

## Bury the Slave Mentality Advocated by China's Khrushchov

**I**N the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, many revolutionary pathbreakers, following Chairman Mao's teachings, have proclaimed the slogan "To rebel is justified" and launched a fierce attack on the handful of Party people in authority taking the capitalist road. During this very same period, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road has made great efforts to spread the idea of slavishness so as to resist the great call of Chairman Mao.

Our great, respected and beloved leader Chairman Mao has always opposed slavishness. As early as 1930, Chairman Mao taught us that, with regard to the directives of a higher organ of leadership "it is quite wrong to take a formalistic attitude and blindly carry out directives without discussing and examining them in the light of actual conditions simply because they come from a higher organ."

During the rectification movement in 1942, Chairman Mao again emphasized that: "(they) should take a sniff at everything and distinguish the good from the bad before they decide whether to welcome it or boycott it. Communists must always go into the whys and wherefores of anything, use their own heads and care-

fully think over whether or not it corresponds to reality and is really well founded; on no account should they follow blindly and encourage slavishness."

Chairman Mao also recently said this: "Erroneous leadership which brings harm to the revolution should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resisted resolutely."

In the great cultural revolution, these profound teachings of Chairman Mao have educated one group of revolutionary pathbreakers after another. Today, these teachings are again providing us with powerful weapons to wage the struggle against slave mentality.

Slavishness is a product of the system of exploitation of man by man. For thousands of years, the exploiting classes have assumed the airs of born "overlords" and vilified revolutionary rebels as criminal "offenders against their superiors." The philosophy of slavishness which serves the needs of the exploiting classes is a reactionary philosophy for suppressing the revolution. It erodes revolutionary determination.

China's Khrushchov, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, is precisely the No. 1 salesman of this reactionary philosophy. Through

his book on self-cultivation for Communists — a big, poisonous weed — and a whole series of statements and acts, he persistently introduced the whole concept of slavishness into the Party, eroded the fighting spirit of Communists over the years, violated the Party's revolutionary principles, poisoned the body of the Party and prepared public opinion and conditions for realizing his scheme to usurp power in the Party and the state. In doing this he has committed an unpardonable crime.

We must hold aloft the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, do away completely with the counter-revolutionary slavishness advocated by China's Khrushchov, shatter his scheme for usurping power in the Party and the state, resolutely unseat him and make him step aside!

### **Refute the Reactionary Fallacy of "Absolute Obedience in the Organizational Sphere"**

Chairman Mao teaches us that every political party is "an instrument of class struggle." "If there is to be revolution, there must be a revolutionary party. Without a revolutionary party, without a party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and the broad masses of the people in defeating imperialism and its running dogs."

Today, the reason why we must have a Communist Party is precisely to enable the proletariat to attain its political goal of overthrowing capitalism and building socialism and communism. All political parties are merely forms of organization to realize the political aims of a certain class. Therefore, a party's organizational line should be subordinate to its political line and should become an instrument for or guarantee the implementation and realization of its political line.

But the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road frenziedly and openly opposes Chairman Mao's principle of Party building, loudly advocates that organizational principles should take precedence over everything and that the political line should be subordinate to the organizational line. He advocates unconditional and blind, absolute obedience in the organizational sphere.

He declared: "Organizationally, we advocate absolute obedience."

Some people say: "I am willing to subordinate myself to my superiors and to the majority but my superiors and the majority must first be correct politically and in principle. However, if they are wrong politically I will not subordinate myself to them." He criticized this viewpoint, saying, "This makes the correctness or otherwise of the majority or the superiors or the Party's Central Committee the condition for subordination. It is wrong to stipulate such a condition."

These views so loudly proclaimed by China's Khrushchov are utterly reactionary fallacies. More

than forty years ago, Lenin was exactly right when he sharply pointed out: Without "the correctness of the [Party's] political leadership, the correctness of its political strategy and tactics," "discipline in a revolutionary party really capable of being the party of the advanced class, whose mission it is to overthrow the bourgeoisie and transform the whole of society, cannot be achieved." But China's Khrushchov propagated so-called "absolute obedience": No matter whether a thing is correct or not politically, people should blindly subordinate themselves to it. What this means in essence is that people are required to carry out his counter-revolutionary revisionist line blindly and faithfully and to offer their services in furthering his usurpation of power in the Party and the state and in bringing about a counter-revolutionary restoration.

With the full intention of deceiving, he said that he advocated "obedience regardless of right or wrong," and that it was for the sake of "upholding the unity of the Party." But it is just as Lenin pointed out: "Unity is a great thing and a great slogan. But what the workers' cause needs is the unity of Marxists, not unity between Marxists, and opponents and distorters of Marxism." When discussing the purification of our Party's ranks, 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."

