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# China Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

(FOUO 8/81)

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CHINA REPORT  
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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

QUESTIONS, ANSWERS ON BUILDING SOCIALIST SPIRITUAL CIVILIZATION

Beijing JIEFANGJUN BAO in Chinese 25 Feb, 27 Feb, 11 Mar 81

[Article: "Questions and Answers on Building Socialists Spiritual Civilization." Part III and the continuation of Part IV of this article not available.]

[25 Feb 81 pp 1,3]

[Text] Editor's Note: In the process of transmitting for study the spirit of the December 1980 Central Committee Work Conference, comrades raised some questions on the part dealing with the building of a socialist spiritual civilization. The content of socialist spiritual civilization is extremely broad, including education, science, culture and including, as well, use of Marxist ideology to occupy every ideological front. As an aid to comrades in their study, we have written "Questions and Answers on Building Socialist Spiritual Civilization from communist ideals, morality, the carrying forward of revolutionary spirit, discipline, and comradely relationships between one person and another, publishing them one after another for study by comrades, with the hope that they will put forward views for revision. Should there be new questions, they should also be raised at any time.

(1) Question: What is meant by spiritual civilization and how ought the importance of current emphasis on the building of socialist spiritual civilization be understood?

Answer. Spiritual civilization, broadly speaking, means all the wealth created in the process of mankind's historical social experience. It includes education, science, and culture; it also includes ideals, morality, traditions and ethics, and such ideology. As an ideology, it is a political and economic reflection of a certain society, and it has a tremendous influence and role in the politics and economics of a certain society. In a society with classes, it possesses a class nature.

In our adherence to the four fundamental principles to build a modern socialist power, there is need for both a highly material civilization and for a highly spiritual civilization. In addition to education, science, and culture, such a socialist spiritual civilization means the principles of communist ideology, ideals, concepts, morality, discipline, and revolutionary standpoint, and comradely relations between one person and another etc. This is a major aspect of the building of a great socialist country.

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The current emphasis on the important significance of building spiritual civilization may be understood in three different ways:

1. In terms of the process of historical development, human spiritual civilization has developed as material production has developed. Conversely, it has also been able to give impetus to the development of material production. Material civilization and spiritual civilization have ever been interdependent and mutually accelerating, impelling human society toward constant forward development. Therefore, if we are to build a strong, socialist modern country, not only in a highly material civilization needed, with the development of industrial and agricultural production and doing a good job of building the national economy, but also needed is a highly spiritual civilization with the development of scientific, cultural, and educational endeavors. Also needed is constant improvement in the ideological and political conscientiousness and the standards of spiritual morality of the population as a whole.

2. Our China has ever been renowned throughout the world as an ancient civilized country, and our forebears have left us a precious cultural legacy including the lofty ethics formed over a long period of time by people of all of China's races. Under the edifying influence of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought and education, and in the course of a long revolutionary struggle, our party and the people's armed forces have discriminately continued the historical legacy of spiritual civilization to form our own brand new spiritual demeanor and to open an age of new practices. The world-famous Yanan spirit has been warmly cherished by the people of the country in their hundreds of millions as well as by numerous foreign friends. Following Liberation, during the 1950's and early 1960's, this ethic spread and developed among the people of the entire country. However, as a result of the 10 years of havoc wreaked by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," not only was our material production extremely damaged, but our spiritual civilization was also extremely damaged, giving rise to the unchecked spread of the influence of remnant feudal ideology and bourgeois ideology, and other erroneous ideologies, corrupting our party style and social fabric, damaging the spirit of a generation of youth, throwing people's ideology into confusion for a period of time, and causing to thrive all manner of evil influences. Our rebuilding of socialist spiritual civilization will mean the revival and carrying forward of the fine traditions of our party and our armed forces, and carrying forward of our national spirit.

3. Speaking of the present, the recently convened Central Committee Work Conference decided on major policies of further readjustment of the economy and further political stabilization. However, the evil effects caused by the destruction of spiritual civilization still play a role. They are a major element affecting stability and unity, and they are an obstacle preventing further readjustment. Only by striving to do a good job of building spiritual civilization will it be possible to better assure a unanimity of thought and a unanimity of action for the entire party and the entire armed forces, to rouse the revolutionary spirit of all races of people in the country for a triumph with one heart and one mind over current hardships to develop a really fine situation, and to fulfill the tasks put forward by the Central Committee Work Conference.

(2) Question: How should we endeavor to build a socialist spiritual civilization?

Answer: Building of a socialist spiritual civilization requires theoretical understanding of its significance, and even more requires taking real action. Every comrade should be of sound body and have his feet planted squarely on the ground to carry it out.

One must study well the writings and discussions pertaining to spiritual civilization of comrades Marx and Mao Zedong, and other proletarian revolutionaries, as for example, "The Communist Party Manifesto," "Duties of the Youth Corps," "To Serve the People," "In Memory of Bethune," "The Foolish Old Man Who Moved a Mountain," "Oppose Liberalism," and "How To Be A Good Communist," etc. It is necessary, as well, to study some basic social science and natural science, and to study some readings on the molding of ideas and the molding of morality in the young. We should arm ourselves with Marxism, Mao Zedong Thought, and modern science and culture to enrich our brains, enlarge our minds, understand the path of development of society, make clear the content, the rationale, and the requirements of socialist spiritual civilization to achieve use of communist theories to strengthen our own position and beliefs, and to use communist morality to keep within bounds and delimit our own words and deeds.

