

TRANSACTION BUSINESS IN STRICT ACCORDANCE WITH PARTY POLICIES

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"Policy and tactics are the life of the Party." The various policies concerning the great proletarian cultural revolution formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao give concrete manifestation to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and tactical thought, mirror the objective laws of the class struggle and represent the basic interests of the broad masses of the people. We must firmly implement and carry out the policies of the Party, and firmly boycott and oppose the speeches and actions which contravene the policies of the Party.

Looking back over the fighting course which the Spark Cultural Work Troupe has taken during the great proletarian cultural revolution, we deeply sense that we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and firmly implement the general and specific policies of the Party before we can head from one victory to another in the struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines.

I

The Sixteen Articles formulated under the personal auspices of Chairman Mao have this to point out: "The focal point of this movement is to purge those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party." This is the general orientation of the struggle, and we must firmly grasp it. If we act in contravention of this general orientation, we cannot correctly carry out the policies of the Party and would go astray.

In between March and April this year, we set up the preparatory committee for the cultural revolution committee on the basis of elementary great alliance. Soon after its formation, however, it met with the vehement

opposition of some persons, and a part of the masses who did not know the actual situation encircled and attacked us. Under their pressure, quite a number of comrades pulled out from the preparatory committee. Those who chose to stay held meetings three consecutive days, and on each day they debated far into the night. As we debated, we earnestly studied Chairman Mao's writings.

Chairman Mao said: "There was in Hopeh Province a very small cooperative which comprised only six families. Three families of old middle peasants firmly refused to carry on, and as a result they were allowed to leave. The three families of poor peasants expressed that they would carry on come what may. As a result, they were allowed to stay, and the cooperative organization was also preserved. In point of fact, the direction taken by these three families of poor peasants is the orientation of the 500 million peasants throughout the country. All peasants operating individually will in the end take the road firmly chosen by these three families of poor peasants."

At the crucial and most difficult hour of the struggle, Chairman Mao's teaching gave us the greatest encouragement, and we were so excited that tears ran down our faces. These debates made us see the truth more clearly and gave us sharper eyes. Five comrades who had planned to announce their withdrawal from the preparatory committee now indicated that they would stay on and stick with the rest of us to the end. We were convinced that truth was on our side. So long as we firmly adhered to the general orientation of the struggle and resolutely carried out work according to the policies of the Party, we also could surmount every difficulty, and the deluded masses would be awakened sooner or later.

Chairman Mao taught us: "Policy is the starting-point of all the practical actions of a revolutionary party and manifests itself in the process and the end-result of the party's actions." Under whatever circumstance, any action of ours must coincide with the policy of the Party.

We had been encircled and attacked again and again, and some comrades had even been brutally beaten up. On the first or second occasion, we still could refrain from returning the blow when we were hit or retorting when we were abused. When this took place more often, some comrades thought of reprisal. That said that "nothing should be allowed to repeat three times," and they wanted to "vent their spleen" and hit back with vehemence. However, as soon as we thought of the general orientation of the struggle, of the policy that "it is necessary to employ struggle by reasoning and not struggle by force," and of Chairman Mao's teaching that "contradictions among the people cannot be settled with curses or fists, much less with swords and guns, and can only be solved with the method of discussion, the method of reasoning and the method of criticism and self-criticism," we retracted our fists on a number of occasions, and went on to persist in struggle by reasoning.

We knew that the deluded masses were our class brothers and not enemies. They attacked and abused us because they had been poisoned by the

bourgeois reactionary line. We should heap our hate on a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party. If we gave an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth, we would counter mistakes with mistakes and be fooled by the class enemies.

We carried out work in strict accordance with the policies of the Party by not taking up struggle by force, concentrating our strength on the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and carrying out struggle, criticism and reform in our own unit. Some persons ridiculed us for "lack of revolutionary spirit" and as "cowards."

We are of the opinion that it is wrong to look at things in this way. The strongest revolutionary spirit lies in making a success of struggle, criticism and reform in one's own unit according to the policies of the Party, exposing with greater thoroughness and more penetratingly criticizing and repudiating the top person in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, penetratingly and thoroughly criticizing a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party, and planting the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought in all positions. Addicting oneself to beating, smashing, snatching, confiscation, grasping without carrying out the policies of the Party can never be regarded as the "revolutionary spirit," and also can never be described as "brave" or "daring." "Freedom" of action in contravention of Mao Tse-tung's thought and the policies of the Party has nothing in common with extensive democracy under proletarian dictatorship, but is bourgeois "liberalization."

Firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy is an important question in the great proletarian cultural revolution. We have firmly opposed anarchism which advocates "the exclusion of everything and the overthrow of everything," and have subjected the cadres of our troupe to class analysis and investigation and study one by one. We firmly support those revolutionary leading cadres and fight shoulder to shoulder with them. We warmly help those cadres who have made mistakes to enable them quickly to return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

We have specially formed a group to carry out energetically a host of work. We organize them to study Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party, help them discard their misgivings and heighten their awakening. We invite them to participate in the criticism and repudiation of the activities of the bourgeois reactionary line so that they may know better the crimes of the bourgeois reactionary line. We sternly and seriously criticize their mistakes and help them make penetrating self-examination that touches them to the soul. We support those cadres who have recognized their mistakes and are resolved to mend their way by boldly grasping business work and give them a chance to rectify their mistakes. Due to our firm implementation of Chairman Mao's cadres policy, we have united the great majority of the cadres and directed the spearhead of struggle toward a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

II

Chairman Mao has taught us: "Our policies must be made known not only to the leaders and the cadres, but also to the broad masses." "When the masses know the truth and have a common goal, they would carry out work with concerted effort." "With the concerted effort of the masses, it is easy to carry out anything." The key to implementing and carrying out the policies of the Party during the great proletarian cultural revolution lies in handing over such policies to and laying them in the hands of the masses, and translating them into the conscious actions of the masses.

The translation of the policies of the Party into conscious actions of the masses amounts in substance to uniting the thoughts and actions of the masses with Mao Tse-tung's thought. When a policy of the Central Committee was handed down, we opportunely and purposefully studied Chairman Mao's pertinent writings and quotations as well as the original text of the policy so as to comprehend its spiritual essence. We organized forums to discuss it, and associated our thinking with the situation to solve in good time ideological obstacles to the implementation of the policy. In the course of implementing and carrying out the policy, we publicized it again and again, checked and examined it, found out the difference, and adopted measures for the actual implementation of it.

On the question of correctly handling the deluded masses, we carried out a series of political and ideological work within the preparatory committee. Some comrades were of the opinion that since those participants in conservative organizations sang a tune that ran counter to ours in every place and even used their fists against us, it was not possible for us to unite with them. This mirrored that some comrades adopted an improper attitude toward the deluded masses, and had not comprehended very well Chairman Mao's principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses.

In order to solve this question, we organized them to study Chairman Mao's "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" and the pertinent quotations: "It is necessary not only to unite people who agree with us, but also to be good at uniting those who disagree with us as well as those who have opposed us and have been proved to be wrong by practice."

Through study and discussion, everybody has come to understand that the contradictions between the deluded masses and ourselves belong to contradictions among the people, and that the contradictions between ourselves and the deluded masses can never be confused with those between ourselves and a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party.

We invited those comrades who returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to tell their personal experience. They graphically explained that as soon as they were aware that they had severed themselves from Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, they felt as painful as a child taken away from his mother, had no appetite for food and

could not sleep well. They urgently hoped that they could join the revolutionary mass organization at an early date. This made everybody understand better that when dealing with the deluded masses, we had only the duty to draw close to them and unite and help them, but had no right to slight, estrange or exclude them.

Some comrades had the misgivings that the admission of the deluded masses into the preparatory committee would render the organization impure, and should they act as fifth columnists, the preparatory committee would collapse. This kind of thinking was not in correspondence with the thought of Mao Tse-tung, and was a manifestation of the thought of the small group and of lack of faith in the masses. In the course of discussion, all were of the opinion that whether or not the preparatory committee would collapse was determined, not by the absorption of the deluded masses, but by whether or not the preparatory committee itself was able to hold high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, solidly grasp the general orientation of the struggle and unreservedly carry out the policies of the Party. If we did not carry out work according to Mao Tse-tung's thought, if we forgot the policies of the Party and thought that "only we are revolutionary while others are not," then we would sever ourselves from the masses and would bring about our downfall without being attacked.

