

Lesson I

The Five Golden Rays & The Basic Revolutionary Attitude

By Mao Zedong and the CPPh



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The Five Golden Rays

The Five Golden Rays is composed of five short articles: Serve the People; In Memory of Comrade Norman Bethune; The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains; Combat Liberalism; On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party.

These articles were written by Comrade Mao Zedong during the period when the Chinese people were advancing their National Democratic Revolution under the leadership of the Communist Party of China.

From these short articles, Comrade Mao clearly elucidated on the world-view and methods of thinking and action for a revolutionary in order for them to effectively execute their revolutionary tasks. Alongside this, counterrevolutionary habits and counterrevolutionary thinking were also identified, as well as the methods of how to combat and rectify them.

Although these articles were written at a different time and different place, from 1929 to 1945, and for Chinese revolutionaries waging their National Democratic Revolution, the lessons that we can derive from these articles are like gold that will never fade and will never lose its essence over the passage of time, wherever it is brought.

In the entire period of struggle of the exploited masses against imperialism, feudalism and all other reaction, the Five Golden Rays serves as a very powerful tool for anyone who wants to remold, to improve in executing tasks, to strengthen their organization and to advance the revolution.

As Filipino revolutionaries we must study the spirit and objectives of these articles. The Five Golden Rays must be continually read and studied by individuals, and as a collective. In studying these lessons, we have to ensure that the lessons are lively and are properly and strictly reflective of our own experiences.

The old Lesson I was included at the end of the Five Golden Rays. It is amended through the addition of explanation of certain questions and also added were some questions to give more emphasis to other points and matters relating to revolutionary attitude. It can be used as a study guide in studying Mao's articles in the Five Golden Rays.

Serve the People

September 8, 1944

[This speech was delivered by Comrade Mao Tse-tung at a memorial meeting for Comrade Chang Szu-teh, held by departments directly under the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China.]

Our Communist Party and the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies led by our Party are battalions of the revolution. These battalions of ours are wholly dedicated to the liberation of the people and work entirely in the people's interests. Comrade Chang Szu-teh¹ was in the ranks of these battalions.

All men must die, but death can vary in its significance. The ancient Chinese writer Szuma Chien said, "Though death befalls all men alike, it may be weightier than Mount Tai or lighter than a feather."² To die for the people is weightier than Mount Tai, but to work for the fascists and die for the exploiters and oppressors is lighter than a feather. Comrade Chang Szu-teh died for the people, and his death is indeed weightier than Mount Tai.

If we have shortcomings, we are not afraid to have them pointed out and criticized, because we serve the people. Anyone, no matter who, may point out our shortcomings. If he is right, we will correct them. If what he proposes will benefit the people, we will act upon it. The idea of "better troops and simpler administration" was put forward by Mr. Li Ting-ming,³ who is not a Communist. He made a good suggestion which is of benefit to the people, and we have adopted it. If, in the interests of the people, we persist in doing what is right and correct what is wrong, our ranks will surely thrive.

We hail from all corners of the country and have joined together for a common revolutionary objective. And we need the vast majority of the people with us on the road to this objective. Today, we already lead base areas with a population of 91 million,⁴ but this is not enough; to liberate the whole nation more are needed. In times

¹ Comrade Chang Szu-teh was a soldier in the Guards Regiment of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party. A member of Communist Party who loyally served the interests of the people, he joined the revolution in 1933, took part in the Long March and was wounded in service. On September 5, 1944, when making charcoal in the mountains of Ansai County, northern Shensi, he was killed by the sudden collapse of a kiln

² Szuma Chien, the famous Chinese historian of the 2nd century B.C., was the author of the *Historical Records*. The quotation comes from his "Reply to Jen Shao-ching's Letter".

³ Li Ting-ming, an enlightened landlord of northern Shensi Province, was at one time elected Vice-Chairman of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningsia Border Region Government.

⁴ This was the total population of the Shensi-Kansu-Ningela Border Region and all other Liberated Areas in northern, central and southern China.

of difficulty, we must not lose sight of our achievements, must see the bright future and must pluck up our courage. The Chinese people are suffering; it is our duty to save them and we must exert ourselves in struggle. Wherever there is struggle there is sacrifice, and death is a common occurrence. But we have the interests of the people and the sufferings of the great majority at heart, and when we die for the people, it is a worthy death. Nevertheless, we should do our best to avoid unnecessary sacrifices. Our cadres must show concern for every soldier, and all people in the revolutionary ranks must care for each other, must love and help each other.

From now on, when anyone in our ranks who has done some useful work dies, be he soldier or cook, we should have a funeral ceremony and a memorial meeting in his honor. This should become the rule. And it should be introduced among the people as well. When someone dies in a village, let a memorial meeting be held. In this way we express our mourning for the dead and unite all the people.

The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains

June 11, 1945

[This was Comrade Mao Tse-tung's concluding speech at the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party of China.]

We have had a very successful congress. We have done three things. First, we have decided on the line of our Party, which is boldly to mobilize the masses and expand the people's forces so that, under the leadership of our Party, they will defeat the Japanese aggressors, liberate the whole people and build a new-democratic China. Second, we have adapted the new Party Constitution. Third, we have elected the leading body of the Party--the Central Committee. Henceforth our task is to lead the whole membership in carrying out the Party line. Ours has been a congress of victory, a congress of unity. The delegates have made excellent comments on the three reports. Many comrades have undertaken self-criticism; with unity as the objective unity has been achieved through self-criticism. This congress is a model of unity, of self-criticism and of inner-Party democracy.

When the congress closes, many comrades will be leaving for their posts and the various war fronts. Comrades, wherever you go, you should propagate the line of the congress and, through the members of the Party, explain it to the broad masses.

Our aim in propagating the line of the congress is to build up the confidence of the whole Party and the entire people in the certain triumph of the revolution. We must first raise the political consciousness of the vanguard so that, resolute and unafraid of sacrifice, they will surmount every difficulty to win victory. But this is not enough; we must also arouse the political consciousness of the entire people so that they may willingly and gladly fight together with us for victory. We should fire the whole people with the conviction that China belongs not to the reactionaries but to the Chinese people. There is an ancient Chinese fable called "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains". It tells of an old man who lived in northern China long, long ago and was known as the Foolish Old Man of North Mountain. His house faced south and beyond his doorway stood the two great peaks, Taihang and Wangwu, obstructing the way. He called his sons, and hoe in hand they began to dig up these mountains with great determination. Another graybeard, known as the Wise Old Man, saw them and said derisively, "How silly of you to do this! It is quite impossible for you few to dig up those two huge mountains." The Foolish Old Man replied, "When I die, my sons will carry on; when they die, there will be my grandsons, and then their sons and grandsons, and so on to infinity. High as they are, the mountains cannot grow any higher and with every bit we dig, they will be that much lower. Why can't we clear them away?" Having refuted the Wise Old Man's wrong view, he went on digging every day, unshaken in his conviction. God was moved by this, and he sent

down two angels, who carried the mountains away on their backs. Today, two big mountains lie like a dead weight on the Chinese people. One is imperialism, the other is feudalism. The Chinese Communist Party has long made up its mind to dig them up. We must persevere and work unceasingly, and we, too, will touch God's heart. Our God is none other than the masses of the Chinese people. If they stand up and dig together with us, why can't these two mountains be cleared away?

