

Growing Mass Movement to Criticize And Repudiate the Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists

CRITICISM and repudiation of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has grown into a nationwide mass movement denouncing him for the vile crime of using his book on "self-cultivation" to poison the minds of the mass of Party members and the revolutionary people.

A Manifesto for Capitalist Restoration

Revolutionaries of the Higher Party School of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party in an article quote the words of **Chairman Mao**: **"To overthrow a political power, it is always necessary first of all to create public opinion, to do work in the ideological sphere. This is true for the revolutionary class as well as for the counter-revolutionary class."** They point out that the printing of large numbers of the third edition of this pernicious book in August 1962 represented a vain attempt on the part of this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism.

Under the wise leadership of our great leader Chairman Mao, China, says the article, has achieved brilliant victories both in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. But around 1962, the modern revisionists represented by the Soviet Khrushchov clique, working in collusion with imperialism and the reactionaries of various countries, made use of China's temporary economic difficulties to launch a big-scale anti-China campaign. They rabidly attacked China's three red banners [the Party's general line for building socialism, the great leap forward and the people's communes], and vilified our Party and Chairman Mao as "dogmatic," "sectarian," "splittist," and so on. For

a time, dark clouds filled the sky and evil winds blew from all directions. It was precisely at this time that the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, after secret planning and careful revision, unleashed his re-edited book on "self-cultivation," a manifesto for a counter-revolutionary restoration of capitalism in China.

The new edition of this book says not a word about opposing imperialism and modern revisionism. On the contrary, echoing the international modern revisionists, it fiercely attacks what it describes as "dogmatism" and "Left' opportunism." The first edition of the book does not mention at all the word "dogmatism." This was deliberately added and most strongly attacked in the 1962 edition. This was obviously done to chime in with the international reactionary forces; it was aimed to prepare public opinion in China for a capitalist restoration.

Speaking at an April 3 mass rally sponsored by the Congress of Red Guards of Peking Universities and Colleges to criticize and repudiate this book on "self-cultivation," a representative of the Ching kangshan Corps of Tsinghua University called the book an out-and-out revisionist programme of Party building. He declared that, with the aim of preparing public opinion for a capitalist restoration in China, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had done his utmost over a long period to use his reactionary book to corrode and poison the minds of our Party members and the masses of young people. The former Party Committee of Tsinghua University, he said, had "educated" Party members and cadres exactly in the way prescribed in this book. Instead of urging Party

members to be the servants of the people, it grandiosely declared that: "After some decades, a number of state leaders will emerge from among our Tsinghua graduates." This kind of education had made some people look upon joining the Party or work as a cadre as a ladder for social climbing. Instead of urging Party members to share the life and destiny of the masses and accept supervision by the masses, it called on Party members to make revolution exclusively against others in accordance with the preposterous theories of this pernicious book. Instead of urging the Party members to go out among the masses to face the world and brave the storm, and temper themselves in practice, it advised them to closet themselves in their studies, divorced from the masses, "to think of their faults" and "cultivate themselves" and climb up the social ladder in accordance with the nonsense prescribed in this book. Poisoned by it, they were liable to become captives of revisionism.

Openly Opposes Mao Tse-tung's Thought

At a rally called by the proletarian revolutionaries in Tsingtao, Shantung Province, to criticize and repudiate this pernicious tract on "self-cultivation," representatives of revolutionary workers and revolutionary young fighters unanimously denounced it as a poisonous weed opposed to Marxism-Leninism, opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought. They pointed out that the Eleventh Plenary Session of the Party's Eighth Central Committee declared: "Comrade Mao Tse-tung is the greatest Marxist-Leninist of our era. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and in an all-round way, and has raised it to a completely new stage." **Comrade Lin Piao called on us to "study Chairman Mao's writings, follow his teachings, act according to his instructions and be his good soldiers."** The book on "self-cultivation," however, makes no mention of Chairman Mao's great contribution to Marxism-Leninism. It merely talks about being good students of Marx and Lenin, but never mentions that we should learn from Chairman Mao and be his good students. Especially vicious was that, while vilifying the mass movement for creatively studying and applying Chairman Mao's works as "over-simplification" and "philistinism," this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road reprinted and put on sale in 1962 large numbers of his book on "self-cultivation," a big poisonous weed, in a vain attempt to use his revisionist "theories" to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought.

