groups which are collaborating with us, form the majority, sometimes the overwhelming majority. It is quite wrong to regard these offices, bodies and organizations as the exclusive preserve of Communists, with no share for non-Party members. It is therefore the task of our Party to unite with the majority, or better still with the overwhelming

majority, in the common struggle for the people's cause. Only when the idea of such an alliance has taken root in the minds of our comrades can a healthy relationship be established between Party and non-Party circles. To establish a sound relationship between the Party's cadres and the people's cadres and leaders who are outside the Party, is an important link in the establishment of cordial relations between the Party and the masses.

VII

THE BASIC ORGANIZATIONS OF THE PARTY

As provided in the Party Constitution, the basic organization of our Party is formed on the basis of production units or work units. This is one of our Party's organizational principles, which places the basis of our Party organizations in the cells of the social organism.

The Party Constitution provides that there shall be only one single unified Party organization in each factory, mine, village, enterprise, street, office or school, irrespective of the number of Party members (from three to several thousand). This is the basic organization and fortress of the Party among the masses in a given factory, mine, office or school. The basic organization of the Party is called a Party branch. Under special circumstances it is called a general branch, or a factory, office, or school Party committee.

It is advisable that the members of a Party branch be formed into groups to facilitate our Party work. But the part to be played by such Party groups should not be over-stressed. Activities should be unified and cen-

tralized by a Party branch instead of being divided up among the Party groups, except when it is inconvenient for centralized branch action. For example, a factory, office or school Party branch with thirty or forty members is quite closely knit. Branch membership meetings should be called by the Party branch committee to conduct discussions, solve problems, and take up studies. It is not necessary to hold group meetings after a general membership meeting of the Party branch. When there are regular Party branch meetings the groups need not meet regularly, but only when necessary. The groups should not be taken as the actual basic organizations of the Party. It is not permissible to reduce the role of the Party branches to insignificance, to lift the branch committees to the status of a higher leading body instead of a leading body directly guiding the work of Party members, or to separate it from the Party membership by setting up an intermediate organization in the form of groups. In our practical work, the groups have already been mistaken for the basic organizations of the Party and have been assigned quite a lot of work, leaving nothing for the Party branch committee to do. This should be corrected.

In a factory, office, or school where there is a general Party branch or a Party committee, a substantial role can be played by sub-branches under the general Party branch or by branches under the Party committee. To these sub-branches and branches, much of the work which cannot be centralized in the Party committee or the general Party branch because it is inconvenient or impossible to do so, can be relegated. For example, the admission of a new Party member may be decided upon by the general membership meeting of a sub-branch and

it is not necessary for the general Party branch to meet again to take up the same matter, although approval by the general Party branch committee and ratification by a sub-district committee are necessary. However, the general Party branch or Party committee remains the basic organization in a production unit or work unit.

A factory, school, office, or village committee of the Party shall be authorized to ratify the admission of new Party members. Its authority should be equivalent to that of a sub-district Party committee.

A Party branch in the rural districts, as stipulated in the Constitution, is generally set up on the basis of an administrative village.¹ But the concentration points of the masses are the natural villages. Therefore, a considerable role is played by a natural village, to which we must pay great attention. The basic organizations of the Party should be located mainly in the natural villages. But the population of a natural village varies from a few scores to thousands or tens of thousands. Thus, Party groups based on natural villages under a Party branch based on an administrative village are of great importance and play the role of basic Party organizations. Even though such a group should consist of only from three to eight members, its role is nevertheless as great as that of a basic Party organization and should therefore be stressed. Many activities such as holding meetings, solving problems, taking up studies, etc., should be conducted on the basis of such groups instead of turning everything over to the Party branch. According to the Party Con-

¹ An administrative village is an administrative unit embracing some twenty villages which, as basic units in the administrative divisions, are also called natural villages.

stitution, a village with more than 50 Party members and candidate members may set up a general Party branch with sub-branches based on the location of farms or residences. This provision, which is optional, is made out of consideration for the dispersed conditions of villages in the rural districts.