Study of theory is for the purpose of practice. Once theory has been understood, it should be put into practice. Engles said, "In judging a person, naturally one does not look at his reputation, but watches his actions; one does not pay attention to what he proclaims, but watches what he does and what sort of person he is in fact." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 579). Building of socialist spiritual civilization requires attention to action and emphasis on beginning with oneself and beginning now, doing things little by little from the position of one's job and one's own daily life. In the "doing," one can detect whether a person is truly a noble-minded person in spirit, whether he talks without acting, or whether he is a person who says one thing and does another. Only by "doing" can one deepen understanding of spiritual civilization and form habits through action. Likewise, only by "doing" can one stir others to action to form a social ethic.

We must conscientiously mold and temper ourselves. Socialist spiritual civilization has higher demands to place on us. Because of the influences of old ideas and old habits, and because of a lack of long steeling in revolutionary practice, some of our comrades frequently sink into contradictions in real life. For example, you might very much wish to do a certain job, but the assignment of positions is very much different from your desires. You might be accustomed to a fairly free and easy-going life, but the armed forces require strict observance of discipline, strict obedience to a routine in life, etc. These contradictions and obstructions are to be examined one by one. We must strictly require ourselves in the course of this examination, and in an arduous environment and in the fulfillment of hectic tasks, to consciously steel our own thoughts and temper our own moral character. In this way, each time a contradiction is surmounted, and each time a battle is won against some adversity, one makes a step forward along the road to building a spiritual civilization. By unflagging persistence in practice, it is possible to imbue everyone with lofty ideals, morality, and revolutionary spirit so that socialist spiritual civilization will blossom in radiant splendor in military barracks and throughout the broad expanse of the motherland.

We must use the example of heroic models to arouse ourselves. During the long period of China's revolutionary struggle, countless heroic model figures have emerged. They are at once advanced representative examples for warfare, work, and study, as well as models possessed of a high degree of spiritual civilization. The great communist soldier, Lei Feng possessed a lofty mentality of serving the people wholeheartedly, had a class standpoint that knew what to love and what to hate, a revolutionary spirit in which his actions matched his words, a communist style of devotion to public service forgetting his own interests, a proletarian fighting will that defied personal danger, and a lofty moral character of arduous struggle and joy in helping others. He was a conspicuous representative of the new communist man. The Lei Feng spirit and the thoughts and moral character of heroic models collectively manifest

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the high spiritual civilization of socialism, and are good models for the building of spiritual civilization. We must learn from Lei Feng and other heroic models, and impress their images firmly on our brains, using their spiritual realm for comparison with our own, and using their words and actions to spur ourselves on. We must study and publicize the good deeds of men, and criticize and help correct uncivilized, immoral conduct. Communist Youth League members must actively lead; every comrade in the armed forces should give attention to spiritual civilization, and every revolutionary military person should become a vanguard in building socialist spiritual civilization.

(3) Question: Why should people have ideals?

Answer: What are ideals? Some people liken ideals to a lighthouse that guides ships underway, and some people compare ideals to a torch to light man's path. Still others say that ideals are guides to action and the force that impels people forward. All these views make sense.

In a nutshell, ideals are goals for struggle; are an individual's beliefs, his yearnings, and the thing he seeks. They are a concentrated reflection on the object of struggle of a person's political standpoint and world view, and they are also the kind of political conception a person perseveres in, and the kind of a society a person seeks and yearns for. People have conscious or unconscious yearnings, pursuits, and things they struggle for. An abundance of ideals is a major sign that distinguishes man from animals in general. Without ideals and without clearly defined goals is to be like a person lost in the sands of the Gobi, who not only does not know where he will go tomorrow or what he should do, but cannot figure out even what he is going to do today or why he should do it. As a result, he can only be like "a blind man riding a blind horse rushing headlong for disaster," and who is in danger of losing his footing and falling into the water at any time.

Comrade Mao Zedong said that "In China, every loyal Marxist had two simultaneous responsibilities, one to real and present tasks, and one to future long-range ideals." Comrade Zhou Enlai said, "if a young person is to keep apace of the times, he must have revolutionary ideals." Only by establishing long-range ideals can each and every one of us comrades make clear the direction of progress and the goal of struggle; only then can we be filled with hope and confidence about the future, and only then can we have a strong will and the spirit to struggle upward. If we desire to become a lofty person, and a person of use to the motherland and to the people, we must first of all be a person with lofty, revolutionary ideals.

(4) Question: What kind of ideals should revolutionary soldiers establish?

Answer: Ideals have a social nature and a class nature. To live in a certain kind of society means that certain kinds of ideals will be produced, and if one has a certain class standpoint and is possessed with a certain world view, he will have a certain kind of objective for struggle. "A night of wedding festivities and a time when one's name appears on a list of candidates who have passed official examinations" is frequently the ideal of landlord class intellectuals or of those who yearn for the life of the landlord class. "Abundant wealth rolling in from everywhere," tremendous family funds, and ability to squander money is the ideal of the bourgeoisie. What they seek is the more money earned the better, higher and higher amounts of interest, and man's oppression by man will be "eternal." "A warm little family," and "peacefully passing one's days" is the "ideal kingdom" of the petit bourgeoisie. These ideals take as their starting point selfishness and self-interest, and consequently are doomed to insignificance.

If a person's ideals are for the benefit of the majority of people and for the progress of society, and play a role in promoting development of society's productivity, that is to say, if they are in accord with the laws of development of the history of society, they are great ideals. Conversely, ideals not in accord with requirements for the development of society and that contravene the welfare of the masses of people, no matter that they may be assiduously pursued lifelong, or that success is attained for a time, are not worthy of commendation.