Divorced From Political Struggle; Negates The Class Struggle

The article written by revolutionaries of the Higher Party School of the Party's Central Committee says:

"In July 1939, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road made a report at the Marx-Lenin Institute at Yen-an. That was the first time he

came out with his big poisonous weed on 'self-cultivation' of Communists.

"At that time over half of China was occupied by the Japanese invaders. The Chinese Communist Party was leading the Chinese people in a heroic War of Resistance Against Japan. But, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang was busily scheming to split the anti-Japanese national united front. It was active in opposing the Communists but passive in resisting the Japanese invaders and was plotting to surrender to them. The U.S., British and French imperialists were plotting a Far East 'Munich,' pressing China to surrender.

"Within the Party, the influence of the Right capitulationist line of 'everything through the united front' and 'everything must be submitted to the united front' vigorously peddled by the Right opportunists represented by Wang Ming was far from eliminated although it had been severely criticized and repudiated at the Sixth Plenary Session of the Sixth Central Committee of the Party. The dangers of capitulation, split and retrogression were growing daily in the anti-Japanese national united front.

"In this situation of serious national crisis and extremely complicated class contradictions, the book on 'self-cultivation' brought out at that time by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road had no mention of the revolutionary struggle of the time; it said nothing about boldly arousing the masses, defeating Japanese imperialism or saving the nation from crisis; it said nothing about opposing the Kuomintang's plot against the Communists and for capitulation; it said nothing about our Party's leadership and the principle of independence and initiative in the united front; and it said nothing about the principled struggle within the Party against Right capitulationism. Even the words 'resist Japan and save the country' do not appear. On the contrary, he talked enthusiastically about Confucius and Mencius and their teachings and about self-cultivation of the bourgeoisie. This is a theory of 'self-cultivation' which is divorced from political struggle and negates the class struggle."

On April 8, a rally attended by 20,000 workers, peasants, soldiers, revolutionary cadres and young Red Guards was held in Peking to criticize and repudiate the book on "self-cultivation." In his speech the representative of the Peking Garrison Command of the People's Liberation Army said: **Chairman Mao has taught us that the fundamental question of revolution is political power.** One's stand on whether the dictatorship of the proletariat should be maintained throughout the period of transition has always been a touchstone distinguishing Marxist-Leninists from all kinds of revisionists. In this poisonous weed of a book on "self-cultivation," the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road says not a word about the seizure of political power as the fundamental question of revolution or about the proletarian dictatorship; he avoids talking about armed struggle, the seizure of

political power and the smashing of the bourgeois state machine.

Advocates Subjective Idealism

At a Tsingtao meeting for criticism and repudiation, a representative of the revolutionary students and teachers of the Shantung Institute of Oceanography answering the question "What theory should a Communist Party member take as his guide and how should he remould his thinking?" said: Chairman Mao has taught us that Communists and all revolutionary people should remould their subjective world in the course of their revolutionary practice in transforming the objective world, in the three great revolutionary movements—the struggle for production, the class struggle and scientific experiment. **Chairman Mao has also taught us: "We Communists ought to face the world and brave the storm, the great world of mass struggle and the mighty storm of mass struggle."**

What this poisonous weed of a book on "self-cultivation" propounds is nothing but a reactionary subjective idealist theory of "self-cultivation." It advocates divorcing oneself from the revolution and from political struggles; it makes no mention of the need for one to go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and integrate oneself with them, and it says nothing about learning from the masses. Instead, it asks people to shut themselves away behind closed doors, work hard and seriously "cultivate" themselves; it advocates eliminating all vestiges of incorrect ideas through study, self-reflection and self-criticism; it recommends "rectifying" and "liquidating" non-proletarian ideas by means of the "theoretical knowledge" learnt from books and by means of one's "revolutionary qualities." Moreover, in so many words it calls on Party members to learn from such feudal idealist thinkers as Confucius, Mencius and Tseng Tzu, and lauds the feudal idealist sermons of these thinkers as "classics" and enjoins Communists to learn from them.

