

# Conscientiously Study Chairman Mao's Thesis On the Party

by Jen Chun

**D**URING the struggle of nearly half a century in which Chairman Mao has been leading the Chinese revolution, he has always attached key importance to Party building. Chairman Mao has creatively and in an all-round way developed the Marxist-Leninist theory of Party building in the course of the development of the Chinese revolution, in the struggle between the two lines within the Party, in the movement of Party consolidation and Party building, and in the struggle against modern revisionism. Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party is the summing-up of the experience of Party building accumulated by our Party and the international communist movement, and is a most important component part of Mao Tsetung Thought. Every large-scale study movement in our Party of Chairman Mao's theory of Party building invariably gives great impetus to the development of the Party and the victorious advance of the Chinese revolution.

When he founded the Communist Party of China, Chairman Mao mapped out the correct political line for our Party by combining Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. In 1926, during the struggle against "Left" and Right opportunism within the Party at that time, Chairman Mao published his brilliant work *Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society* in which he pointed out: **"The leading force in our revolution is the industrial proletariat."** Thus, he solved the question of primary importance for the Party in leading the revolution, namely, whom to rely on, whom to unite with and whom to hit at. Dwelling on questions of Party organization in his article *The Struggle in the Chingkang Mountains* in 1928, Chairman Mao stressed: **"The question of proletarian ideological leadership is very important."** Chairman Mao wrote in 1929 the resolution for the Kutien Meeting, that is, *On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party*, in which he regarded the strengthening of ideological education and unfolding of ideological struggle in the Party as the fundamental guarantee for putting the Party's correct political line into practice. He pointed out: **"There are various non-proletarian ideas in the Communist Party organization in the Fourth Red Army which greatly hinder the application of the Party's correct line. Unless these ideas are thoroughly corrected, the Fourth Army cannot possibly shoulder the tasks assigned to it in China's great revolutionary struggle."** Applying Marxist-Leninist class analysis, Chairman Mao incisively explained the manifestations of various non-proletarian ideas in the

Party and their sources, and put forward methods for correction. This brilliant work of Chairman Mao's is a great programme for us in building the Party and the army.

The brilliant thinking of the Kutien Meeting resolution has greatly raised the understanding of the comrades within the Party and without on such fundamental questions of Party building as the Party's political line, inner-Party struggle and the Party's ideological education; it has played an important role in strengthening Party leadership over the Red Army and the mass movement and in developing and consolidating the revolutionary base areas. To this day, the whole Party, the whole army and the revolutionary masses throughout the country are still constantly studying this brilliant work.

The "Left" opportunist faction represented by Wang Ming usurped the leadership in the Party Central Committee in 1931. This gang of maniacs did not have the slightest knowledge of Marxism-Leninism or the actual conditions of the Chinese revolution. They wildly opposed Chairman Mao's correct political and military lines and sabotaged the implementation of the Kutien Meeting resolution, bringing heavy losses to the Party and the Red Army. At the Tsunyi Meeting, which was of great historic significance, Chairman Mao's leadership of the whole Party was established, the rule of Wang Ming's "Left" opportunist line in the Party was put to an end and the Party's line was again brought to the correct Marxist-Leninist path. Thus our Party was able to lead the Red Army in overcoming one difficulty after another, smashing the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary "encirclement and suppression," successfully arriving at the advance positions of the anti-Japanese war, and carrying out the line of the anti-Japanese national united front put forward by Chairman Mao.

While advocating the anti-Japanese national united front, Chairman Mao upheld the principle of the Party's independence and initiative within the united front. After the outbreak of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he pointed out in good time that the main danger inside the Party had already shifted from "Left" closed-doorism to Right capitulationism. He issued this call: **"Inside the Party, oppose class capitulationism." "In the country as a whole, oppose national capitulationism."** Chairman Mao waged an uncompromising struggle against Wang Ming's capitulationism of "every-

thing through the united front" and "everything must be submitted to the united front" (actually everything through the Kuomintang and everything must be submitted to the Kuomintang). Great victory was won in this struggle at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party.