It is only a communist society, which looks at problems from the viewpoint of complete annihilation of man's exploitation of man, or man's oppression of man, as we can understand, that has the greatest ideals in human history. Only those who fight for communism their whole life long, and those who wholeheartedly serve the people are most ideal. As successors to the proletarian revolution, it is incumbent upon us to establish long-range communist ideals. Socialism is the initial stage of communism. Now we should make the building of a modernized socialized state our personal ideal.

(5) Question: What are communist ideals?

Answer: Communist ideals are to make a communist society the objective of lifelong struggle. In his, "On How To Be a Good Communist," Comrade Liu Shaoqi movingly described communism. He wrote: "It is a world in which there are no exploiters, no oppressors, no landlords, no capitalists, no imperialism and no fascism, and it is a world without the oppressed or the exploited, no darkness, no ignorance, and no backwardness caused by an exploitative system. In such a society, material production and cultural production have a high degree of vigorous development and are able to satisfy the needs of all members and all quarters of society. At that time, mankind will become highly cultured, highly technical, unselfish, intelligent communist workers, mankind will be suffused with mutual assistance, and mutual love, and there will be no senseless acts such as trying to outwit one another, mutual infliction of injury, mutual murder, or war etc. Comrade Tao Zhu said, "Communism and only communism can completely emancipate mankind from the bonds of private ownership, can make people lead the happiest, the most fulfilling, and the most prosperous lives, and can bring about the 'millenium' of which the ancients frequently spoke in which 'the aged live out their lives, the strong make use of their strength, the young grow to maturity, and the widowers, widows, orphans, and childless, the abandoned and the sick are taken care of."

From Marxist writings, we can appreciate that communist society means highly developed productivity, extremely abundant material wealth, and implementation of the principle of "from each according to ability; to each according to need." It is possessed of a high degree of material civilization and spiritual civilization. It has eradicated classes and all exploitive systems, and has eradicated differences between industry and agriculture, between cities and countryside, and between mental and physical labor. All mankind possesses a high degree of communist consciousness and morality, and situations that force people to obedience to social divisions of labor have been eradicated. Labor is no longer nothing but a means of making a living; it has become the first requirement in the lives of people. In short, communist society is the highest stage in the development of the history of mankind, and it is the finest, the advanced, and the most rational society. Communist ideals are the finest and most lofty human ideals.



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(6) Question: Communist ideals are truly fine, but are they truly realizable?

Answer: Communism can certainly be realized, because it is scientific, and it is an inevitable tendency in the development of human society. The development of human society has already passed through several social forms including that of primitive communist society, slave society, feudal society, and capitalist society. The change of each form of society to another form was not determined by the subjective will of anyone, but was fundamentally the result of development of productivity. Productivity can fully develop only in circumstances in which production relationships are compatible with it. In societies that are divided into antithetical classes, contradictions between the already mature productivity and the old production relationships always precipitate a condition of conflict. When capitalist production relationships are first established, they are compatible with the nature of productivity. But as productivity develops, the contradiction between the socialization of labor on a large scale and the capitalist private ownership of the means of production grows increasingly sharp. The already developed productivity demands destruction of the capitalist production relationships that restrain it, and substitution of a socialist system of public ownership to open an avenue for its own development. Thereupon, the destruction of capitalism and the triumph of socialism become unavoidable historical phenomena. Consequently the successive replacement of primitive society, slave society, feudal society, capitalist society, socialist society, and on up to the founding of communist society is an inevitable outcome of the development of this historical law.

The reasons some comrades have insufficient confidence in communist ideals, it is suggested, may be three. One is the feeling that communism is a society with highly developed productivity and extremely abundant material goods, while China is still very poor. Two is a feeling that in communist society, humankind possess a high degree of communist consciousness and morality, while the existing social environment is far from ideal, and the consciousness of some people is not high. Three is a feeling that the international communist movement has gone through numerous twists and turns, and that for the entire world to realize communism is no easy job. We say that poverty is by no means unchangeable. If we just persevere in the guiding line of Marxism, and arduously struggle with one heart and one mind, it will certainly be possible to build a powerful, modern, socialist country. The existing social environment is truly very far from ideal, and 10 years of rampage has greatly polluted the social atmosphere, but it is by no means so "utterly hopeless" as some comrades imagine. Under the correct leadership of the party, our social atmosphere will steadily improve with the tremendous changes that are already continuing to occur, and the ideological consciousness of the masses of people. If we just persevere in the four fundamental principles and resolutely carry out the line, programs, and policies of the Third Plenary Session of the party, and endeavor to struggle, socialism's material civilization and spiritual civilization will certainly be built gradually. As for the tortuous path of some countries in the international communist movement, this may temporarily lengthen the progress of social development, but it decidedly cannot change the general trend of historical progress.

(7) Question: I believe that communism can be realized, but is it possible to translate ideals into a magnificent reality more quickly?

Answer: When we say that communism is bound to be realized, that is not to say that the goal can be reached in a single step. The transition from capitalism to socialism and the further transition from socialism to communism is a complex and long-term

process requiring the building of a new economy and new production relationships. This process includes development of a new social economy and the formation of separate individual stages. It requires that we not only thoroughly eradicate the phenomenon of man's oppression of man and man's exploitation of man, and the uprooting of the system of private ownership and the social foundation produced by these phenomena, but also that we vigorously develop productivity, develop scientific, cultural, and educational undertakings, and create an extremely abundant material civilization and spiritual civilization. As Comrade Liu Shaoqi pointed out, "We must understand, on the one hand, that the communist undertaking is an undertaking of unprecedented greatness in human history. Communism will ultimately eradicate exploitation and eradicate classes. It will emancipate all mankind, and it will impel human society to an unprecedented, boundlessly glorious, and boundlessly wonderful state of well-being. On the other hand, we must understand that the communist endeavor is an unprecedentedly arduous endeavor in the history of mankind and that a long arduous, and tortuous struggle must be gone through." Communism is not a cause that can be accomplished in a single generation or in several generations. It requires that various generations make extremely arduous efforts. To long for the earlier arrival of communism is good, and early realization of this ideal requires strict attention to today's efforts, but also required is ideological preparation for long-term struggle.