Yesterday, in a talk with two Americans who were leaving for the United States, I said that the U.S. government was trying to undermine us and this would not be permitted. We oppose the U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists. But we must draw a distinction, firstly, between the people of the United States and their government and, secondly, within the U.S. government between the policy-makers and their subordinates. I said to these two Americans, "Tell the policy-makers in your government that we forbid you Americans to enter the Liberated Areas because your policy is to support Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists, and we have to be on our guard. You can come to the Liberated Areas if your purpose is to fight Japan, but there must first be an agreement. We will not permit you to nose around everywhere. Since Patrick J. Hurley¹ has publicly declared against co-operation with the Chinese Communist Party, why do you still want to come and prowl around in our Liberated Areas?"

The U.S. government's policy of supporting Chiang Kai-shek against the Communists shows the brazenness of the U.S. reactionaries. But all the scheming of the reactionaries, whether Chinese or foreign, to prevent the Chinese people from achieving victory is doomed to failure. The democratic forces are the main current in the world today, while reaction is only a counter-current. The reactionary countercurrent is trying to swamp the main current of national independence and people's democracy, but it can never become the main current. Today, there are still three major contradictions in the old world, as Stalin pointed out long ago: first, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie in the imperialist countries; second, the contradiction between the various imperialist powers, and third, the contradiction between the colonial and semi-colonial countries and the imperialist metropolitan countries.² Not only do these three contradictions continue to exist but they are becoming more acute and widespread. Because of their existence and growth, the time will come when the reactionary anti-Soviet, anti-Communist and anti-democratic counter-current still in existence today will be swept away.

¹ . Patrick J. Hurley, a reactionary Republican Party politician, was appointed U.S. ambassador to China towards the end of 1944. In November 1945 he was forced to resign because his support for Chiang Kai-shek's Anti-Communist policy roused the firm opposition of the Chinese people. Harley's open declaration against cooperation with the Chinese Communist Party was made on April 2, 1945 at a U.S. State Department press conference in Washington. For details, see "The Hurley-Chiang Duet Is a Flop", pp. 281-84 of this volume.

² See J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", *Works*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1953, Vol. VI, pp. 74-82.

At this moment two congresses are being held in China, the Sixth National Congress of the Kuomintang and the Seventh National Congress of the Communist Party. They have completely different aims: the aim of one is to liquidate the Communist Party and all the other democratic forces in China and thus to plunge China into darkness; the aim of the other is to overthrow Japanese imperialism and its lackeys, the Chinese feudal forces, and build a new-democratic China and thus to lead China to light. Those two lines are in conflict with each other. We firmly believe that, led by the Chinese Communist Party and guided by the line of its Seventh Congress, the Chinese people will achieve complete victory, while the Kuomintang's counter-revolutionary line will inevitably fail.

In Memory of Norman Bethune

December 21, 1939

Comrade Norman Bethune,¹ a member of the Communist Party of Canada, was around fifty when he was sent by the Communist Parties of Canada and the United States to China; he made light of travelling thousands of miles to help us in our War of Resistance Against Japan. He arrived in Yen-an in the spring of last year, went to work in the Wutai Mountains, and to our great sorrow died a martyr at his post. What kind of spirit is this that makes a foreigner selflessly adopt the cause of the Chinese people's liberation as his own? It is the spirit of internationalism, the spirit of communism, from which every Chinese Communist must learn. Leninism teaches that the world revolution can only succeed if the proletariat of the capitalist countries supports the struggle for liberation of the colonial and semi-colonial peoples and if the proletariat of the colonies and semi-colonies supports that of the proletariat of the capitalist countries.² Comrade Bethune put this Leninist line into practice. We Chinese Communists must also follow this line in our practice. We must unite with the proletariat of all the capitalist countries, with the proletariat of Japan, Britain, the United States, Germany, Italy and all other capitalist countries, for this is the only way to overthrow imperialism, to liberate our nation and people and to liberate the other nations and peoples of the world. This is our internationalism, the internationalism with which we oppose both narrow nationalism and narrow patriotism.

Comrade Bethune's spirit, his utter devotion to others without any thought of self, was shown in his great sense of responsibility in his work and his great warm-heartedness towards all comrades and the people. Every Communist must learn from him. There are not a few people who are irresponsible in their work, preferring the light and shirking the heavy, passing the burdensome tasks on to others and choosing the easy ones for themselves. At every turn they think of themselves before others. When they make some small contribution, they swell with pride and brag about it for fear that others will not know. They feel no warmth towards comrades and the people

¹ The distinguished surgeon Norman Bethune was a member of the Canadian Communist Party. In 1936 when the German and Italian fascist bandits invaded Spain, he went to the front and worked for the anti-fascist Spanish people. In order to help the Chinese people in their War of Resistance Against Japan, he came to China at the head of a medical team and arrived in Yen-an in the spring of 1938. Soon after he went to the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area. Imbued with ardent internationalism and the great communist spirit, he served the army and the people of the Liberated Areas for nearly two years. He contracted blood poisoning while operating on wounded soldiers and died in Tanghsien, Hopei, on November 12, 1939

² See J. V. Stalin, "The Foundations of Leninism", Problems of Leninism, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow, 1954, pp. 70-79.

but are cold, indifferent and apathetic. In truth such people are not Communists, or at least cannot be counted as devoted Communists. No one who returned from the front failed to express admiration for Bethune whenever his name was mentioned, and none remained unmoved by his spirit. In the Shansi-Chahar-Hopei border area, no soldier or civilian was unmoved who had been treated by Dr. Bethune or had seen how he worked. Every Communist must learn this true communist spirit from Comrade Bethune.

Comrade Bethune was a doctor, the art of healing was his profession and he was constantly perfecting his skill, which stood very high in the Eighth Route Army's medical service. His example is an excellent lesson for those people who wish to change their work the moment they see something different and for those who despise technical work as of no consequence or as promising no future.

Comrade Bethune and I met only once. Afterwards he wrote me many letters. But I was busy, and I wrote him only one letter and do not even know if he ever received it. I am deeply grieved over his death. Now we are all commemorating him, which shows how profoundly his spirit inspires everyone. We must all learn the spirit of absolute selflessness from him. With this spirit everyone can be very useful to the people. A man's ability may be great or small, but if he has this spirit, he is already noble-minded and pure, a man of moral integrity and above vulgar interests, a man who is of value to the people.

Combat Liberalism

September 7, 1937

We stand for active ideological struggle because it is the weapon for ensuring unity within the Party and the revolutionary organizations in the interest of our fight. Every Communist and revolutionary should take up this weapon.

But liberalism rejects ideological struggle and stands for unprincipled peace, thus giving rise to a decadent, Philistine attitude and bringing about political degeneration in certain units and individuals in the Party and the revolutionary organizations.

Liberalism manifests itself in various ways.

To let things slide for the sake of peace and friendship when a person has clearly gone wrong, and refrain from principled argument because he is an old acquaintance, a fellow townsman, a schoolmate, a close friend, a loved one, an old colleague or old subordinate. Or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms. The result is that both the organization and the individual are harmed. This is one type of liberalism.

To indulge in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization. To say nothing to people to their faces but to gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards. To show no regard at all for the principles of collective life but to follow one's own inclination. This is a second type.

To let things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame. This is a third type.

Not to obey orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions. To demand special consideration from the organization but to reject its discipline. This is a fourth type.

To indulge in personal attacks, pick quarrels, vent personal spite or seek revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly. This is a fifth type.

To hear incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them calmly as if nothing had happened. This is a sixth type.

To be among the masses and fail to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist. This is a seventh type.

To see someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop him or reason with him, but to allow him to continue. This is an

eighth type.

To work half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along--"So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell." This is a ninth type.

To regard oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution, to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study. This is a tenth type.

To be aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself. This is an eleventh type.

We could name more. But these eleven are the principal types.

They are all manifestations of liberalism.