Therefore the unity of the Party that we want to maintain, first and foremost, is its unity on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, its unity on the basis of active ideological struggle, struggle against all words and deeds that run counter to Mao Tse-tung's thought. The history of our Party and of the international communist movement shows that it has always been the opportunists and revisionists of various kinds who have opposed and distorted Marxism, who have sabotaged the unity of the Party and caused splits in its ranks. Therefore it will never do to try and lay the charge of sabotaging Party unity at the door of the revolutionaries who refused to dance obediently to the waving of his baton.

For quite a long period, this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road spared no efforts in propagating his idea of slavishness, that is, the so-called "absolute obedience in the organizational sphere," which had caused very serious loss to the Party and the cause of revolution. A striking example of this is that on the eve of the War of Resistance Against Japan, he who regarded himself as the embodiment of the Party organization, told others to betray the Communist Party and to surrender to the Kuomintang. The slavishness that he advocates regarding "absolute obedience in the organizational sphere" precisely serves his reactionary class capitulationist ideas.

### **Slavishness Must Not Be Passed off as the Party's Democratic Centralism**

In order to peddle his ideas on slavishness, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road

does not hesitate to trample on the Party's principle of democratic centralism and pass off slavishness as our Party's democratic centralism.

Democratic centralism is the basic organizational principle of our Party. This democratic centralism is centralism on the basis of democracy and democracy under centralized guidance.

**Chairman Mao has taught us: "In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance." And that "the leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance" is the first thing that should be done.**

Lenin rightly said that "it is impossible to carry out work exclusively by means of a mechanical majority over people with whom we have no common Party ground." All this stipulates that the prerequisite and condition for democratic centralism is a correct guiding thought and guiding line. This correct guiding thought is the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and the correct guiding line is Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. There can be no doubt about this.

But this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, divorced from that correct guiding thought, said that "it is absolute and unconditional that one should obey the organization, the majority and one's superior." He stressed with a lordly air in his book on self-cultivation for Communists that "so long as it is passed and decided by the majority, by the superior or by the Central Committee, it has to be obeyed, even if it is wrong. It is precisely at this time particularly that discipline has to be observed, the majority obeyed and the superior or the Central Committee obeyed, regardless of whether they are right or wrong." He even said that "the minority must obey the majority" even at the time when "truth lies with the minority while what the majority stands for is not truth."

Obedience! Absolute obedience! Unconditional obedience! The minority, though correct, must submit to the majority that is wrong; the subordinate, though correct, must submit to the superior who is wrong; and the individual, though correct, must absolutely submit to the organization that is wrong. This is nothing but counter-revolutionary discipline imposed on the revolutionary masses by the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road in order to maintain his reactionary rule. As everyone knows, there is a distinction between a real and a false Communist Party, between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism. Discipline also has different class contents. There is a distinction between the discipline of the proletariat and that of the bourgeoisie, between revolutionary and counter-revolutionary discipline.

As for us proletarian revolutionary fighters, what we want strictly to adhere to is the proletarian revolutionary discipline of the Chinese Communist Party armed with Mao Tse-tung's thought; what we accept unconditionally is the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. As for all wrong leadership that runs counter to Mao Tse-tung's

thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, it should not be accepted unconditionally but should be resolutely resisted. As for the discipline of the bourgeoisie, it should be smashed to smithereens.

Another vicious aim that China's Khrushchov had in advocating unconditional submission to the majority was, in co-ordination with Khrushchov revisionism's attack on our Party, vainly to attempt to force our Party to yield to the will of Soviet revisionism, to dance to the baton wielded by Khrushchov and to surrender to revisionism. But our great leader Chairman Mao, raising high the revolutionary banner of Marxism-Leninism, has resolutely smashed the plot of the Khrushchov revisionists and the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

It was clearly pointed out in the seventh comment on the open letter of the Central Committee of the C.P.S.U.: "Where the fundamental principles of Marxism-Leninism are concerned, the problem of exactly who is right and who is wrong cannot in every case be judged by who has the majority." This thoroughly refuted the Soviet revisionists who had vainly attempted to impose on our Party the charge of "frustrating the will of the majority" and "violating international discipline," and frustrated the criminal attempt of the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road.

### **Smash the Reactionary Theory of Being "Docile Tools"**

China's Khrushchov has resorted to a still cunning device in peddling the idea of slavishness. He said that the "aspirations of a Communist" should be to serve as a "docile tool of the Party." He said: "Should one be a docile tool or an unruly tool? A tool easy to control or difficult to control? Naturally one should be a docile tool, a tool easy to control." As for the slavishness he advocates, politically, it is revisionism which disregards revolutionary principles; organizationally, it is absolute commandism; in the treatment of the mass of Party members it exhibits the brainless "tool" mentality! This is reactionary nonsense through-and-through, diametrically opposed to the thought of Mao Tse-tung.