Acquisition of ideological preparation for long-term struggle on behalf of communist endeavors is extremely important. We may take a look backward at history. During the period of democratic revolution, our party made a seeking-truth-in-facts analysis of the targets, tasks, nature, and future of the Chinese revolution, pointing out on the one hand the inevitable trend toward victory in the revolution, while also reminding the entire party to recognize the long-term nature and ruthlessness of the Chinese revolution, and pointing out the incorrectness of the viewpoint that supposed that victory could be attained very quickly in Chinese revolutionary struggle. Precisely because comrades throughout the party possessed full ideological preparation for long-term, arduous struggle, and maintained clear heads and revolutionary determination throughout, remaining indomitable, victory was finally won in the new democratic revolution. The building of socialism and communism is much more arduous than the democratic revolution. If one's understanding of the hardships involved in the realization of communism is insufficient, and he lacks ideological preparation for long-term struggle, he may be prone to commit the error of blind leftist action, causing unnecessary losses for the revolution and for construction. At the same time, he may be prone to become panic-stricken in the face of hardships and setbacks, and change from fanaticism to dejection and vacillation. For a long period of time following founding of the People's Republic and up until the first 2 years following the smashing of the "gang of four," since China's understanding and study of foreign affairs was inadequate, and because we were anxious for quick results, socialist construction sustained setbacks. The lessons of experience have told us that the future is bright, and the path is tortuous. We must both establish firm confidence in the inevitable victory of communism, and at the same time do a good job of ideological preparation for long-term struggle. We most certainly cannot let fine expectations substitute for a scientific attitude of seeking truth in facts, and we cannot commit the error of revolutionary impetuosity.

Having understood this point, we must then translate the yearning of beautiful ideals into real action, and while keeping our feet firmly planted on the ground, solidly surmount hardships in our forward advance, unflinchingly struggling for communist

ideals. We have to eliminate all unrealistic illusions and empty talk; combine long-range ideals with real actions in striving to make more contributions to advance the revolution, and attain the early arrival of the fine ideal of communism.

(8) Question: Since the founding of the People's Republic, the party has led us to attain great accomplishments, while at the same time problems and mistakes have occurred with the "Great Cultural Revolution" in particular, causing huge losses for the country. Faced with these circumstances, some people lack sufficient confidence in the realization of the four modernizations, and in the ultimate realization of communism. How ought this problem be regarded?

Answer: "Without the Communist Party, there could be no New China." Without the leadership of the party, there could be no four modernizations. This is the historical conclusion of Chinese revolutionary experience for more than 100 years. It is also the choice of the aspiration of the people of all races throughout the land.

Looked at in terms of historical experience, during the past more than 100 years, it was only the Communist Party that led the Chinese people to topple three great mountains and establish New China, the people of the motherland thereby freeing themselves from hardships to walk a road of independence, prosperity and strength.

Looked at in terms of economic construction, since Liberation, the speed of growth of China's industrial and agricultural production has also been rather rapid. In comparison with the development of countries similar to China, our achievements have been greater than theirs, and the speed of our construction has been faster than theirs. Had it not been for several hiatuses, our situation might be much better. In comparison with economically advanced countries, we are truly comparatively backward, and the average income of our citizens is low. However, in looking at this problem one positively must take into account that our starting point was very low, our foundation very poor, and that for any country with a population of 1 billion, 800 million of whom are farmers, to undertake construction, the degree of difficulties are unparalleled in any capitalist country. When these circumstances about our country are recognized, we can understand that without the leadership of the Communist Party, the earth-shaking changes that have taken place in China during the past 30 years, and the intention to realize the four modernizations would not have been possible.

Simultaneous with the great accomplishments that the party has won in leading the people, this and that kind of problems and mistakes have occurred, it is true. How should this problem be regarded? There can be absolutely no doubt at all that we should strive to make fewer mistakes. However, inasmuch as socialism is a brand new endeavor with no precedent among the ancients, there is no ready-made model for use in the course of its practice. In his, "A Great Beginning," Lenin clearly pointed out, "Has there ever been a new production method in history that was suddenly established without having gone through numerous failures, mistakes, and troubles?" He also especially pointed out that those who want to solve the arduous tasks of triumph over capitalism and the building of socialism and communism should possess the indomitable spirit to experiment with several hundred or even several thousand new methods, formulas, and techniques of struggle until the most suitable method has been derived." In China, in particular, because it is too poor, people always think of getting out from under poverty and backwardness quickly, becoming prone to anxiety about quick results, and committing the error of "leftism." Ever

Ever since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Party Central Committee, our party has exposed and corrected the leftist ideology that has endured for a long time, put forward a guiding program and a series of policies that seek truth in facts, instituted arduous efforts, and has done a large amount of work. This demonstrates that it is a serious party, and that is a party deserving of the fullest confidence of all the people. Over a period of time, the ideology of some party members had become contaminated; party character was not pure; and the exemplary vanguard role was poor, impairing the link between the party and the people. In this connection, our party is now actively taking action to rectify party spirit, and to maintain and improve party leadership. One may trust that under the correct leadership of the Communist Party, China will certainly be able to thrive and prosper, and the farther one travels on the road to socialism, the wider it will become.