Liberalism is extremely harmful in a revolutionary collective. It is a corrosive which eats away unity, undermines cohesion, causes apathy and creates dissension. It robs the revolutionary ranks of compact organization and strict discipline, prevents policies from being carried through and alienates the Party organizations from the masses which the Party leads. It is an extremely bad tendency.

Liberalism stems from petty-bourgeois selfishness, it places personal interests first and the interests of the revolution second, and this gives rise to ideological, political and organizational liberalism.

People who are liberals look upon the principles of Marxism as abstract dogma. They approve of Marxism, but are not prepared to practice it or to practice it in full; they are not prepared to replace their liberalism by Marxism. These people have their Marxism, but they have their liberalism as well--they talk Marxism but practice liberalism; they apply Marxism to others but liberalism to themselves. They keep both kinds of goods in stock and find a use for each. This is how the minds of certain people work.

Liberalism is a manifestation of opportunism and conflicts fundamentally with Marxism. It is negative and objectively has the effect of helping the enemy; that is why the enemy welcomes its preservation in our midst. Such being its nature, there should be no place for it in the ranks of the revolution.

We must use Marxism, which is positive in spirit, to overcome liberalism, which is negative. A Communist should have largeness of mind and he should be staunch and active, looking upon the interests of the revolution as his very life and subordinating his personal interests to those of the revolution; always and everywhere he should adhere to principle and wage a tireless struggle against all incorrect ideas and actions, so as to consolidate the collective life of the Party and strengthen the ties between the Party and the masses; he should be more concerned about the Party and the masses than about any private person, and more concerned about others than about himself. Only thus can he be considered a Communist. All loyal, honest, active and upright Communists must unite to oppose the liberal tendencies shown by certain

people among us, and set them on the right path. This is one of the tasks on our ideological front.

On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in The Party

December 1929

[This article was a resolution drawn up by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for the Ninth Party Congress of the Fourth Army of the Red Army. The building of the Chinese people's armed forces was a difficult process. The Chinese Red Army (which became the Eighth Route and New Fourth Armies during the War of Resistance Against Japan and is now the People's Liberation Army) was created on August 1, 1927, during the Nanchang Uprising, and by December 1929 had been in existence for over two years. During this period the Communist Party organization in the Red Army learned a great deal and gained quite a rich store of experience in the course of combating various mistaken ideas. The resolution summed up this experience. It enabled the Red Army to build itself entirely on a Marxist-Leninist basis and to eliminate all the influences of armies of the old type. It was carried out not only in the Fourth Army but also in all other units of the Red Army successively, in this way the whole Chinese Red Army became a genuine army of the people in every respect. In the last thirty years or so the Chinese people's armed forces have made tremendous developments and innovations in their Party activities and political work which now present a very different picture, but the basic line remains the same as that laid down in this resolution.]

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. The source of such incorrect ideas in this Party organization lies, of course, in the fact that its basic units are composed largely of peasants and other elements of petty-bourgeois origin; yet the failure of the Party's leading bodies to wage a concerted and determined struggle against these incorrect ideas and to educate the members in the Party's correct line is also an important cause of their existence and growth. In accordance with the spirit of the September letter of the Central Committee, this congress hereby points out the manifestations of various non-proletarian ideas in the Party organization in the Fourth Army, their sources, and the methods of correcting them, and calls upon all comrades to eliminate them thoroughly.

ON THE PURELY MILITARY VIEWPOINT

The purely military viewpoint is very highly developed among a number of comrades in the Red Army. It manifests itself as follows:

1. These comrades regard military affairs and politics as opposed to each other and refuse to recognize that military affairs are only one means of accomplishing political tasks. Some even say, "If you are good militarily,

naturally you are good politically; if you are not good militarily, you cannot be any good politically"--this is to go a step further and give military affairs a leading position over politics.

2. They think that the task of the Red Army like that of the White army, is merely to fight. They do not understand that the Chinese Red Army is an armed body for carrying out the political tasks of the revolution. Especially at present, the Red Army should certainly not confine itself to fighting; besides fighting to destroy the enemy's military strength, it should shoulder such important tasks as doing propaganda among the masses, organizing the masses, arming them, helping them to establish revolutionary political power and setting up Party organizations. The Red Army fights not merely for the sake of fighting but in order to conduct propaganda among the masses, organize them, arm them, and help them to establish revolutionary political power. Without these objectives, fighting loses its meaning and the Red Army loses the reason for its existence.
3. Hence, organizationally, these comrades subordinate the departments of the Red Army doing political work to those doing military work, and put forward the slogan, "Let Army Headquarters handle outside matters." If allowed to develop, this idea would involve the danger of estrangement from the masses, control of the government by the army and departure from proletarian leadership-- it would be to take the path of warlordism like the Kuomintang army.
4. At the same time, in propaganda work they overlook the importance of propaganda teams. On the question of mass organization, they neglect the organizing of soldiers' committees in the army and the organizing of the local workers and peasants. As a result, both propaganda and organizational work are abandoned.
5. They become conceited when a battle is won and dispirited when a battle is lost.
6. Selfish departmentalism--they think only of the Fourth Army and do not realize that it is an important task of the Red Army to arm the local masses. This is cliquism in a magnified form.
7. Unable to see beyond their limited environment in the Fourth Army, a few comrades believe that no other revolutionary forces exist. Hence their extreme addiction to the idea of conserving strength and avoiding action. This is a remnant of opportunism.
8. Some comrades, disregarding the subjective and objective conditions, suffer from the malady of revolutionary impetuosity; they will not take pains to do minute and detailed work among the masses, but, riddled with illusions, want

only to do big things. This is a remnant of putschism.¹

The sources of the purely military viewpoint are:

1. A low political level. From this flows the failure to recognize the role of political leadership in the army and to recognize that the Red Army and the White army are fundamentally different.
2. The mentality of mercenaries. Many prisoners captured in past battles have joined the Red Army, and such elements bring with them a markedly mercenary outlook, thereby providing a basis in the lower ranks for the purely military viewpoint.
3. From the two preceding causes there arises a third, overconfidence in military strength and absence of confidence in the strength of the masses of the people.
4. The Party's failure actively to attend to and discuss military work is also a reason for the emergence of the purely military viewpoint among a number of comrades.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Raise the political level in the Party by means of education, destroy the theoretical roots of the purely military viewpoint, and be clear on the fundamental difference between the Red Army and the White army. At the same time, eliminate the remnants of opportunism and putschism and break down the selfish departmentalism of the Fourth Army.
2. Intensify the political training of officers and men and especially the education of ex-prisoners. At the same time, as far as possible let the local governments select workers and peasants experienced in struggle to join the Red Army, thus organizationally weakening or even eradicating the purely military viewpoint.
3. Arouse the local Party organizations to criticize the Party organizations in the Red Army and the organs of mass political power to criticize the Red Army itself, in order to influence the Party organizations and the officers and men of the Red Army.
4. The Party must actively attend to and discuss military work. All the work must be discussed and decided upon by the Party before being carried out by the rank and file.
5. Draw up Red Army rules and regulations which clearly define its tasks, the

¹ For a brief period after the defeat of the revolution in 1927, a "Left" putschist tendency arose in the Communist Party. Regarding the Chinese revolution as a "permanent revolution" and the revolutionary situation in China as a "permanent upsurge", the putschist comrades refused to organize an orderly retreat and, adopting the methods of commandism and relying only on a small number of Party members and a small section of the masses, erroneously attempted to stage a series of local uprisings throughout the country, which had no prospect of success. Such putschist activities were widespread at the end of 1927 but gradually subsided in the beginning of 1928, though sentiments in favor of putschism still survived among some comrades.

relationship between its military and its political apparatus, the relationship between the Red Army and the masses of the people, and the powers and functions of the soldiers' committees and their relationship with the military and political organizations.