How to correctly recognize and deal with the struggle between the two lines within the Party is an important question in the building of a revolutionary Party of the proletariat. In 1937, Chairman Mao wrote the two great philosophical works *On Practice* and *On Contradiction*, as well as *Combat Liberalism* and other articles, in which he incisively expounded the theory of contradictions within the Party while thoroughly criticizing opportunism theoretically, politically and ideologically. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Opposition and struggle between ideas of different kinds constantly occur within the Party; this is a reflection within the Party of contradictions between classes and between the new and the old in society. If there were no contradictions in the Party and no ideological struggles to resolve them, the Party's life would come to an end." Chairman Mao set forth the principle for dealing with ideological struggles within the Party, that is, "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." He also pointed out in an extremely penetrating way that the contradictions between correct ideas and erroneous ideas within the Party could develop into antagonistic contradictions under given conditions. Chairman Mao's theory of contradictions within the Party is the fundamental thinking guiding Party building.

While leading the whole Party in unfolding the struggle between the two lines, Chairman Mao regards the education of Party members and cadres as an important subject in Party building. In his article *Win the Masses in Their Millions for the Anti-Japanese National United Front* written in 1937, Chairman Mao pointed out: "A great revolution requires a great party and many first-rate cadres to guide it." He also set forth in concrete terms the qualities and working style to be demanded of Party members and cadres: "They must be cadres and leaders versed in Marxism-Leninism, politically far-sighted, competent in work, full of the spirit of self-sacrifice, capable of tackling problems on their own, steadfast in the midst of difficulties and loyal and devoted in serving the nation, the class and the Party. It is on these cadres and leaders that the Party relies for its links with the membership and the masses, and it is by relying on their firm leadership of the masses that the Party can succeed in defeating the enemy. Such cadres and leaders must be free from selfishness, from individualistic heroism, ostentation, sloth, passivity, and arrogant sectarianism, and they must be selfless national and class heroes."

In the same year, Chairman Mao again emphasized this thinking in his inscription for the North Shensi

College: "It is necessary to train a great many people as vanguards of the revolution. People who are politically far-sighted. People imbued with the spirit of struggle and self-sacrifice. People with largeness of mind who are loyal, active and upright. People who never pursue selfish interests, but are wholeheartedly for the liberation of the nation and society. People who fear no difficulties, but remain steadfast and advance courageously in the face of difficulties. People who are neither high and mighty nor seekers after the limelight, but are conscientious and full of practical sense. If China has a host of such vanguard elements, the tasks of the Chinese revolution will be successfully fulfilled."

All these great teachings of Chairman Mao's, and the brilliant articles *In Memory of Norman Bethune*, *Serve the People* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* he wrote later, set forth in clear-cut terms the criteria for Party members. These are in full accord with the five requirements\* for Party members as expounded by Chairman Mao and stipulated in the new Party Constitution adopted at the Ninth Party Congress. Judging by the history of our Party, whoever acts according to these teachings of Chairman Mao's can stand his ground in the Party; and whoever acts against these teachings invariably cannot.

The question of the education of Party members is essentially a question of remoulding their world outlook, a question of enabling them to fully join the Party ideologically. In his *Talks at the Yen-an Forum on Literature and Art*, Chairman Mao pointed out most penetratingly: "There are many Party members who have joined the Communist Party organizationally but have not yet joined the Party wholly or at all ideologically." Chairman Mao said: "To put things in order organizationally requires our first doing so ideologically, our launching a struggle of proletarian ideology against non-proletarian ideology."

In 1942, Chairman Mao initiated a rectification movement with a view to raising the level of Marxism-Leninism of the whole Party and striving for victory in the anti-Japanese war and founding a people's New China under the leadership of the proletariat. Chairman Mao said: "We are Communists, we want to lead the people in overthrowing the enemy, and so we must

\* The five requirements for Party members stipulated in the new Party Constitution are:

- (1) Study and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought in a living way;
- (2) Work for the interests of the vast majority of people of China and the world;
- (3) Be able at uniting with the great majority, including those who have wrongly opposed them but are sincerely correcting their mistakes; however, special vigilance must be maintained against careerists, conspirators and double-dealers so as to prevent such bad elements from usurping the leadership of the Party and the state at any level and guarantee that the leadership of the Party and the state always remains in the hands of Marxist revolutionaries;
- (4) Consult with the masses when matters arise;
- (5) Be bold in making criticism and self-criticism.

keep our ranks in good order, we must march in step, our troops must be picked troops and our weapons good weapons." Thus, it is imperative to further sum up ideologically the experience of the struggle between the two lines within the Party in the past and to eliminate throughout the Party the influences of the ideology of "Left" and Right opportunism.