(9) Question: Some people acknowledge that communism will certainly be realized, but feel that "distant water" will not slake a "nearby thirst." Communist ideals cannot solve real problems. Is this a correct view?

Answer: The analogy between communism and "distant water" is, in itself, inappropriate. Granted that the final realization of communism is a rather distant matter; nevertheless, we should also realize that going from socialism to communism will gradually materialize in the struggle of numerous generations. On the communist revolutionary journey are a series of milestones. Every time a stage of the journey is completed, whenever a concrete objective is realized, the people receive tremendous real benefits. For example, with the victory of China's New Democracy revolution, the people's lot as slaves was brought to an end, and they became masters of the nation. Progress in socialist construction brought increases in productivity and gradual improvements in the people's livelihood. The present building of the four modernizations has already brought us, and will in future bring us more and more, visible, tangible benefits. Consequently, this "distant water" of communist ideals should be said to be able to slake "nearby thirst."

The realization of ideas, since it is a long process, cannot entirely solve the problem of the "nearby thirst" of the moment. Insofar as conditions permit, satisfactory solution to "nearby thirst," helps struggle for realization of distant ideals. However, sometimes solution to the "nearby thirst" and realization of ideals cannot both be satisfied. This requires that we subordinate present benefits to long-term benefits. For example, on the eve of the outbreak of the self-defense counter-attack combat in Vietnam, numerous comrades in the border defense forces were to be discharged to return home to be with their relatives. However, when the motherland called, they went to the battlefield without the slightest hesitation. These comrades correctly handled the relationship between their personal present welfare and the long-term welfare of the revolution, which deserves study by all of us.

We should even more consider the following circumstances. Many of the things done in the cause of present struggle will be unable to provide us personally with any benefits, but may create well-being for succeeding generations. This is called having predecessors plant trees so that successors can enjoy their shade. The same was true several decades ago when during the period of arduous revolutionary war, the "liberation of all of China" was a "distant water" for countless martyrs. But today the "distant water" of those years slakes our "nearby thirst." Every one of our comrades should be possessed of a great heart, making a revolutionary ideal of building happiness for posterity, and unflinchingly struggling lifelong for it. This is a necessity in development of the revolutionary cause, and it is also a quality that revolutionary soldiers should possess.

(10) Question: Some people say, "Ideals, ideals. They are not for you to think about." When nobody thinks about communist, what's the use of you alone thinking about it? I feel this is wrong, but I cannot explain myself. Please explain it, will you?

Answer: Historical movements are mass affairs. Revolutions without widespread participation and support of the masses cannot succeed. Communism is the most magnificent and most revolutionary cause in the history of mankind. Sole dependence on a minority of people will not work, of course. To the maximum extent possible, the broad masses of people must be mobilized to struggle together. The problem is whether now it is as people say that "nobody thinks about communism," so only he "alone thinks of it." Obviously not. Why has Marxism and Mao Zedong Thought become established and steadily advanced? On what did China's New Democracy revolution depend to win victory? What is the impetus for progress in the socialist revolution and construction? In addition to reliance on the organization of leadership by a proletarian political party and its leaders, most fundamentally it is still reliance on the revolutionary experience of the broad masses of people. Of course, among the masses there is a distinction between advanced elements and the masses as a whole. On a revolutionary journey, it is necessary to have a small number of advanced elements lead the broad masses forward. At the present time, some people's revolutionary confidence has begun to waver, and some people contravene revolutionary principles stirring up unhealthy tendencies. This is also a fact. However, such people are an extremely small minority, after all, and the revolutionary cause moves forward under the impetus of the majority, after all. Though some of the working masses cannot shout stirring slogans, and cannot come up with convincing arguments, nevertheless, they create wealth for socialism, and help build toward communism. So how can one say that "nobody thinks about communism?"

The masses of people are made up of countless individuals. Only when every individual takes positive action can a great force that can move mountains and drain the seas come into being. This makes it incumbent upon each and every comrade to enhance revolutionary consciousness and not sit with a wait and see attitude out of a feeling that "it is of no use for a single person to think." If one is to be a revolutionary warrior, he must exert himself in struggle, and he must work at convincing and educating those comrades all around him who lack lofty ideals, uniting everyone to think along the same lines and to work along the same lines. When people are of one mind, mighty mountains can be moved. If everyone strives together with one mind in a common struggle, the revolutionary cause can certainly be steadily advanced.

(11) Question: Some people take as their personal ideal the finding of a good spouse, and the setting up of a warm little family where they can live comfortably all their lives. Is this the right thing to do?

Answer: To find a good spouse and to set up a warm, harmonious household is a human requirement, and one that is permitted as well. Concern for only the "larger family" and no concern for the "little family," and to seek only the national welfare and the collective welfare but not permit the individual welfare to exist is wrong. Nevertheless, is the objective of struggle for revolutionary soldiers solely the pursuit of the individual's warm little family or is it for a happy life for the majority of people. Should the "larger family" be placed ahead of the "little family," or should the "little family" be put above everything else? Clearly, we must think, first of all, of building the "larger family," and of the happy life of the majority of people.