In the case of a natural village of great size, a Party branch, a general Party branch, or even a township Party committee may be organized. The role of Party groups in such a big natural village is not a large one. Therefore we should not lay too much stress on activities by the Party groups. We should stress the work of the Party branch.

One of the organizational principles of the Party to be observed is the building of basic organizations and fortresses of the Party on the basis of production units or concentration points of the masses. However, the question as to whether to lay stress on the Party group, the Party branch, the factory committee or the township committee in order to facilitate the work and make it more effective, should be decided in the light of the actual circumstances.

Party branches in different levels of governmental or other offices should be placed under the direct leadership of the Party committee of the same level. Such an office branch should not take the place of a Party fraction. As provided in the Party Constitution, the Party fraction in such an office should be organized by Party members holding responsible positions therein as it has special tasks which cannot possibly be taken up by the corresponding Party branch. A Party fraction may, when it is necessary for the carrying out of its tasks, place the Party branch in the same establishment under

its direction and mobilize the entire Party membership in the establishment to aid in its work.

A Party branch is a working unit of the Party among the masses of the people. It is a bridge between the masses of the people and the leading bodies of the Party. It must link the two closely.

As provided in the Party Constitution, a Party branch should carry on propaganda and organizational work among the masses of the people in order to implement our Party slogans and the decisions of the higher Party organizations. It should keep in constant touch with the sentiments and desires of the people, and report such sentiments and desires as they arise to the higher Party organizations. It should be concerned with the life of the people and organize the people to solve their own problems. A Party branch should constantly carry out these tasks among the people and struggle for their fulfilment. Only then can close relations be established between the masses on the one hand and the Party and its leading bodies on the other.

The Party branch in a factory, office, or school in the liberated areas should mobilize and organize the people of that establishment to help ensure the fulfilment of its plan and to combat any impediment to that end.

A Party branch should have a clear idea of the history, political countenance, degree of consciousness, and merits and shortcomings of every one of its members and should make an appropriate appraisal. It should concern itself with his political sentiments and tendencies and involve him in the political activities of the Party and the revolutionary movement in China. It should assume responsibility for detecting spies and wreckers against national

interests who are hiding among the people or in the Party, tracking them down in co-operation with the masses.

As provided in the Party Constitution, it is the responsibility of the Party branch to enforce Party discipline among its members.

According to the Constitution, it is the regular task of the Party branch to educate the Party members and to organize their studies.

The Party branch carries out the above-mentioned work under the guidance and with the approval of its higher Party organization.

The branch committee is the leading body of a Party branch. It should, in accordance with actual circumstances, include Party members in charge of various phases of activities. In a village, for example, it should include Party members who serve in the government, in the militia, and in the economic and cultural institutions. Only when responsible comrades in different spheres of work are included in the branch committee can the branch committee give proper leadership to these activities and become the nucleus of leadership.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the Party branch secretary is in charge of the whole work. There are no set rules for the division of labour among the other committee members as it should be arranged by each branch committee according to the actual circumstances. It is necessary to have a committee member in charge of Party affairs. When the branch publishes a paper and engages in regular propaganda and inner-Party education, some committee members should take charge of propaganda and education. Other duties may be assigned according to the actual circumstances.

Assumption of leadership by a branch committee and its appropriate division of labour in accordance with the actual conditions are decisive factors in enabling the entire branch to operate successfully. Therefore, proper attention should be paid to this problem.

VIII COMMENDATION AND DISCIPLINE

Our Party has long been a party with a nationwide scope and a broad mass character. This is more than ever true of it today. Any manifestation of lack of discipline, disunity or of a split within the Party will seriously affect the cause of the Chinese people's emancipation. It is therefore the duty of all Party members and Party organizations to safeguard and strengthen the unity of the whole Party and to combat all anti-Party, splitting, "independent," factional, and double-dealing activities as well as all breaches of Party discipline. In other words, whatever temporary disagreement over principle or policy may exist, Party discipline must be observed, unity in the Party must be safeguarded, activities damaging Party unity or splitting the Party, and other practices of assertion of "independence," factionalism, and of duplicity must not be tolerated. The supreme principle of Party unity must be upheld. Party members and Party organizations should not echo the opinion of anyone who violates Party discipline because of temporary differences over principle or policy, but should conduct a firm and appropriate struggle against him.