ON ULTRA-DEMOCRACY

Since the Fourth Army of the Red Army accepted the directives of the Central Committee, there has been a great decrease in the manifestations of ultra-democracy. For example, Party decisions are now carried out fairly well; and no longer does anyone bring up such erroneous demands as that the Red Army should apply "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top" or should "let the lower levels discuss all problems first, and then let the higher levels decide". Actually, however, this decrease is only temporary and superficial and does not mean that ultra-democratic ideas have already been eliminated. In other words, ultra-democracy is still deep-rooted in the minds of many comrades. Witness the various expressions of reluctance to carry out Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

- 1) In the sphere of theory, destroy the roots of ultra-democracy. First, it should be pointed out that the danger of ultra-democracy lies in the fact that it damages or even completely wrecks the Party organization and weakens or even completely undermines the Party's fighting capacity, rendering the Party incapable of fulfilling its fighting tasks and thereby causing the defeat of the revolution. Next, it should be pointed out that the source of ultra-democracy consists in the petty bourgeoisie's individualistic aversion to discipline. When this characteristic is brought into the Party, it develops into ultra-democratic ideas politically and organizationally. These ideas are utterly incompatible with the fighting tasks of the proletariat.
- 2) In the sphere of organization, ensure democracy under centralized guidance. It should be done on the following lines:
 - a) The leading bodies of the Party must give a correct line of guidance and kind solutions when problems arise, in order to establish themselves as centers of leadership.
 - b) The higher bodies must be familiar with the life of the masses and with the situation in the lower bodies so as to have an objective basis for correct guidance.
 - c) No Party organization at any level should make casual decisions in solving problems. Once a decision is reached, it must be firmly carried out.
 - d) All decisions of any importance made by the Party's higher bodies must be promptly transmitted to the lower bodies and the Party rank and file. The method is to call meetings of activists or general membership meetings of the

Party branches or even of the columns² (when circumstances permit) and to assign people to make reports at such meetings.

- e) The lower bodies of the Party and the Party rank and file must discuss the higher bodies' directives in detail in order to understand their meaning thoroughly and decide on the methods of carrying them out.

ON THE DISREGARD OF ORGANIZATIONAL DISCIPLINE

Disregard of organizational discipline in the Party organization in the Fourth Army manifests itself as follows:

A. Failure of the minority to submit to the majority. For example, when a minority finds its motion voted down, it does not sincerely carry out the Party decisions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. At meetings, all participants should be encouraged to voice their opinions as fully as possible. The rights and wrongs in any controversy should be clarified without compromise or glossing over. In order to reach a clear-cut conclusion, what cannot be settled at one meeting should be discussed at another, provided there is no interference with the work.
2. One requirement of Party discipline is that the minority should submit to the majority. If the view of the minority has been rejected, it must support the decision passed by the majority. If necessary, it can bring up the matter for reconsideration at the next meeting, but apart from that it must not act against the decision in any way.

B. Criticism made without regard to organizational discipline:

1. Inner-Party criticism is a weapon for strengthening the Party organization and increasing its fighting capacity. In the Party organization of the Red Army, however, criticism is not always of this character, and sometimes turns into personal attack. As a result, it damages the Party organization as well as individuals. This is a manifestation of petty-bourgeois individualism. The method of correction is to help Party members understand that the purpose of criticism is to increase the Party's fighting capacity in order to achieve victory in the class struggle and that it should not be used as a means of personal attack.
2. Many Party members make their criticisms not inside, but outside, the Party. The reason is that the general membership has not yet grasped the importance of the Party organization (its meetings and so forth), and sees no difference between criticism inside and outside the organization. The method of correction is to educate Party members so that they understand the importance of Party organization and make their criticisms of Party committees or comrades at Party meetings.

² In the guerrilla system of organization, a column corresponded to a division in the regular army, with a complement much more flexible and usually much smaller than that of a regular division.

ON ABSOLUTE EQUALITARIANISM

Absolute equalitarianism became quite serious in the Red Army at one time. Here are some examples. On the matter of allowances to wounded soldiers, there were objections to differentiating between light and serious cases, and the demand was raised for equal allowances for all. When officers rode on horseback, it was regarded not as something necessary for performing their duties but as a sign of inequality. Absolutely equal distribution of supplies was demanded, and there was objection to somewhat larger allotments in special cases. In the hauling of rice, the demand was made that all should carry the same load on their backs, irrespective of age or physical condition. Equality was demanded in the allotment of billets, and the Headquarters would be abused for occupying larger rooms. Equality was demanded in the assignment of fatigue duties, and there was unwillingness to do a little more than the next man. It even went so far that when there were two wounded men but only one stretcher, neither could be carried away because each refused to yield priority to the other. Absolute equalitarianism, as shown in these examples, is still very serious among officers and soldiers of the Red Army.

Absolute equalitarianism, like ultra-democracy in political matters, is the product of a handicraft and small peasant economy--the only difference being that the one manifests itself in material affairs, while the other manifests itself in political affairs.

The method of correction: We should point out that, before the abolition of capitalism, absolute equalitarianism is a mere illusion of peasants and small proprietors, and that even under socialism there can be no absolute equality, for material things will then be distributed on the principle of "from each according to his ability, to each according to his work" as well as on that of meeting the needs of the work. The distribution of material things in the Red Army must be more or less equal, as in the case of equal pay for officers and men, because this is required by the present circumstances of the struggle. But absolute equalitarianism beyond reason must be opposed because it is not required by the struggle; on the contrary, it hinders the struggle.

ON SUBJECTIVISM

Subjectivism exists to a serious degree among some Party members, causing great harm to the analysis of the political situation and the guidance of the work. The reason is that subjective analysis of a political situation and subjective guidance of work inevitably result either in opportunism or in putschism. As for subjective criticism, loose and groundless talk or suspiciousness, such practices inside the Party often breed unprincipled disputes and undermine the Party organization.

Another point that should be mentioned in connection with inner-Party criticism is that some comrades ignore the major issues and confine their attention to minor

points when they make their criticism. They do not understand that the main task of criticism is to point out political and organizational mistakes. As to personal shortcomings, unless they are related to political and organizational mistakes, there is no need to be overcritical and to embarrass the comrades concerned. Moreover, once such criticism develops, there is the great danger that the Party members will concentrate entirely on minor faults, and everyone will become timid and overcautious and forget the Party's political tasks.

The main method of correction is to educate Party members so that a political and scientific spirit pervades their thinking and their Party life. To this end we must: (1) teach Party members to apply the Marxist-Leninist method in analyzing a political situation and appraising the class forces, instead of making a subjective analysis and appraisal; (2) direct the attention of Party members to social and economic investigation and study, so as to determine the tactics of struggle and methods of work, and help comrades to understand that without investigation of actual conditions they will fall into the pit of fantasy and putschism; and (3) in inner-Party criticism, guard against subjectivism, arbitrariness and the vulgarization of criticism; statements should be based on facts and criticism should centre on politics.