At certain times and on certain issues, a contradiction may develop between the "larger family" and the "little family." At such times, we should rather sacrifice some of the warmth of the little family and look after the "larger family." Only when there is something in the pot can there be anything in the bowls. Whether the motherland flourishes or perishes, the destiny of its people, and the success or failure of the revolution are all inextricably related to the welfare of each one of us individually and to each family. When the situation is not good for the "larger family," there can be no reliable assurance for the well-being of the "little family." Only as the cause of socialism and of communism develops step by step can the warm family of the entire body of the people (including ourselves) be basically assured. Countless revolutionary predecessors have provided examples for us on this matter. A surge of older generation revolutionaries pledged their family properties to the service of the revolution. Everyone is familiar with this. The two martyrs Zhou Wenyong [0719 2429 7167] and Chen Tiejun [7115 6993 6511], acting out of the needs of revolutionary struggle, had their marriage ceremony performed on the execution ground just before sacrificing their lives. After the first great revolution failed, Li Linguang [2621 5259 0342], member of the Communist Party from a wealthy family, was arrested and jailed. After the party rescued him from prison, his mother decided to have him go to Southeast Asia to be out of harms way, and made excellent arrangements for his future life there. However, on the eve of the day of his scheduled departure, Li Linguang slipped away from home. In a letter he left for his mother, he said, "Though we may have only plain tea and simple food in the revolutionary ranks, we still feel that this is much better than the delicacies from land and sea at home." "We certainly cannot become slaves to home life, and less can we become slaves to money. How can we abandon our own wills to engage in niggling matters? Selfishness and thoughts of oneself cannot emancipate mankind, and what can they do for a family?" Is it possible that such commitment to the revolution of these early revolutionary martyrs, which were lofty ideals and noble sentiments for family, do not merit our study? China is still a poor country, and many difficulties exist in the lives of its people. The world situation is still very disturbed. Under such circumstances, we most certainly cannot bury our heads all day long in the building of a "warm little family," in a quest for "living comfortable all our lives." Instead, we must consciously overcome these old feelings of small scale production, and actively devote ourselves to socialist revolution and construction.

(12) Question: Why not make good food, good clothing, and good entertainment one's personal ideals?

Answer: Clothing, food, shelter, travel, and needed entertainment are basic human needs, and they are also indispensable conditions of human production activities. Under circumstances that permit, when people's lives are pretty well provided for, they are necessary. However, in addition to food, clothing, and entertainment, people should also have more lofty and more far-reaching pursuits. If pursuit of individual pleasure in life becomes the sole objective of human life, that would still be a very great distance from the spiritual realm that should obtain. In the "Zhilin" written by Su Shi in the Song Dynasty, the author used ridicule in describing the words and actions of two scholars, one of whom said: "One of my lifelong dissatisfactions has been never getting enough to eat or enough sleep. Were I to be successful, whenever I had had enough to eat, I would sleep, and when I woke up, I would eat again. The other one said, "It is different with me. I eat and eat again, so when do I have time to sleep?" This shows that the ancients also disdained mediocrities

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who cared only for eating and sleeping. Nowadays, those whose ideal is to eat, dress and amuse themselves well have somewhat more "modernized" requirements than those of whom Su Shi wrote, but in the final analysis, they are still people who are vacuous, mean, vulgar, and with no lofty ideals to speak of.

We are for gradual improvement in life, but we cannot escape present realities, nor can we get too far away from the standards of living of the broad masses of people. Communist Party members and revolutionary soldiers, in particular, should make themselves strive to achieve, "a present life of worries and cares for a later life of joy and happiness," sharing the sweet and the bitter, the sorrows and the joys with the masses. This is the fine tradition of our party and our armed forces, and it is also the requirement that the revolutionary cause places upon us. When comrades Mao Zedong and Zhu De were at Jinggangshan, they ate the same red rice and pumpkin soup as the soldiers of the Red Army, and has 0.05 yuan of food money per day. At Yanan, they lived in caves with the soldiers and wore patched clothes. After Liberation, Comrade Zhou Enlai, used the same pair of pajamas and the same pair of leather shoes for more than 20 years. Their not seeking after fame or wealth shows their mettle, and their simplicity preserved their integrity. Such a style of plain living and arduous struggle on the part of revolutionaries is precisely the reflection of their great character and lofty ideals.

Earlier we said that judging whether ideals are lofty or insignificant requires determination of whether they accord with the welfare of the majority of people, and whether they accord with the laws of development of the history of society. If they result only in oneself or a small number of people around one having the temporary pleasure of eating well, dressing well, or amusing oneself, then they can only be what Marx described as, "pitiful, limited, self-serving happiness." If in eating well, dressing well, and enjoying oneself, others are hurt so that one may benefit or the public good is damaged to enrich oneself, such an ideal is not only insignificant, but is contemptible as well. It is the duty of revolutionary soldiers to consciously struggle so that the majority may eat well, dress well, and amuse themselves, which is the same as fighting for communism. The following passage appeared in Lei Weng's diary: "Some say that eating well, dressing well, and enjoying oneself is the greatest happiness in life. I feel that only hard work, work with a will to make the country strong, use of one's own two hands to create wealth, and the cause of emancipation of mankind--contributing one's all to communism--is the greatest happiness of life. Comrade Lei Feng's words constitutes a very good reply to the issue we are discussing.

(13) Question: What is wrong with some people making money their objective of struggle?

Answer: Pursuit of money is a vulgar and base desire. The reason for saying it is base is that it is filled with the poison of egoism, and reeks with stink of money of the exploiting class. The bourgeoisie esteem money as a god possessed of boundless supernatural powers, and tout money as being omnipotent. From this philosophy of life, they automatically make their highest ideal having the maximum amount of money possible and propagating as much capital as possible, ruthlessly exploit the surplus value of workers, and engage in criminal activities to the ultimate extent. The French critical realist, Balzac, wrote: "No satirist can fully write of the hideousness concealed under gold, silver, pearls and jewels." Is not this tower erected upon the blood and sweat of the working class precisely the one we want to overthrow?