Since ours is a party of a broad mass character, it is vitally necessary to establish exemplary styles of work and standards of emulation in the Party. Hence, the Party Constitution provides for commendation of Party members with excellent records. Commendation should be accorded to any Party member or organization that has demonstrated absolute loyalty to the cause of the Party — the cause of the people — either through work, or when facing the enemy's courts, or in the struggle against the enemy or in inner-Party struggle; or has observed the discipline of the Party and the revolutionary government in an exemplary way or shown exceptional initiative in the carrying out of the Programme or decisions of the Party; or has carried out Party assignments with outstanding success and thereby won sincere support from the masses of the people. Commendation may be given personally or by public announcement or by publicizing the record and experience of the Party member or organization to be commended. Other ways of commendation are also allowed.

The Party Constitution provides that measures should be taken against those who fail to carry out the decisions of the Central Committee or of other higher Party organizations, against those who violate the Party Constitution or violate Party discipline. Disciplinary measures applicable to an entire Party organization consist of reprimand, partial reorganization of its leading body, dismissal of its leading body and appointment of an interim leading body, dissolution of the entire organization and re-registration of its membership. These steps are taken when an entire Party organization or its entire leading body violates Party discipline or commits other serious offences.

Disciplinary measures applicable to an individual Party member shall be private admonition or warning, public admonition or warning, removal from assigned work, placing on probation for a specified period or expulsion from the Party.

It is a further special feature of the present revised Party Constitution that our Party makes provisions not only for disciplinary measures but also for commendation.

As provided in the Party Constitution, expulsion from the Party is the most severe of all inner-Party disciplinary measures. Party organizations at all levels should exercise the utmost caution in taking such a step. Inner-Party disciplinary action should not be confused with that taken outside the Party. Expulsion from the Party is the most extreme measure of Party discipline, and the Party can do nothing more. When a Party member violates the laws of the state, he should be duly dealt with by the courts. No disciplinary measure taken by the Party should involve any judicial or administrative measures which rightfully belong to the state.

When a Party organization decides to take disciplinary action against a Party member, every effort must be made to enable the member concerned to attend the meeting in person to defend himself. Only in special circumstances may decisions be made in his absence. The member concerned must be formally notified of the reasons for the disciplinary measure taken against him. Should the member concerned raise objections to the decision, he may request a reconsideration and alteration of the decision. The Party organization concerned should carefully consider his request and re-examine the case. If the member concerned wants to bring his case before

a higher Party body, the Party organization concerned should help him and should not suppress his appeal.

A Party member who fails to carry out Party decisions, who violates the Party Constitution, or who breaks Party discipline, should be subjected to disciplinary measures. Party organizations at all levels have full powers to take disciplinary measures against such Party members. However, the Party organizations should deal with the offences of such Party members according to the specific circumstances of each case and render decisions accordingly. Some offenders, for example, may not fully understand the Party Constitution or Party discipline, or may not understand the Party policy or decisions, while others may have acted deliberately. Some offences concern private life only but do not constitute any direct violation of the Party Constitution, discipline, policy or decisions of the Party while others may be direct violations of these. Some offenders may sincerely amend their faults after being criticized and enlightened, while others may persist in them despite such efforts. Consequently the Party organizations at all levels should make different decisions in accordance with these differing circumstances, treating the first type of offenders with relative leniency and dealing with the second type of offenders with relative severity.

A disciplinary measure should be revoked when the offender has actually corrected his mistakes, or when the disciplinary measure is found to have been wrongly taken or when the decision has been proved to be at variance with facts.

As provided in the Party Constitution, the duties of the Control Commissions of the Party are to take or to revoke disciplinary measures against Party members

and to deal with the complaints of Party members. The Commissions shall be instituted whenever it is deemed necessary and possible by the Central Committee. The regulations governing the organization and work of the Control Commissions and the procedure for enforcing discipline by the Party organizations at all levels are to be drawn up and promulgated by the Central Committee.