ON INDIVIDUALISM

The tendency towards individualism in the Red Army Party organization manifests itself as follows:

1. Retaliation. Some comrades, after being criticized inside the Party by a soldier comrade, look for opportunities to retaliate outside the Party, and one way is to beat or abuse the comrade in question. They also seek to retaliate within the Party. "You have criticized me at this meeting, so I'll find some way to pay you back at the next." Such retaliation arises from purely personal considerations, to the neglect of the interests of the class and of the Party as a whole. Its target is not the enemy class, but individuals in our own ranks. It is a corrosive which weakens the organization and its fighting capacity.
2. "Small group" mentality. Some comrades consider only the interests of their own small group and ignore the general interest. Although on the surface this does not seem to be the pursuit of personal interests, in reality it exemplifies the narrowest individualism and has a strong corrosive and centrifugal effect. "Small group" mentality used to be rife in the Red Army, and although there has been some improvement as a result of criticism, there are still survivals and further effort is needed to overcome it.
3. The "employee" mentality. Some comrades do not understand that the Party and the Red Army, of which they are members, are both instruments for carrying out the tasks of the revolution. They do not realize that they themselves are makers of the revolution, but think that their responsibility is merely to their individual superiors and not to the revolution. This passive mentality of an "employee" of the revolution is also a manifestation of individualism. It explains why there are

not very many activists who work unconditionally for the revolution. Unless it is eliminated, the number of activists will not grow and the heavy burden of the revolution will remain on the shoulders of a small number of people, much to the detriment of the struggle.

4. **Pleasure-seeking.** In the Red Army there are also quite a few people whose individualism finds expression in pleasure-seeking. They always hope that their unit will march into big cities. They want to go there not to work but to enjoy themselves. The last thing they want is to work in the Red areas where life is hard.
5. **Passivity.** Some comrades become passive and stop working whenever anything goes against their wishes. This is mainly due to lack of education, though sometimes it is also due to the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.
6. **The desire to leave the army.** The number of people who ask for transfers from the Red Army to local work is on the increase. The reason for this does not lie entirely with the individuals but also with: (1) the material hardships of life in the Red Army, (2) exhaustion after long struggle, and (3) the leadership's improper conduct of affairs, assignment of work or enforcement of discipline.

The method of correction is primarily to strengthen education so as to rectify individualism ideologically. Next, it is to conduct affairs, make assignments and enforce discipline in a proper way. In addition, ways must be found to improve the material life of the Red Army, and every available opportunity must be utilized for rest and rehabilitation in order to improve material conditions. In our educational work we must explain that in its social origin individualism is a reflection within the Party of petty-bourgeois and bourgeois ideas.

ON THE IDEOLOGY OF ROVING REBEL BANDS

The political ideology of roving rebel bands has emerged in the Red Army because the proportion of vagabond elements is large and because there are great masses of vagabonds in China, especially in the southern provinces. This ideology manifests itself as follows: (1) Some people want to increase our political influence only by means of roving guerrilla actions, but are unwilling to increase it by undertaking the arduous task of building up base areas and establishing the people's political power. (2) In expanding the Red Army, some people follow the line of "hiring men and buying horses" and "recruiting deserters and accepting mutineers",³ rather than the line of expanding the local Red Guards and the local troops and thus developing the main forces of the Red Army. (3) Some people lack the patience to carry on arduous struggles together with the masses, and only want to go to the big cities to eat and

³ These two Chinese idioms refer to the methods which some rebels in Chinese history adopted to expand their forces. In the application of these methods, attention was paid to numbers rather than to quality, and people of all sorts were indiscriminately recruited to swell the ranks.

drink to their hearts' content. All these manifestations of the ideology of roving rebels seriously hamper the Red Army in performing its proper tasks; consequently, its eradication is an important objective in the ideological struggle within the Red Army Party organization. It must be understood that the ways of roving rebels of the Huang Chao⁴ or Li Chuang⁵ type are not permissible under present-day conditions.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Intensify education, criticize incorrect ideas, and eradicate the ideology of roving rebel bands.
2. Intensify education among the basic sections of the Red Army and among recently recruited captives to counter the vagabond outlook.
3. Draw active workers and peasants experienced in struggle into the ranks of the Red Army so as to change its composition.
4. Create new units of the Red Army from among the masses of militant workers and peasants.

ON THE REMNANTS OF PUTSCHISM

The Party organization in the Red Army has already waged struggles against putschism, but not yet to a sufficient extent. Therefore, remnants of this ideology still exist in the Red Army. Their manifestations are: (1) blind action regardless of subjective and objective conditions; (2) inadequate and irresolute application of the Party's policies for the cities; (3) slack military discipline, especially in moments of defeat; (4) acts of house-burning by some units; and (5) the practices of shooting

⁴ Huang Chao was the leader of the peasant revolts towards the end of the Tang Dynasty. In A.D. 875, starting from his home district Tsaochow (now Hotse County in Shantung), Huang led armed peasants in victorious battles against the imperial forces and styled himself the "Heaven-Storming General". In the course of a decade, he swept over most of the provinces in the Yellow, Yangtse, Huai and Pearl River valleys, reaching as far as Kwangsi. He finally broke through the Tungkuan pass, captured the imperial capital of Changan (now Sian in Shensi), and was crowned Emperor of Chi. Internal dissensions and attacks by the non-Han tribal allies of the Tang forces compelled Huang to abandon Changan and retreat to his native district, where he committed suicide. The ten years' war fought by him is one of the most famous peasant wars in Chinese history. Dynastic historians record that "all people suffering from heavy taxes and levies rallied to him". But as he merely carried on roving warfare without ever establishing relatively consolidated base areas, his forces were called "roving rebel bands".

⁵ Li Chuang, short for Li Tzu-cheng the King Chuang (the Dare-All King), native of Michih, northern Shensi, was the leader of a peasant revolt which led to the overthrow of the Ming Dynasty. The revolt first started in northern Shensi in 1628. Li joined the forces led by Kao Ying-hsiang and campaigned through Honan and Anhwei and back to Shensi. After Kao's death in 1636, Li succeeded him, becoming King Chuang, and campaigned in and out of the provinces of Shensi, Szechuan, Honan and Hupeh. Finally he captured the imperial capital of Peking in 1644, whereupon the last Ming emperor committed suicide. The chief slogan he spread among the masses was "Support King Chuang, and pay no grain taxes". Another slogan of his to enforce discipline among his men ran: "Any murder means the killing of my father; any rape means the violation of my mother." Thus, he won the support of the masses and his movement became the main current of the peasant revolts raging all over the country. As he, too, roamed about without ever establishing relatively consolidated base areas, he was eventually defeated by Wu San-kuei, a Ming general who colluded with the Ching troops in a joint attack on Li.

deserters and of inflicting corporal punishment, both of which smack of putschism. In its social origins, putschism is a combination of lumpen-proletarian and petty-bourgeois ideology.

The methods of correction are as follows:

1. Eradicate putschism ideologically.
2. Correct putschist behavior through rules, regulations and policies.

On Basic Revolutionary Attitude by the CPPh

1. Why is the question, “For whom?” the most important and key issue every revolutionary faces?

We come from the different corners of the city and the countryside united for a single revolutionary cause. But what is our cause? No other cause but to liberate the people from imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Each of us is aware of the concrete conditions of the Filipino people. We have joined a revolutionary organization and are participating in the revolutionary movement to contribute to the achievement of the people’s struggle to attain national liberation and democracy.

The question “For whom” is a matter of basic revolutionary standpoint. Are we for the broad masses, the more than seventy million Filipinos who are exploited and oppressed? Or are we for the few foreign imperialists, local comprador bourgeois and the landlords who exploit and oppress? If we clearly answer the question “For whom?” all endeavors, thinking and work can focus for the service of the people and to the overall effort to weaken and destroy the enemy.

As revolutionaries, our thoughts, feelings and actions are fully focused on achieving genuine freedom of our nation and democracy for the broad masses of Filipino people. In our every moment, every action, the revolutionary’s response to the question “For whom?” is only one: for the oppressed and exploited masses. This is the core of the revolutionary standpoint.

2. Why must one be always considerate about the interests and welfare of the people and commit wholehearted service to them?