Nowadays, a tendency of "looking toward money" has appeared among some people. They regard matters with money in their eyes, deciding their work aspirations and attitudes in terms of how much money they can make, doing a lot of work that brings a lot of money, but either not doing, or doing only slightly, those jobs that pay little. If this also counts as an ideal, then it can only belong in the category of the capitalist class. Naturally, at the present stage currency is an indispensable technique in commodity flow, and people cannot get along without money. In accordance with the principle of remuneration according to work, as stipulated by law and by the system, the more the work, the greater the reward. This is allowed and cannot be viewed in the same way as "looking toward money." However, it must be also realized that we are the masters of a socialist country, and that our doing of work cannot be solely to make money for a living. We must help do our bit to build the edifice of communism, and to create prosperity for the broad masses of people and for posterity. The previously mentioned French author, Balzac, also made another notable remark: "Golden shackles are the heaviest kind." This is truly so. Once people get into the dead end of "looking toward money", they may be squeezed till they cannot breathe by the "golden shackles," and be unable to avoid falling into the deep abyss of moral degeneracy. Consequently, we must unswervingly look to the future--look to the beautiful ideals of communism and never allow our own ideals to become shackled to money in the eyes.

(14) Question: I would like to be an author, a scientist, an engineer...and use my own creativity, study and achievements to fight for communist ideals, but now I am a soldier. How can this contradiction be solve?

Answer: Many comrades have confronted this problem. Some had wanted to become an "expert" of some kind; some have wanted to become a "director" of some kind; and some have wanted to study technology, but now they are in the armed forces as common "soldiers." How can this contradiction be solved? This is a problem in how to handle the relationship among revolutionary ideals, individual aspirations, and revolutionary division of labor.

We approve of everyone having his own aspirations. But it must be realized that only when individual aspirations are synonymous with class ideals, the needs of the revolution, and the wishes of the people are they correct. No matter the kind of "expert" with surpassing achievements or the kind of "director" with heavy responsibilities, or a worker doing some other work, only when what one is doing is in accord with the prerequisite of struggling for socialism or communism is it of any significance or value. The communist cause is like a constantly revolving large machine, which is composed of parts of many kinds. Therefore, we must also readjust our individual aspirations on the basis of these objective needs. If the needs of the revolution are completely identical with individual aspirations, that is fine indeed. However, when the two come into conflict, individual aspirations must submit to the needs of the revolution. When Comrade Mao Zedong was a young man, he enrolled in a commercial school, taught school, etc. Subsequently, for the cause of communism, he resolutely walked the path of professional revolutionary. At one time, Comrade Chen Yi dearly loved literature, but owing to the needs of the revolution, he put down his brush and took up the sword becoming a general in command of masses of troops and equipment. Subsequently, he became a foreign affairs expert on the international stage. Lu Xun studied mining and medicine. Later, in order to save his country and his people, he took up literature. The shining models of revolutionaries of the older generation, we must forever engrave in our hearts.



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In the old society, people were categorized as being noble or humble, and work was differentiated as being high or low. In socialist society, though there may be countless differences among trades or professions, all are in a position of serving the people and there is no distinction between high and low, noble or humble, in greeting a nightsoil worker whom he had met, Comrade Liu Shaoqi said, "As a sanitation worker, you are a servant of the people, and as a chairman I am also a servant of the people. Only the revolutionary division of labor is different; both are indispensable parts of the revolutionary cause." No matter our role, we must exert ourselves to contribute our maximum strength to the revolutionary cause.

Some comrades feel that the armed forces stifle ones real talents, and feel that to be a soldier is to block the flowering of their individual desires and making the most of their individual strengths. This is a lopsided view. Our armed forces are a large school, which during the past several decades has trained and created a large number of people skilled both in polite letters and martial arts, and possessed of both courage and knowledge. With ambition, willpower, hard study, and perseverance, it is entirely possible to accomplish anything. Of course the special circumstances of the armed forces place a definite limit on development of individual desires. Leaders should give attention to caring for the individual preferences and capabilities of soldiers; while at the same time, during the period of service as a soldier, greater efforts must be made within the scope of revolutionary division of labor to preserve the four modernizations, and also to strive to temper oneself to become a useful person, and prepare to give a good account of oneself on any front line following discharge from military service.

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[Text] 2. Use of Communist Morality to Keep Within Bounds One's Words and Deeds

(15) Question: What is communist morality?

Answer: First let us talk a little about what morality is. Every society has problems in relationships among people, and problems in relationships between people and the society. In order to assure the normal functioning of the society, it is necessary to regulate relationships among people and between people and society. The totality of the norms that regulate the conduct of these relationships is called morality. Morality employs morale concepts of good and bad, just and unjust, fair and selfish, true and false to evaluate people's behavior. It uses various forms of education and the power of social opinion to make people gradually conform to specific beliefs, habits, and traditions, and function according to them. Morality is determined by a society's economic foundations, and it serves a society's economic foundations. In a class society, society has a strong class nature. We stand for proletarian morality, and oppose capitalist and other exploiting class moralities.

Communist morality is a reflection of the fundamental welfare and requirements of the proletariat and the working people; it is the greatest and most lofty morality in the history of mankind. Its fundamental properties are collectivism and a revolutionary spirit of serving the people with one heart and one mind. It requires that people have a firm proletarian revolutionary will, the subordination of individual welfare to the welfare of the cause of communism, and the founding of individual well-being on the foundation of having others also enjoy well-being. It requires that people exert every effort in struggling for the emancipation of all mankind, emancipating oneself in the process of the struggle. It also requires people to be selfless, to consider others, to love work and the working people, to possess a pervasive revolutionary spirit, a strict scientific spirit and a serious minded attitude toward life.

(16) Question: Why is communist morality said to be the greatest and most lofty morality? What is the importance of conducting education in communist morality?