The Party Constitution stipulates that the main aim of commending a Party member is to educate the Party membership and the people as well as the comrade himself; its purpose is to establish exemplary styles of work in the Party and set a standard for the membership to emulate, and it should not be done in such a way as to encourage personal vanity in the Party. In the past, revolutionary competitions and campaigns for the selection of labour heroes and model workers have sometimes given rise to arrogance and self-conceit, or the desire to win prizes or gain publicity on the part of some comrades. This is wrong and must be prevented in the future.

As the Party Constitution points out, the Party's main aim in disciplining a Party member is also to educate the Party members and the masses of the people as well as the Party member concerned. It is meant as a warning so that pitfalls may be avoided in the future. It should be carried out in the spirit of curing the disease and saving the patient and not just as a system of penalties. It must be said that in the past some of our Party organizations have stressed only the organizational aspect of discipline and have neglected the ideological and political education which would help to correct the erring comrades theoretically and politically. As a result, after

being disciplined, these comrades still failed to understand their errors thoroughly and to correct them. Hereafter this must be remedied with care.

IX THE PARTY'S STRICTNESS AND FLEXIBILITY

Comrade Mao Zedong has pointed out in his political report the difference between our Party and other political parties. This is extremely important. It is inconceivable that so gigantic a revolution as that of the Chinese nation, involving as it does some 475,000,000 people, can be led to victory without a Marxist-Leninist party which is absolutely firm on matters of principle and which differs from all other parties. The Chinese people are on the eve of the defeat of the Japanese invaders and the construction of a new China. Our Party must unite with all the revolutionary classes and democratic parties and groups throughout the country to struggle for victory; and at the same time it must strengthen its ranks and tighten up its political, ideological and organizational strictness to distinguish itself from all other political parties. Only in this way can our Party maintain its independence, keep itself distinct from other parties, help others to elevate themselves and give leadership to the masses.

Our Party is the Marxist vanguard of the proletariat. Its world outlook and its methods of thinking — dialectical materialism and historical materialism — differ from those of all other classes.

In the present Chinese revolution our Party represents the revolutionary democrats of the proletariat, who are different not only from the big landlords, the big bourgeoisie and the liberal bourgeoisie, but also from the revolutionary democrats of the petty bourgeoisie, whose revolutionary theory, revolutionary methods, and final objective in the revolution are fundamentally different from those of the party of the proletariat. The petty bourgeoisie, because of its vacillations and inherent lack of cohesion and its lack of Marxism-Leninism as an ideological weapon, often finds it difficult to distinguish friends from foes. It is incapable of organizing revolutionary forces strong enough to defeat the enemy or of giving correct leadership to the people's revolutionary struggles. Herein lies the political difference between our Party and the petty-bourgeois revolutionary democrats in the present democratic revolution.

Organizationally, our Party's iron discipline and its correct mass line and self-criticism, all of which are designed to serve the people, also distinguish us from all other classes.

Only when we can distinguish ourselves ideologically, politically and organizationally from all other classes, can we become the vanguard of the proletariat, properly unite with others and help them to advance.

This means that in seeking agreement with others we must first of all find out where we agree and where we differ. No agreement can be correctly reached without finding out the differences. To seek agreement without recognition of the differences will inevitably lead to capitulationism.

The differences we draw are not of a sectarian nature. The demarcation is drawn on Marxist lines and this is

essential if we are to rally all democratic classes and groups.

The vanguard of the proletariat should differentiate itself not only from all other classes, but also from the masses of its own class. In other words, there should be a distinction between the members of our Party — the vanguard fighters of the proletariat — and ordinary workers on strike or ordinary peasants demanding reduction in rent and interest. Our Party must be differentiated from trade unions. The same holds true even inside the Party. When opportunism and non-proletarian ideas and proposals appear in the Party, our Party members should distinguish right from wrong and draw a line of demarcation between such things and themselves. Only when our members can dissociate themselves ideologically, politically, and organizationally from those of all other classes, especially from the ideology of the petty-bourgeois revolutionists as reflected in the Party, can they become conscious vanguard fighters of the proletariat and reform others and help them to advance.