We can wholeheartedly serve the people if we always consider the welfare of the people ahead of ourselves and the suffering of the overwhelming majority in our heart and by nurturing deep contempt against the people’s enemies. We must always strive to make sure that the basic standpoint on basic issues and on actions is always for advancing the interests of the people and in weakening the enemy at all times. We must be diligent in learning the problems and conditions of the masses and firmly linking and uniting with them in order to raise their consciousness and advance the building of their power and organization, and the victory of their struggles.

Wholehearted service to the people also means eradicating individualism and eradicating narrow-mindedness and self-interest in favor of the general interests or interests of the majority. Whenever individualism prevails, a person always prioritizes benefiting oneself or a small group and will set aside or subordinate the interest of the

majority. Individualism not only serves one's own ego but also the interests of the reactionaries who maintain and benefit from the exploitative and oppressive system.

3. Why must every revolutionary cultivate the attitude of ceaseless and all-out effort in pushing the correct line of the Peoples' Democratic Revolution?

The masses carry the massive burden of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The ruling class is doing everything they can to stay in power in order to keep their status as exploiters and oppressors of the people intact. Only through revolution can the broad masses of the people free themselves from the three basic problems.

History proves that the masses are the genuine heroes. Revolution is no less than a hugely violent and decisive action of the masses to overthrow the rule of the exploitative and oppressive classes, in order to establish the power of the people. No revolution has ever occurred where the masses aren't the main motive forces in dismantling the ruling class. The strength and wisdom of the masses are the core foundation for building the new society. They genuinely make history. We must arouse the masses and raise their political consciousness. We must explain to the masses that the three basic problems are the real root of their suffering and that their liberation can only be achieved through united action. We must patiently explain to them the line of the Peoples' Democratic Revolution so that it continually garners increasing people's support. Thus, it cannot be easily crushed nor defeated by the reactionaries.

With the effort of propagating this line, and in strengthening the confidence of the people in its correctness we are certain of the victory of the revolution. This is the way by which we awaken and unite the masses to our side, for them to participate in, and give all they can to the liberation of the people from the three basic problems.

No matter how large and strong the enemy is they will assuredly be overpowered by the unity of the people. We must relentlessly unite and build up the strength of the Peoples' Democratic Revolution until victory. This is the key message in the article, "The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains."

4. Why do we need to conduct self-remolding as revolutionaries?

As revolutionaries, we have a duty to focus our minds, emotions and actions to the basic interest of the Filipino people. But we all still possess ideas, habits and practices widespread in the current rotten society. We grew up in a society dominated by oppressors and exploiters. Until now, we are continually influenced by the rotten ideas of the current society. Thus, it is every revolutionary's duty to conduct self-

remolding.

We change ourselves through active revolutionary work and conscious struggle against our wrong ideas, habits and behavior. By continuing to do revolutionary tasks and always being cautious of our own weaknesses and mistakes, we can mold ourselves in the midst of the storm of struggle against the enemies of the Filipino people. We shall become stronger, overcome our weaknesses and become more correct and more efficient in advancing the revolution.

Self-remolding cannot be accomplished in just a few hours or several days. This is a long and complex struggle. A continuous struggle and rejection of the remaining influences of the rotten system is needed. Thus, we become more correct and efficient in revolutionary work and we can steel our determination to strive for the struggle to advance the peoples' democratic revolution until victory.

We conduct self-remolding so we can cultivate the fundamental revolutionary attitude to further effectively serve the masses and fruitfully contribute to the revolution. Every revolutionary should:

- Whole-heartedly serve the masses and always strive to be close to the masses;
- Always be ready and have no fear for sacrifice and death;
- Be serious, rigorous and diligent in studying and performance of duties;
- Always strive for unity and warmth with fellow revolutionaries;
- Be open to receiving criticisms and be ready to rectify weaknesses and mistakes;
- Be internationalist.

5. How do revolutionaries value duties and tasks for the revolution?

The revolutionaries value their tasks and duties and the revolution to the fullest. They know that revolutionary tasks and duties are part of the great mission to liberate the people from the clutches of exploitation and oppression. The revolutionaries value their tasks and duties to the fullest by upholding the revolutionary interest of the Filipino people.

What are the signs that revolutionaries value their tasks and duties to the fullest? They are serious and diligent in attending to their work. They are always enthusiastic and eager to take action. They are always ready to accept any task necessary for the advancement of the revolution.

The revolutionaries are serious in their work.

For them, their main priority is always attending to revolutionary activities and duties. They are neat and orderly in their work, not prone to careless and reckless action. They study and look for ways to solve problems and perform work in the best way.

The revolutionaries are enthusiastic and energetic in their actions. They are forward thinking; every movement and every step forward is a contribution to the

bright future. They never feel demoralized, depressed or lose confidence in the midst of facing problems and difficulties in the struggle. They always maintain a highly militant fighting spirit, jump to take advantage of any opportunity to advance the struggle. The revolutionary has the mark of initiative. They are full of initiative, not only in the performance of their own tasks and duties but also in any other problem that they see and are capable of handling too. The revolutionaries are always ready to fulfill their tasks and duties. They accept every task directed to them without measuring the value and or the difficulty and sacrifice necessary to fulfill them. They do not pick and choose the work because they do not seek fame or convenience for themselves.

6. What is the correct view to hardship, sacrifice and death?

The revolutionary has recognition that hardship, sacrifice and death are an inevitable part of the liberation of the people. It is a natural part of the violent struggle between the people and the ruling classes. It is also a natural part of the revolution to overthrow the dominance of US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. They are not only natural; they are necessary in order to fight for and protect the interests of the people and the revolution. These are needed in order to wipe out oppression and exploitation, and to establish a genuine free democratic society.

The revolutionary is always ready to face hardship, make sacrifices and even death for the sake of struggle. The revolutionary's sacrifice is significant because it is for the success of the revolution. They know that sooner or later the long-awaited and long-hoped freedom shall be seen within the horizon. In the midst of danger and crisis, the revolutionary's readiness to make sacrifice and face death provides the strength and courage to protect the interests of the people and the revolution.

In times of difficulties and crisis the revolutionary never forgets the bright future aimed for in the struggle and for which hardships and sacrifices are made. Any crisis and hardship must never hamper the perspective nor weaken the confidence because they are steps towards genuine freedom and democracy for the people.

Revolutionaries are courageous but they avoid unnecessary sacrifice. They don't just jump into the face of danger for the simple reason that they are ready and willing to die. They value and take care of the safety and well-being of the masses, fellow revolutionaries and of themselves.

7. Why is the death of someone serving the people heavier than a mountain and the death of those serving the enemy lighter than a feather?

The death of a revolutionary is a weighty death. A revolutionary can die in

several ways—in combat, from a disease or sickness, accident or old age. But it's not the manner of death that is decisive in the character of their death. More than anything, the weight of his or her death is measured by his or her whole-hearted dedication to the people, their tireless efforts to serve the masses and advance the revolution.

On the other hand, the death of someone serving the enemy has no honor: it is lighter than a feather. Because their life is dedicated to the exploiters and the oppressors, they have killed their humanity and thrown away their honor. For the exploited and oppressed masses, any death in the service of the enemy is looked down upon.

8. What is the correct attitude towards victories?

In the face of victories, it is important to guard against pride and arrogance. Always remain humble and never become intoxicated in victory. Always keep in mind the long road ahead and avoid complacency, rushing or leniency.

9. What is the correct view of the masses?

The masses are the foundation for achieving any revolutionary goal. It is with their inherent intelligence and strength that a society advances and progresses. The masses are the well of undefeatable power against any foe or force hindering change. To achieve freedom, democracy and progress, it is a must to rely on and trust the masses.