Publicizes Bourgeois Individualism

A young revolutionary fighter of the Tsingtao Medical College said: This book on "self-cultivation" publicizes a typically bourgeois individualist world outlook and philosophy. It goes directly counter to Chairman Mao's brilliant thinking on "**wholly**" and "**completely**" serving the people, "**utter devotion to others without any thought of self**" and "**proceeding in all cases from the interests of the people.**" Its author is an out-and-out salesman-philosopher of the bourgeoisie. By "cultivating" himself according to this philosophy, a Communist will become a representative of the bourgeoisie—short-sighted, selfish, a seeker after gain and given to sharp practices—and even a careerist like Khrushchov.

Revolutionary students and teachers of the Tsingtao Chemical Engineering Institute revealed that the author of this book on "self-cultivation," the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road,

shamelessly declared that personal interests must be attended to and that there can be no collective interest without personal interest. In his book he raves about completely merging the personal interests of a Party member with the general interests and objectives of the Party and the proletariat. This runs directly counter to the "**selflessness**" and "**utter devotion to others without any thought of self**" consistently advocated by Chairman Mao. The core of the bourgeois world outlook is self-interest whereas the core of the proletarian world outlook is devotion to the public interest, and these are mutually exclusive. The struggle between proletarian and bourgeois ideologies is concentrated in the struggle between devotion to the public interest and self-interest. There is no room for compromise. When the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road did his best to publicize the ideas of "perfecting oneself through self-cultivation," "seeking to make one's own progress," pursuing one's "personal interest within the public interest," and "when necessary, it [the Party] will even give up some of its work in order to preserve comrades," he was actually peddling his reactionary bourgeois individualism.

Instructors and cadets of a certain institute under the General Rear-Service Department of the Chinese People's Liberation Army declared: This book instils the poison of bourgeois ideas into people, advocates "taking small losses for the sake of big gains" and asserts that one can "improve oneself," "enhance one's ability" and become a "hero," a "leader," or an "important person" by working for the Party.

Propagates Slavish Obedience

On April 7, *Beijing Ribao* (Peking Daily) published an editorial entitled "Down With the Reactionary 'Docile Tool' Theory." It declares: "In order to push through his counter-revolutionary revisionist political line, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road vigorously propagated the revisionist organizational principle of blind obedience in his book on 'self-cultivation' of Communists. In 1958, he prettified and embellished this organizational principle and summed it up in concrete terms as the 'docile tool' theory and presented it to the public."

The editorial points out: In May 1958, at the Second Session of the Eighth National Congress of the Party, **Chairman Mao personally guided the working out of the general line of going all out, aiming high and achieving greater, faster, better and more economical results in building socialism. He called on the people throughout the country to discard fetishes and superstitions, emancipate their minds and carry forward the communist spirit of daring to think, speak and act.** Guided by the light of the general line, the people throughout the nation, with soaring enthusiasm and courage, brought about the world-shaking, all-round great leap forward in the national economy. Chairman Mao, great proletarian revolutionary, warmly extolled this unprecedented revolutionary mass movement and

appraised it very highly. He said: "Never before have the masses been so high in spirit, so strong in morale and so firm in determination." And "Do the Chinese working people still look like slaves as they did before? No, they have become the masters."

But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road openly proposed a course opposite to that of Chairman Mao's. On June 30, he made a speech summing up the discussion on "Should Communists Have Personal Aspirations?" organized by the old *Beijing Ribao*. On the basis of this speech, an editorial entitled "What Should Be the Aspirations of a Communist?" was worked out, approved by that person himself and printed in the old *Beijing Ribao* on July 29. Thus the reactionary "docile tool" theory made its formal debut. Its pernicious influence spread throughout the country and caused grave harm.