The rectification movement was a movement of Marxist-Leninist education and study in which, through criticism and self-criticism, proletarian Party spirit was strengthened throughout the Party and contradictions resolved within the Party. In the documents he wrote for the rectification movement, *Reform Our Study, Rectify the Party's Style of Work and Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing*, Chairman Mao pointed out that subjectivism was the ideological basis for the "Left" and Right opportunist lines and a manifestation of impurity in Party spirit. Chairman Mao said: "Only when subjectivism is overthrown can the truth of Marxism-Leninism prevail, can Party spirit be strengthened, can the revolution be victorious." Chairman Mao formulated for the rectification movement the famous principles "unity, criticism, unity," "learn from past mistakes to avoid future ones" and "cure the sickness to save the patient" in order to achieve the twofold objective of "clarity in ideology and unity among comrades." The tasks set by Chairman Mao for the whole Party of carrying on "systematic and thorough investigation and study of the specific conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district" greatly promoted the transformation of the style of work of the whole Party. The fine style of work of our Party which entails "integrating theory with practice, forging close links with the masses and practising self-criticism" as is summed up by Chairman Mao in his work *On Coalition Government* has become our Party's most valuable revolutionary tradition. Chairman Mao's theory and practice concerning the rectification movement are great epoch-making contributions to our Party building.

During the rectification movement in Yanan, the historical experience of the struggle between the two lines within the Party was summed up systematically, the Right and "Left" opportunist lines represented by the renegades Chen Tu-hsiu, Wang Ming, Chu Chiu-pai, Li Li-san and Chang Kuo-tao were thoroughly repudiated and a big polemic between proletarian and non-proletarian ideologies was launched both within the Party and without. This helped to rid the Party of unhealthy tendencies and greatly raised the proletarian political consciousness and Marxist ideological level of the Party members and, in particular, the senior Party cadres, thereby greatly changing the outlook of our Party and enabling it to unite, as never before, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and achieve unprecedented unity. Through this rectification movement, the whole Party marched in big strides along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, creating the basic conditions for the great

victory of the new-democratic revolution throughout the country.

The question of Party building after the seizure of power by the proletariat has become a new problem in the international communist movement. After Stalin's death, the Khrushchov renegade clique usurped the leadership of the Party, government and army in the Soviet Union, made the Party of Lenin and Stalin degenerate into a revisionist party, a social-imperialist party and a fascist party, and turned the world's first socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat into a social-imperialist state of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie through "peaceful evolution." This sets before the political parties of the world proletariat the new historical task of preventing revisionism and opposing modern revisionism. Chairman Mao has waged tit-for-tat struggles against modern revisionism with the handful of Soviet revisionist renegades as its centre and against the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists within our Party represented by Liu Shao-chi. Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution initiated and led by himself have systematically solved the fundamental problem in the present-day international communist movement, the problem of how to prevent a proletarian political party from degenerating and a proletarian state from changing its political colour.

As early as on the eve of the transition of the Chinese revolution from the stage of new-democratic revolution to that of socialist revolution, Chairman Mao clearly pointed out in his report to the Second Plenary Session of the Seventh Central Committee of the Party that after the country-wide seizure of power by the proletariat, the principal internal contradiction was "the contradiction between the working class and the bourgeoisie." He urged the whole Party to learn how to fight enemies without guns. In 1957, Chairman Mao published the two great works *On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People* and *Speech at the Chinese Communist Party's National Conference on Propaganda Work*. In these works he pointed out that, after the socialist transformation of the ownership of means of production had been completed in the main, classes and class struggle still existed, and that "one of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism." In these extremely important instructions, Chairman Mao pointed out the political orientation for our Party to continue the revolution under the new historical conditions.