The revolutionary acknowledges and carries a great accountability and responsibility to the masses. It is their duty to uphold the interest of the masses, to foster firm unity with the masses and to encourage them towards revolutionary change.

The revolutionary upholds the national and democratic aspirations of the masses through their diligent and responsible integration amongst the masses and their participation in their struggles. They are patient in explaining and raising the consciousness of the masses. They are tireless in helping the masses to organize and take action to solve their problems and to fight their enemies. The revolutionary is well-known as a genuine servant of and one with the masses. They pay attention even to the small day-to-day needs and problems of the masses.

In consistently upholding the national and democratic interest of the masses, the revolutionary builds the strong and unbreakable unity between the revolutionaries who are serving and the masses who are being served. The revolutionary values and gives utmost significance to this unity. They always strive to unite with and be close to

the masses. They use all the opportunity to be amongst the masses, to work and learn from them. They strictly avoid anything that violates the interest of the masses or any abuse of their kindness because such hinders the unity between the revolution and the masses.

10. How do revolutionaries treat fellow revolutionaries?

A revolutionary is always seeking unity with their fellow revolutionaries. They are loving and thoughtful towards their comrades. Unity with and thoughtful treatment of revolutionaries is important in building and strengthening the unity and strength of the revolutionary ranks.

Revolutionaries have outstanding practice in uniting and teaching each other. A revolutionary always unites with her or his comrades, even if they don't know each other very well, or those whom they don't share the same opinions, or those who have made errors but are willing to rectify. Insignificant misunderstandings can easily be set aside or can be overcome because the revolutionary always gives importance to unity. Their understanding of the conditions of their comrades and their effort to work and become a better revolutionary is always a priority.

A revolutionary is thoughtful and loving towards their comrades. They always help every comrade to fulfill their duties and tasks, and in resolving their problems including personal ones. They help and give support to their comrades to forge themselves in the midst of the struggle. The joys and struggles of their comrades are also the joys and struggles of every revolutionary.

11. What is the correct view towards criticism and self-criticism?

Weaknesses and shortcomings are a common occurrence in the flow of a revolutionary. Oftentimes they are results of lack of experience or are products of wrong mindset and undesirable traits still left within us. However, the revolutionary is always ready to overcome them in order to further firmly uphold the National Democratic interests of the people.

The revolutionary is always ready to criticize their own weaknesses and mistakes. They are open to criticisms and whatever is correct and what is good for the people is always placed above everything else. They don't refuse nor do they doubt the need to rectify their weaknesses and mistakes. They are always ready to remold themselves in order to continue serving the people.

Criticism and self-criticism are an effective process that is needed to correct the mistakes and overcome weakness. It is needed to further strengthen unity within the revolutionary ranks and between revolutionaries and the masses. Through criticism,

weaknesses and mistakes can be identified and rooted out. In that way, we learn from our mistakes in order to avoid them in the future. Criticisms must always be comradely and in accordance to the spirit of “cure the sickness to save the patient.” Criticism should not be made into an occasion for personal attacks or revenge. Criticisms should be focused on the most important ideological, political and organizational matters only.

Criticism and self-criticism must be conducted regularly. It ensures that our work is always analyzed, continues to improve our work, maintains and further strengthens our unity, and we are always united and close to the masses.

12. What is internationalism?

At the current stage of imperialism, the people of various nations around the world are also suffering from unabated oppression and exploitation from the hands of the imperialists. It is very important therefore, for the unity and cooperation of the peoples of different countries to struggle against imperialism and all reactions. This is internationalism.

It is our task as Filipino revolutionaries to liberate our country from US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. The advancement of the Filipino revolution, especially its victory, helps to weaken imperialism around the world; thus, it contributes to the advancement of the struggle of the people in other countries. At the same time, people of other countries who also struggle against imperialism and other reaction also helps us.

Revolutionaries always think of fulfilling their revolutionary work, not only for their own country but also for the billions of masses exploited all over the world. Through this perspective, patriotism and nationalism – love for one’s own country – is correctly linked to internationalism. It is different from narrow patriotism or narrow nationalism, where they only give importance to the interest of their own country and only sees other countries and other people from the point of view of self-benefit and advantage.

It is our internationalist duty to advance the two-stage Philippine revolution. The destruction of US imperialist power and local ruling classes in the Philippines shall be our biggest contribution to the dismantling of the reign of imperialism and other oppressive and exploiting classes around the world.

Our internationalist duty doesn’t end with the victory of our democratic revolution. Upon the seizure of political power, it is our internationalist duty to consolidate it, the establishment of a democratic people’s state and launching a socialist revolution. We also need to strengthen the unity with the people of other countries and continue to cooperate with revolutionary and anti-imperialist movements and organizations in other nations.

13. What are the wrong thinking and attitudes that harm the interest of the revolution and the masses? How can it be changed?

For this part read and discuss all the parts of the article "Combat Liberalism" and "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party."

A. What Is Liberalism and Why Should We Need to Combat Against It?

Liberalism is the rejection or avoidance of active ideological struggle. It rejects and avoids the clarification of what are correct revolutionary ideas, policies and actions, and which ones are incorrect and non-revolutionary: rejection or avoidance to uphold what is correct and repudiate the wrong. We must combat liberalism because it is incorrect and it destroys the principled unity of the revolutionary ranks. Instead, it upholds unprincipled peace, the existence and propagation of incorrect and non-revolutionary ideas, policies and actions.

Over all, the unity within the rank of the revolutionaries is firm, particularly the basic principles of the revolution. However, at various instances, especially if related to particular policies and day to day activity, the wrong ideas and actions crops up. It is only a reflection of the existence of struggle in lines, of correct and incorrect, and having limitations and weaknesses among the revolutionary ranks.

Every revolutionary must guard against such weaknesses and errors. Every revolutionary has a duty to always uphold and strive for what is correct, struggle against wrong ideas and criticize to rectify the wrong actions. This is what we call active "ideological struggle." Only through this manner that we can raise and strengthen the principled unity within our rank.

B. What Are the Types of Liberalism?

Liberalism manifests through the following thinking and habits:

- i. Letting wrong things slide, refraining from principled argument because the comrade is a close friend, or to touch on the matter lightly instead of going into it thoroughly, so as to keep on good terms;
- ii. Indulging in irresponsible criticism in private instead of actively putting forward one's suggestions to the organization; saying nothing to people's faces but gossip behind their backs, or to say nothing at a meeting but to gossip afterwards; showing no regard at all for the principles of collective life but following one's own inclination;
- iii. Letting things drift if they do not affect one personally; to say as little as

possible while knowing perfectly well what is wrong, to be worldly wise and play safe and seek only to avoid blame;

iv. Disobeying orders but to give pride of place to one's own opinions; demanding special consideration from the organization but rejecting its discipline;

v. Indulging in personal attacks, picking quarrels, venting personal spite or seeking revenge instead of entering into an argument and struggling against incorrect views for the sake of unity or progress or getting the work done properly;

vi. Hearing incorrect views without rebutting them and even to hear counter-revolutionary remarks without reporting them, but instead to take them in calmly as if nothing had happened;

vii. Being among the masses and failing to conduct propaganda and agitation or speak at meetings or conduct investigations and inquiries among them, and instead to be indifferent to them and show no concern for their well-being, forgetting that one is a Communist and behaving as if one were an ordinary non-Communist

viii. Seeing someone harming the interests of the masses and yet not feel indignant, or dissuade or stop them or reason with them, but to allow them to continue;

ix. Working half-heartedly without a definite plan or direction; to work perfunctorily and muddle along — "So long as one remains a monk, one goes on tolling the bell."

x. Regarding oneself as having rendered great service to the revolution to pride oneself on being a veteran, to disdain minor assignments while being quite unequal to major tasks, to be slipshod in work and slack in study.

xi. Being aware of one's own mistakes and yet make no attempt to correct them, taking a liberal attitude towards oneself.

