

EDITORIAL: DEFEND DEMOCRATIC CENTRALISM

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[Text] Peking--A sharp attack on China's Khrushchev for his crime of undermining the party's democratic centralism is made in an article in **PEOPLE'S DAILY**. The article is in three parts. The first shows how China's Khrushchev twisted the party's principle of democratic centralism to mean absolute rule and tried to impose his own absolute domination over the party. The second part shows that, at the same time, he spread bourgeois liberalism in the party, which gave his cronies and followers the opportunity to speak and act against the party. The third part shows that these long-term dual tactics revealed themselves in concentrated form in the early period of the cultural revolution.

The article, entitled "Resolutely Defend the Party's Democratic Centralism," is a reprint of an article published in **LIBERATION ARMY DAILY**, written by a unit of the Chinese People's Liberation Army stationed in Chengtu, southwest China. A summary follows:

The Communist Party of China is a great Marxist political party built by our great leader Chairman Mao. It is the vanguard of the proletariat founded on the organizational principle of democratic centralism. Chairman Mao says: "If we are to make the party strong, we must practice democratic centralism to stimulate the initiative of the whole membership." Persistent application in the party of democratic centralism, in conformity with Chairman Mao's teachings, is a very important factor guaranteeing party solidarity and unity and strengthening the party's fighting capacity to defeat the enemy.

As the history of the international communist movement shows, in order to pursue an opportunist political line all opportunists inevitably pursue an organizational line which coincides with the opportunist political line, and they undermine the party principle of democratic centralism. The top opportunist in our party, China's Khrushchev, was the chief culprit pursuing an opportunist political line and at the same time the top person undermining democratic centralism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Within the ranks of the people, we cannot do without freedom, nor can we do without discipline; we cannot do without democracy, nor can we do without centralism. This unity of democracy and centralism, of freedom and discipline, constitutes our democratic centralism." The party's centralism is based on democracy. On the basis of democracy, correct opinions are centralized to achieve unity in understanding, policy, planning, guidance, and action. Centralism cannot be divorced from democracy; centralism divorced from democracy is arbitrariness and one-man rule.

China's Khrushchev was very much afraid of party democracy. He had a fear of party members rising up in rebellion against him and exposing his criminal opposition to the party, socialism, and Mao Tse-tung's thought. He frantically advocated the reactionary theory of "absolute obedience," saying that "all that is approved and decided by the higher body, or by the Central Committee, must be obeyed, and obeyed even if wrong." He treated the members of the party as his slaves and "docile tools" who must obey and follow all his antiparty, antisocialist instructions. This is not democratic centralism but out-and-out one-man rule. It is the fascist system of the Chiang Kai-shek clique.

To unify the ideas and actions of the whole membership and make the party a powerful integral force for fighting the enemy, our party must have its organizational principle and discipline--the individual is subordinate to the organization, the minority is subordinate to the majority, the lower level is subordinate to the higher level, and the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee. Otherwise, our party would be a heap of loose sand and unity of will and action by the whole party would not be insured. But all this must be based on political correctness and must be in conformity with Mao Tse-tung's thought and the interests of the people.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Erroneous leadership harmful to the revolution should not be unconditionally accepted but should be resolutely resisted." Erroneous leadership harmful to the revolution cannot represent the interests of the party and the people. Subordination to such leadership inevitably leads to setbacks and failure in the revolution.

China's Khrushchev opposed the party principle of democratic centralism; he resorted to such methods as recruiting deserters and renegades and forming cliques to further their private interests, and he set up a bourgeois headquarters within the party. His purpose in all this was the restoration of capitalism in China.

He operated a dual counterrevolutionary tactic: On the one hand, he distorted centralism to mean one-man dictatorial rule, and vainly attempted to establish his own revisionist control over the party; on the other, he advocated a bourgeois democracy in the party and practised bourgeois liberatization, in order to consummate his scheme of usurping the leadership of the party and the state. He cried: "Let everybody speak, so that everybody will be satisfied," and "Do as you please." Such statements of his gave the renegades, secret agents, and capitalist-roaders the green light to speak and act against the party and against socialism.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "Freedom and democracy do not exist in the abstract, only in the concrete. In a society rent by class struggle, if there is freedom for the exploiting classes to exploit the working people, there is no freedom for the working people not to be exploited and if there is democracy for the bourgeoisie, there is no democracy for the proletariat and other working people."

Our party is a proletarian political party. Our party democracy must be subordinated to the interests of the proletariat and must facilitate the accomplishment of the party's fighting tasks. Our party democracy is the inner democracy of a proletarian political party. Those representatives of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist-roaders, renegades, and secret agents who wormed their way into the party are enemies of the people and cannot enjoy the rights of democracy.

Vice Chairman Lin Piao points out: "China is a great socialist state of the dictatorship of the proletariat and has a population of 700 million. It needs the unified, revolutionary, and correct thinking that is Mao Tse-tung's thought." Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guiding principle for all our work and the criterion for judging all the words and actions of party members. Every word and action must conform to Mao Tse-tung's thought and every party member must consciously accept proletarian revolutionary discipline as binding, whatever his seniority or contribution.

The purpose of the anarchistic and reactionary ideas advocated by China's Khrushchev was to spread bourgeois liberalism within the party and incite the renegades, secret agents, capitalist-roaders, and other class enemies to oppose the leadership of Chairman Mao, to oppose Mao Tse-tung's thought and his proletarian headquarters.

The evidence is clear. If we were to act in accordance with the "democracy" as advocated by China's Khrushchev, revisionist trends of thought would spread unchecked and antiparty, antisocialist weeds would run riot. Then "it would not take long, perhaps only several years or a decade, or several decades at most, before counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale inevitably occurred, the Marxist-Leninist party would undoubtedly become a revisionist party or a fascist party, and the whole of China would change color."

During the unprecedented great proletarian cultural revolution, China's Khrushchev operated the same dual counterrevolutionary tactic in concentrated form in an attempt to avert his own downfall. During Chairman Mao's absence from Peking in the early days of the cultural revolution, he blatantly ran counter to Chairman Mao's instructions and, using the power he had usurped within the party, suppressed the revolutionaries and revolutionary masses, practiced a white terror and branded large numbers of young revolutionary fighters who dared to rebel against the bourgeois headquarters as "counterrevolutionaries." This was his vain attempt to stamp out the revolutionary flame among the masses. And what he exercised at that time was one-man rule and bourgeois dictatorship.

When his counterrevolutionary schemes were recognized and he found himself on the brink of defeat, he immediately changed his tune and set up a clamor in favor of the counterrevolutionary "minority," the handful of renegades, agents, and capitalist-roaders, this purpose being to allow them the freedom to continue their opposition to the party and socialism. But, armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought, the revolutionary people saw through all his schemes and exposed his trickery. By now the bourgeois headquarters headed by China's Khrushchev has been smashed to smithereens.

Recently Chairman Mao has told 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."

This embodies a great program of party rectification. We should follow Chairman Mao's instructions and make a more penetrating study of his proletarian line of party building; we should repudiate the revisionist line of China's Khrushchev in party building and expose and repudiate his criminal sabotage of the party's democratic centralism. This will enable our party to go further in carrying out Chairman Mao's proletarian line of party building, apply the organizational principle of democratic centralism through the storms of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and create within the party a "vigorous and lively political situation in which there

is both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind," so as to purify, invigorate, and strengthen our party and make it an invincible, an unbreakable bastion in the class struggle.