In 1962, Chairman Mao put forward in a more comprehensive way the basic line of our Party during the entire historical period of socialism. Chairman Mao said: "Socialist society covers a considerably long historical period. In the historical period of socialism, there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle, there is the struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and there is the danger of capitalist restoration. We must recognize the protracted

and complex nature of this struggle. We must heighten our vigilance. We must conduct socialist education. We must correctly understand and handle class contradictions and class struggle, distinguish the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy from those among the people and handle them correctly. Otherwise a socialist country like ours will turn into its opposite and degenerate, and a capitalist restoration will take place. From now on we must remind ourselves of this every year, every month and every day so that we can retain a rather sober understanding of this problem and have a Marxist-Leninist line." Just as Vice-Chairman Lin put it in his political report to the Ninth Party Congress: "This Marxist-Leninist line advanced by Chairman Mao is the lifeline of our Party." We Communists must persist in this correct Marxist-Leninist line all our lives.

It was pointed out in the document *Some Current Problems Raised in the Socialist Education Movement in the Rural Areas* (i.e., the 23-Point Document) drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance in 1964: "The main target of the present movement is those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road."

The Circular of May 16, 1966 and the Decision of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (i.e., the 16-Point Decision) drawn up under Chairman Mao's personal guidance and Chairman Mao's big-character poster *Bombard the Headquarters* made known to the masses the struggle between the two lines within the Party and kindled the raging flames of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. This great revolution has roused the masses in their hundreds of millions in an all-round way and from below, smashed the bourgeois headquarters headed by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi, exposed the handful of renegades, enemy agents and absolutely unrepentant Party persons in power taking the capitalist road with Liu Shao-chi as their arch representative and shattered their scheme to restore capitalism, thereby greatly strengthening our dictatorship of the proletariat and our Party.

During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, Chairman Mao has taught us: "The Party organization should be composed of the advanced elements of the proletariat; it should be a vigorous vanguard organization capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the fight against the class enemy." Chairman Mao has also pointed out: "A proletarian party must also get rid of the stale and take in the fresh" and "Every Party branch must reconsolidate itself in the midst of the masses." These important instructions of Chairman Mao's are a powerful ideological weapon for continuously consolidating and developing our Party.

The masses of the Party members and revolutionary people have been tempered in the great storms of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and have generally raised their consciousness of the struggle be-

tween the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. Our Party has been greatly purified, consolidated and raised to a higher level. The Party has forged closer links with the masses. Under the new historical conditions, the whole Party is united still more firmly on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and has rallied closely round the Party Central Committee with our great leader Chairman Mao as its leader and Vice-Chairman Lin as its deputy leader.

For 49 years, through protracted struggle for the seizure of state power and the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat by arming the masses, our Party has grown from Communist groups with only a few dozen members at the outset into a great, glorious and correct Party leading the powerful People's Republic of China today. This is a great victory for Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party and for Mao Tsetung Thought. Historical experience proves that when we act according to Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party, our Party will grow in strength and develop and the revolution will triumph and advance and that when we deviate from Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party, our Party will suffer losses and the revolution will suffer setbacks. In order to consolidate the tremendous victories of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and carry them forward in Party building, our Party members, old and new, and activists who want to join the Party should conscientiously study and gain a deep understanding of Chairman Mao's entire thesis on the Party, both in the Party's history and at present.

In studying Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party, we must foster the revolutionary style of study Chairman Mao always advocates, that is, integrating theory with practice. We must link our study with the experience and lessons of the international communist movement, with the history of the struggle between the two lines within our Party and the reality of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. We must carry out revolutionary mass criticism in a deep-going way and thoroughly eliminate the remaining poisonous influence of the sinister book *Self-Cultivation* and the six sinister "theories" and the renegade's philosophy advocated by the renegade, hidden traitor and scab Liu Shao-chi. Only thus can we ward off all interferences, either from the "Left" or from the Right, and go on building our Party in the image of the vanguard of the proletariat.

Under the leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, our Party has since its founding constantly carried out the work of Party consolidation and Party building and will continue to do so in the future. We must not stop studying Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party, but we must study and apply it repeatedly. In the course of constant study and application of Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party, our Party will certainly be built into a still greater, more glorious and more correct Party!

(Abridged translation of an article published in "Renmin Ribao" on July 24)