C. How Do You Combat Liberalism?

Like rust, liberalism must be scraped to the core. Like a bad weed, it can only be combatted by pulling it out by the roots.

Liberalism is rooted in selfishness, in placing oneself above the welfare of the revolution and interest of the majority. It is the root of rejecting active ideological struggle. Like the examples of liberalism, rejecting ideological struggle stems from the desire to maintain peace even if it is not principled. Usually, this desire is not only to avoid hurting others. Instead, it is to avoid hurting self-interest: "I will not criticize you, so don't bother me."

To thoroughly combat liberalism, selfishness must be rejected and uphold the interest of the revolution or the majority of exploited and oppressed masses. We must stand for revolutionary principles and actively fight against all wrong ideas, actions and tendencies. Every revolutionary must cultivate and uphold the spirit of

selflessness. The mind must be broadened to see and embrace the even broader interest of the people, and not only self-interest. Thus, there is no doubt nor second thought in pursuing ideological struggle and the strongest and most principled unity will be built.

D. What is the purely militarist viewpoint, where is it coming from and how can it be corrected?

Purely militarist is the viewpoint of separation and clashing of politics and military. It refuses to subordinate the military work and other issues as part of political work. It considers the view that the people's army is only a fighting force and refuses to do other tasks such as propaganda, mass work, production, etc. towards the revolution. It fails to realize that the people's army is the primary instrument in achieving the political goals and objectives of the revolution.

Purely military viewpoint is born from lack of understanding and appreciation of political leadership over the people's army. It is also from the lack of understanding that in essence, the people's army is different from the reactionary army primarily based on the politics that it serves and upholds.

Therefore, purely militarist viewpoint can only be corrected through the raising of ideological and political awareness, conducting criticism and self-criticism, and discussion of military issues that show the correct relationship to politics.

E. What is ultra-democracy and violation of organizational discipline, and how can it be corrected?

Ultra-democracy is giving too much importance or insistence on democracy without the guiding principles of the organization. It means that there is no consideration, or there is hesitation if not outright violation of the principles, policies, rules or decisions of the organization. Examples of ultra-democratic thinking include "democratic centralism from the bottom to the top" and "all matters must be discussed first from the lower units before the higher units can make a decision."

Violation of organizational discipline can be seen from the following:

i. The minority's refusal to follow the majority. Not following the majority can also be seen through the lack of seriousness in implementing the decisions if not outright refusal to implement.

ii. Giving criticisms without giving consideration to organizational discipline. It comes in the form of personal or unprincipled criticisms or attacks. Or that such criticisms or attacks are made outside of meetings or outside of the organization.

Ultra-democracy destroys unity and weakens the organization. It is deeply rooted to petit-bourgeois selfishness or individualism and rejection of discipline. Other than this, if the leadership is weak and organizational discipline is loose, it creates the condition for ultra-democracy and violation of

discipline to exist.

To correct this, the petit-bourgeois selfishness or individualism and rejection of organizational discipline must be uprooted. It can be done through education and active ideological struggle. The spirit of selflessness and subordinating self-interest to the interest of the whole must be upheld. The importance of the organization and the discipline within must be clear to the membership. It is also important to clarify how centralism is guided by democracy within the organization and how centralism is based on democracy.

In the organizational field, it is important to make the leadership very efficient and strengthen democratic centralism. The leadership must always ensure that they have a strong relationship to the lower units and the membership of the organization, that their ideas are considered, and that there is an effective flow of communication between them. At any level, every decision should be a result of thorough thinking and thorough discussion.

F. What Is Individualism and How Can It Be Corrected?

Individualism is completely taking care of one's own welfare while the welfare of the organization and the revolution are either made subordinate or set aside. Other than ultra-democracy and violation of organizational discipline, individualist tendencies can also be exemplified through the following forms:

- Revenge
- Small group mentality
- Employee mentality
- Seeking pleasure
- Passivity or lack of enthusiasm
- Desire to "take a break"
- Separate kingdoms

Because individualism mirrors the petit-bourgeois and bourgeoisie thinking inside the revolutionary movement, ideological education is the primary measure for correctness. Every single member must identify non-proletarian ideas and habits in implementing revolutionary tasks as well as for the interest of the broad masses and the people. Alongside, it is also important to conduct discussion, tasking and the implementation of discipline according to the correct procedure to ensure the efficient response to the needs of the forces.

G. What is absolute egalitarianism/absolute equality and how can this be corrected?

The thinking in absolute egalitarianism is the refusal to recognize that different individuals and units inside the organization have different conditions, capabilities and needs. It asserts the absolute equality of everyone at all times – in setting tasks, in the disposition of comrades, and in allocating resources. It does not correspond to concrete conditions, capabilities and needs, and prevents the forging of unity and the advancement of the revolution.

Although at first glance it appears that equality is desired, the hidden motive of absolute egalitarians is the selfish apprehension that they may be short-changed by others. For as long as capitalism is not vanquished and the bourgeoisie is not completely defeated, absolute egalitarianism remains the illusion of peasants and small proprietors.

To correct this kind of thinking, it must be clarified to the revolutionary ranks that the distribution of material needs and tasks are primarily set by the concrete needs in the struggle. In the ideological field, it is important to clarify that it is impossible to have absolute equality. This is true not only under the capitalist and semi-feudal system but even under socialism.

H. What is subjectivism and how can it be corrected?

Subjectivism is the outlook of looking at things one-sidedly, not based on concrete reality but on wrong supposition. Subjectivism is already forming conclusions even with a lack of investigation. Subjectivism is having a wrong analysis and having wrongly formed conclusions. Subjectivism, the lack of investigation and wrong analysis – all result in wrong policies and decisions. An example of this is the giving of importance or magnifying certain personal weaknesses without properly contextualizing it or connecting to political and organizational work.

Subjectivism is rooted in non-scientific and non-proletarian outlook and ways of thinking. It harms the organization because it results in wrong policies and decisions. It also results to unprincipled struggle that weakens the organization.

To combat this, it is necessary to promote and uphold the proletarian scientific outlook and method and repudiate bourgeois and petit-bourgeois outlook and ways of thinking. It is necessary to study diligently, in conducting investigation and analysis particularly social investigation and class analysis.

I. What is remnants of putschism and the ideology of roving rebel bands and how can this be corrected?

The remnants of putschism and ideology of roving rebel bands are both non-proletarian thinking that enforces lack of discipline, laziness in political and

production work, and unruly actions in the people's army. Remnants of putschism in particular creates an adventurous and destructive actions within the people's army. They are both destructive in building unities within the people's army and between the people's army and the masses.

Remnants of putschism can be seen through disorganized actions, lack of discipline, burning or looting properties, hurting the masses and comrades and hurting the prisoners.

The ideology of roving rebel bands on the other hand shows through loose discipline, avoiding mass work, seeking pleasure and recreation. For example, instead of conducting propaganda and help out with the day-to-day needs of the masses, they would rather go to wealthier or "fun-to-be with" types of masses to have fun and enjoy their company.

Remnants of putschism are rooted in lumpen-proletarian and petit-bourgeois backgrounds. Ideology of roving rebel band on the other hand is rooted in the mindset of semi-proletarian and roving lumpen-proletariats (vagabonds). To correct these, it is important to reject their class roots. It can be accomplished through education and active ideological struggle, as well as through joining or doing integration with the people's army.

J. What are the other incorrect thinking that can be cited, according to our own experiences and how do we combat them?

[Discuss]