**Chairman Mao tells us: "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."** This teaching of Chairman Mao's expresses the only correct aspiration of every Communist.

**Chairman Mao has called on us to "get rid of the baggage and start up the machinery"** [which means to free the mind of encumbrances and make good use of the organ of thought—Tr.]; to enhance our revolutionary consciousness and avoid acting blindly. Chairman Mao has spoken of this revolutionary consciousness in the following way: **"This initiative must be demonstrated concretely in the ability of the leading bodies, the cadres and the Party rank and file to work**

creatively, in their readiness to assume responsibility, in the exuberant vigour they show in their work, in their courage and ability to raise questions, voice opinions and criticize defects, and in the comradely supervision that is maintained over the leading bodies and the leading cadres." In the minds of the advocates of slavishness, on the contrary, a Communist should not display revolutionary initiative and every Party member should become "a fine tool," a mindless machine.

Such a servile theory of being docile tools is in effect obscurantism. According to this theory, there is no need for the Party to arm the mass of Party members with Mao Tse-tung's thought, to publicize its policies among them, to carry out political and ideological education among them, and to enhance their revolutionary consciousness; what is needed is solely to give them a training in the organizational method of "absolute obedience." These advocates of the slave mentality are outright historical idealists. They regard themselves as Chukeh Liang,\* able to transform the world, and treat the masses as slaves who are at the mercy of others, thus crushing the working people's revolutionary rebel spirit by this reactionary policy of obscurantism. This is a fascist theory from top to bottom!

More important, China's Khrushchov here deliberately dodged a very important question of principle: To be "docile tools" for what kind of a party? For a party armed with Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought, or a revisionist party? For the proletarian headquarters headed by Chairman Mao, or the bourgeois headquarters headed by this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road? He has stridently advocated: "You must obey even if the majority, or the superiors, or the Central Committee are actually wrong, and carry out the erroneous (orders) first." To act according to his logic, one should serve as his "docile tool" whatever the circumstances, and be a "very handy and convenient" tool at that. This servile theory of docile tools was expressly designed by him to make preparations in the fields of public opinion and organization for the restoration of capitalism.

### The Counter-Revolutionary Nature of Slavishness

Having torn off the various masks from the slavishness advocated by China's Khrushchov, we can see through to its counter-revolutionary nature.

This No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road is the chief criminal undermining the Party's principles and organizational discipline. He frenziedly opposes our most respected and beloved great leader Chairman Mao, opposes Mao Tse-tung's thought, which is the highest guiding thought of our Party, op-

\* Chukeh Liang was a statesman and strategist in the period of the Three Kingdoms (221-265), who became a symbol of resourcefulness and wisdom in Chinese folklore. — Ed.

poses the correct leadership of the Party's Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and opposes Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. He sabotages the Party's democratic centralism and proletarian discipline.

Another vicious purpose of China's Khrushchov in advocating slavishness is to smother the revolution and suppress the revolutionary masses who have risen up to rebel against him—the boss behind-the-scenes of the counter-revolutionary revisionists—and the handful of Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road.

During the great proletarian cultural revolution, he, in collusion with another top Party person in authority taking the capitalist road, has vainly attempted to use slavishness to extinguish the revolutionary flames. This pair claimed to be the incarnation of the Party and clamoured that the revolutionary masses, when the latter were rising to rebel, should submit to their revisionist "Party leadership."

When some revolutionary pathbreakers were about to throw off the shackles of slavishness and launched a fierce attack against the Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and his followers once again picked up the blunted weapon contained in the book on self-cultivation for Communists. That book says: "The Party's cadres and leaders are the living embodiment of the general interests of the Party and the proletariat." In accordance with this absurd theory, these Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, the self-styled incarnation of the Party, labelled anyone who opposed them as anti-Party, and condemned a large number of revolutionary pathbreakers, who had risen up to rebel against them, as "counter-revolutionary," "anti-Party," "fake Leftist but real Rightist," and vilified them as having "bombarded the command posts of the proletariat."

As Chairman Mao has taught us, **the reactionaries' "persecution of the revolutionary people only serves to accelerate the people's revolutions on a broader and more intense scale."** With the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the revolutionary masses have smashed the criminal conspiracy of this No. 1 Party person in authority taking the capitalist road and have exposed his true counter-revolutionary, revisionist nature. Now this scoundrel and his followers are under heavy siege by the revolutionary masses. The revolutionary Chinese people will certainly relegate the counter-revolutionary concept of slavishness and its advocate to the dust-bin of history! Let us hold high for ever the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought and courageously march forward, so that the spirit of revolutionary rebellion, full of youth and vitality, will sweep through the whole world!

*(Abridged translation of a "Renmin Ribao" [April 6] article by the Red Guards Regiment in the Mao Tse-tung's Thought Philosophy and Social Sciences Department of the Chinese Academy of Sciences.)*