This is what is meant by our Party's firmness in matters of principle.

Ours has always been a strict party from the very beginning and that is why it has been able to fulfil its tasks in the revolution of the Chinese people. It is more essential than ever, in the light of the tasks which confront our Party at the present stage, to increase our firmness so that we can fulfil the still greater and more complex revolutionary tasks which lie before us. Thus the present revised Party Constitution distinctly shows that it is a constitution with a high degree of strictness. This is demanded of us by our Party's immediate tasks and circumstances.

While our Party must be strict in matters of principle, it must possess a high degree of flexibility in the application of principles to specific tasks. The vanguard of the proletariat must exercise flexibility because it has to establish the closest possible connections with the masses of its own class and all working people; because it has to form a revolutionary alliance with all the revolutionary classes, parties and groups; and because it has to advance together with the broad masses and its necessary allies in revolutionary action. In order to advance, it must know how to make definite and helpful concessions to its allies and followers and how to make compromises with them in given circumstances; it must know how to mark time. It must steer clear of all the rocks in the course of the revolution and it must know how to co-ordinate the fundamental interests of the masses with their partial interests; its different forms of struggle and organization must be well co-ordinated. Strictness of principle must not be confused with arrogance and sectarianism. Only in this way can we lead others, help them to advance and bring about the emancipation of the people.

This means that we must seek agreement. To seek out differences without striving for agreement must inevitably lead to sectarianism.

Our flexibility is based on definite principles. Flexibility without principle is wrong; it is wrong to make concessions and compromises that go beyond principle. Our principles must not be ambiguous or confused. Party principle is the criterion and the test for all changes of policy or tactics. The Party's principles are the criterion and the test of its flexibility. For example, one of our unchangeable principles is to fight for the greatest good of the greatest number. This unchangeable

principle is the criterion and the test by which the correctness of all changes of our policy or tactics should be determined. All changes in keeping with this principle are correct while those conflicting with it are wrong. In seeking agreement with others, we do not abandon our principles, or debase ourselves in matters of principle. This means insistence on definite principles, the gradual elevation of others to the level of our principles, and the advancement of the consciousness of the masses and of our allies from their present experience and level to the level of the programme advocated by the Communist Party. In other words, we seek agreement with the purpose of elevating others and not of lowering our aims.

That is to say, our flexibility must be closely integrated with our Party's strictness in principle.

Our Party is now on the eve of the great victory of the Chinese people's War of Resistance Against Japan and the commencement of national reconstruction. Besides fighting for victory with the greatest determination and courage, all Party members must show the greatest intelligence and the most clear-sighted determination in preparation for progress and change in every aspect of our work so that we effect this progress and change consciously and on our own initiative instead of having them forced upon us by circumstances. This situation has been taken into consideration in the revised Constitution, which stresses strictness in principle and takes into account flexibility in action and work. This has been done by taking into account not only the present but also the future circumstances of our Party. The revised Constitution can and must be carried out in the present situation and it can also be carried out after the defeat

of the Japanese invaders and during the building up of a New-Democratic state by the Chinese people.

Our Party is facing a great and glorious future and its tasks will be difficult and complicated. The whole Party, following the political and organizational lines laid down by Comrade Mao Zedong, and basing itself on the new Constitution adopted at this Congress, must close its ranks quickly and firmly and sharpen its organizational weapons so that it can lead the greatest number of people, without the slightest hesitation, to overcome all difficulties and win such a victory as has never been known in our history.

The Party Constitution which will be adopted by this Congress will be a constitution capable of guaranteeing the victory and liberation of the Chinese nation and people.

For the final annihilation of the Japanese invaders!

Long live independent, free, democratic, united and prosperous New China!

Long live the emancipation of the Chinese nation and people!

Long live Comrade Mao Zedong, our Party leader and the helmsman of the revolutionary struggle of the Chinese nation and people!

刘少奇同志关于
党的建设的三篇著作

·
外文出版社出版
中国北京百万庄路24号
1980年(32开)第一版
编号: (英)3050-2835
00250(精)
00150(平)
3-E-1536