Another problem emerged after these questions were solved. Some comrades did not pay attention to carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work among the deluded masses, and they were over eager to pull them into the preparatory committee regardless of whether they had been awakened or not.

In view of this kind of thinking, we seriously studied Chairman Mao's writings. Chairman Mao said: "We advocate positive ideological struggle because it is a weapon for bringing about unity within the Party and the revolutionary organization and of advantage to fighting." He also said that the way to settle contradictions among the people was to "proceed from the desire for unity, distinguish between right and wrong through criticism or struggle and bring about a new unity on a new basis." We must follow Chairman Mao's teachings and gradually realize the unity of more than 95 percent of the masses through ideological struggle.

Our unity is one based on the principles of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and is not unprincipled unity based on harmony. The deluded masses must break with the bourgeois reactionary line and really return to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. If we did not actively carry out political and ideological work and the deluded masses were admitted in a muddle-headed manner, this would be disadvantageous to their progress as well as to the revolutionary cause.

When the revolutionary masses genuinely understood the policies of the Party and grasped the principle of uniting more than 95 percent of the masses, they took the initiative to carry out political and ideological work among

the deluded masses, studied together with them Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind, discussed a wide range of things with them, and learned things from their participation in the criticism and repudiation of a handful of top persons in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and in struggle, criticism and reform activities in their own units. Through the common struggle against the enemy and carrying out penetrating and painstaking politico-ideological work, the deluded masses have eliminated their misgivings and heightened their awakening. Now, the great majority of the deluded masses have returned to the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line to fight together with us.

III

Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and general and specific policies are a concentrated manifestation of the fundamental interests of the proletariat. Only one who takes the proletarian stand and possesses the thought and feeling of the proletariat can correctly understand, implement and carry out them.

Such bourgeois and petty-bourgeois trends of thought as anarchism, small group mentality, subjectivism and individualism are ideological obstacles to the implementation and execution of the policies of the Party. These trends of thought are sometimes also found within our preparatory committee. As instructed by Vice Chairman Lin: "We must regard ourselves as part and parcel of the revolutionary force and at the same time must also uninterruptedly regard ourselves as the target of the revolution. Revolution also calls for the revolutionization of self. Without the revolutionization of self, such revolution can never succeed." We have again and again studied the "three most-read articles" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party." Simultaneously with reforming the objective world, we must also reform our own subjective world. We must seize power from a handful of those in authority taking the capitalist road within the Party and from egoism in our own minds.

The policies of the Party "cannot be implemented when self-interest is put above everything else, but can be successfully implemented when public interest is put above everything else." Sometimes, we sense that there is a gap between our way of thinking and the policies of the Party. With calmness, we give thought to whether we have departed from the thought of Mao Tse-tung or joined the wrong ranks. Meanwhile we study Chairman Mao's writings with problems in mind. With the thought of Mao Tse-tung put in command, we shall see problems not with the interests of the individual or a small group, but with the interests of the Party and the people as the point of departure. We shall find every policy of the Party amicable and correct, and our self-consciousness in implementing and carrying out it will also be greatly raised.

In order to reform our own thought in a better way in struggle and in order to insure the genuine implementation of the various policies of the Party, we of the preparatory committee must constantly unfold criticism and

self-criticism. After we proletarian revolutionaries are in the dominant position, some comrades have nourished arrogance and complacency and become slack in the study of Chairman Mao's writings and the policies of the Party. This has led to the emergence of the replacement of policies with sentiments. In view of this situation, we must energetically lay hold of the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's writings and the study of Party policies, oppose arrogance in a big way, and fight ferociously against egoism. Our comrades have come to learn that in order to grasp and exercise power well, the proletarian revolutionaries must guard against the corrosion of bourgeois ideas and uphold the style of work characterized by modesty and prudence and free from arrogance and rashness. Especially when we are victorious, it is the more necessary for us to carry out unreservedly the policies of the Party. If we were not on guard and allowed individualism to develop, we would bring losses to the revolution and might even take a course that ran counter to ours.

Chairman Mao says: "If we have committed mistakes in policy, we cannot win victory." We have won a victory, but this is no more than the first step in the Long March. In order to win a complete victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution, we must advance along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, act according to the policies of the Party at all times, and in all things and places, and set the example in carrying out the policies of the Party.

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