This theory is madly opposed to Mao Tse-tung's thought, and the Party's general line for building socialism. In order to prevent the cause of socialist revolution from developing in depth, it vainly attempts to impose a slave mentality on the revolutionary masses and bind them hand and foot.

The person who put forward the "docile tool" theory took a bourgeois reactionary stand and had the deepest contempt for the masses, regarding them as "beasts of burden" and "slaves." His idea was that "cattle and horses are animate tools," "slaves are regarded by slave-owners as living tools" and "people, even more so, are living tools"; he distorted the relationship between the Party leadership and rank-and-file members as one between man and tool, between slave-owner and slave, a relationship of absolute obedience.

The editorial goes on to say: For a long time, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and the handful of counter-revolutionary revisionists have persistently advocated the "docile tool" theory in a vain attempt to turn the mass of our Party members into obedient, slavish philistines and muddle-headed people blind and without lofty ideals.

In this great proletarian cultural revolution which has no parallel in history, this theory has once again become an important weapon for them. They seek to use it to oppose the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and to push through their bourgeois reactionary line. In order to maintain their tottering rule, they resort to what they call "Party spirit," "sense of organization" and "sense of discipline" so as to suppress the revolt of Party members and prevent them from making revolution.

Wang Lien-sheng, a student of Tsinghua University said that in this respect the book on "self-cultivation" of Communists also ran counter to the consistent teachings of Chairman Mao. **Chairman Mao said: "Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and carefully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly**

and encourage slavishness." He also said: **Erroneous leadership that endangers the revolution should not be accepted without qualification; it should be firmly resisted.** The book on "self-cultivation" of Communists goes into detail in advocating that Communist Party members should "take up demanding tasks even while being subjected to unjustified disgrace," "suffer wrong in the general interest," practise "forbearance" and "compromise," and "return good for evil." This book vigorously peddles class conciliation and blind obedience. Wang went on to say that he himself had been deeply poisoned by these ideas and dared not entertain the slightest doubt about the handful of persons in authority taking the capitalist road. When his opinion differed, he would examine himself to see what was wrong and try to accept as soon as possible the ideas of his superior. In the current great cultural revolution, he had put the "conservative" spirit, instead of the "revolutionary" spirit, above everything else.

Rid the World of the Evil Influence of the Book on "Self-Cultivation" of Communists

On April 10, more than 15,000 proletarian revolutionaries of Peking from the scientific and technical fields gathered at a rally to indignantly denounce and accuse the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road. They condemned his towering crimes of extending his sinister hands into scientific and technical circles, frantically pushing the bourgeois reactionary line, corrupting people's minds with his notorious book which is a big poisonous weed, and attempting to bring about a capitalist restoration in China. Sidney Rittenberg, an American friend invited to the rally, spoke at the meeting.

He made a penetrating criticism, repudiation and accusation of this infamous book. This big poisonous weed, he said, had been spread about the world and had had an extremely bad influence. It had been spread around in many fraternal Parties and had poisoned proletarian revolutionaries in various countries. It answered the needs of imperialism. The U.S. imperialist paper *New York Times*, for its own ulterior motives, had many years ago described this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road as the so-called Marxist-Leninist theoretician of the Chinese Communist Party. This was an attempt to use his counter-revolutionary revisionist theory to prevent the spread throughout the world of Mao Tse-tung's thought which will emancipate mankind. According to this book, to be a good Communist, Sidney Rittenberg pointed out, one must slavishly obey instructions, be docile, not make trouble and must not even get angry and struggle against criminal activities harmful to the interests of the people. The book uses the decadent capitalist philosophy of "taking small losses for the sake of big gains" to corrupt revolutionaries and turn Communists into his slaves and docile tools. This big poisonous weed, Rittenberg concluded, must be thoroughly exposed and criticized and its evil influence must be completely eliminated all over the world.