Answer: In comparison with all the exploiting class moralities in the history of mankind, communist morality is the greatest and most lofty morality. All exploitive class moralities are founded on private ownership of the means of production. They all paralyze and fetter the people, support the system of private ownership, and serve the private interests of the exploiters.

Bourgeois morality is individualistic by nature. The bourgeoisie relies on exploitation to grow and thrive. Their two hands are full of blood, and they believe in the doctrine of "everyman for himself and the devil take the hindmost." For the bourgeoisie, everyone tries to outwit everyone else, and everything is done for the sake of money. Marx had described the bourgeois psychology as follows: "I am repulsive, but I am able to buy the most beautiful wife. This means I am no longer repulsive, because the original repulsiveness and its scariness has been turned into nothing by money... money is the highest virtue." A quotation from Marx's "Da Kapital" also said: Capitalism dares trample all laws for 100 percent profits, and for 300 percent profit, it dares commit any crime, even risking beheading." For capitalists, human relationships become purely money relationships.

The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are fundamentally antithetical, and communist morality is fundamentally antithetical to the morality of the bourgeoisie. Communist morality differs fundamentally from the morality of all exploiting classes. It is a morality that occupies a commanding position, which is founded on public ownership of the means of production. It has thoroughly exposed and criticized the evil nature of all exploitive systems; it supports the interests of the majority of people, and represents the desires of the broadest masses of the people. Its fundamental character is collectivism, and in the relationship between moral standards and moral practices, it maintains a concept of the unity of theory and practice. This is precisely as Comrade Liu Shaoqi noted in his "How to be a Good Communist": "The reason our morality is great is precisely because it is the communist morality of the proletariat. This morality is not founded on maintenance of benefits for individuals or for a minority of exploiters, but rather it is founded on the welfare of the proletariat and the broad masses of working people. It is founded on the final emancipation of mankind, on rescuing the world from capitalist disaster, and on the benefits of a happy, prosperous, and beautiful communist world. It is founded on the scientific communist theories of Marxism-Leninism. In the view of us communists, sacrifice for the welfare of any individual or any minority of people is most unworthy and most unnecessary. However, sacrifice for the party, for class, for the emancipation of the nation, for the liberation of mankind and development of society, and for the maximum welfare of the maximum number of people is worthy, and necessary." Development and progress for the people, for the collective, and for society is precisely the greatest and most lofty part of communist morality.

Realization of communism requires not only an extreme abundance of material wealth, but also requires an extremely great increase in the levels of consciousness and morality is an indispensable condition for development of communist ethics among the broad masses of people, for building socialism, and for the gradual transition to communism. At the present time, the following two things possess specially important realism. The first is to purge the pernicious influence of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and to do a good job on requirements of the social atmosphere. The second is realization of the needs of the four modernizations, with full implementation of

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the requirements of the CCP Central Committee on further readjustment of the economy, and putting into effect the major program for further political stability. If we are to do a good job of the four modernizations, it is extremely necessary for people to establish communist ethics. Further readjustment of the national economy also especially requires that people consider the overall situation, pay attention to work style, observe discipline, sacrifice personal interests for the sake of others, and struggle arduously. Third, also required is the training of successors to carry on the revolutionary cause. Revolutionary successors must be people who can use communist morality to guide and keep within bounds their personal words and deeds. We must use moral education to train youth to become a new generation possessed of communist morality.

(17) Question: What, specifically, does use of communist morality to keep within bounds one's personal words and deeds entail in real life?

Answer: Inasmuch as morality in any given society is a norm for regulating relationships among people and between people and the society, that shows that the scope on which it touches is extremely broad. We must observe family morality and support social morality, and those working in various trades and professions must observe the professional morality that is to be observed in each workplace. It may be said that in words, deeds, and actions, the question arises as to whether people are in accord with communist morality.

Just what is involved in our observance of communist morality?

The Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Youth League has put out 10 articles for the training of youths in communist morality. They are: deeply love the motherland; be diligent in one's studies; deeply love labor, care for the collective; help people be happy; honesty and modesty; refinement and mannerliness; respect for laws and discipline; arduous struggle; and valiant opposition to enemies.

The "Standards of Morality" formulated by the 4th Company of a certain regiment in the Tianjin Garrison Command contain 12 major requirements that take account of the characteristics of the company: 1. deeply love the party; deeply love the motherland; deeply love socialism; and work with one heart and one mind toward the four modernizations; 2. work selflessly for the public interest; care for the collective; don't use public office for private gain; and don't secure advantages through pull or influence; 3. obey discipline and respect laws; maintain public order, do not contravene public ethics; do not quarrel and fight; 4. fraternal unity; help others be happy; do not have "fellow-townsmen concepts," or "personal loyalties;" do not hurt others for one's own gain; 5. hard work and plain living; thrift and economy; no ostentation or displays of extravagance; no envy or pursuit of the bourgeois way of life; 6. honesty and fidelity; no falsehoods; no boasting and toadying; and no trimming of one's sales to fit the wind; 7. cherish the welfare of the people, maintain public order; no shouting in public places; no spitting about or littering; 8. speak politely and in a refined way; 9. comport oneself in an upright manner; orderly appearance; no imitation of vulgarity; no listening or singing of unhealthy songs; 10. strive to be courteous, and respect leaders; 11. provide for one's parents; honor the old and love the young; look after the aged, the weak, the crippled, pregnant women and children; 12. change prevailing habits and customs; make love in a proper way with no falling in love or marrying early, and no fickleness in affections.

We should consider the above well. Communist morality's specific content may change or have a different emphasis as time, place, and conditions change, but its fundamental principles should not be changed.

(18) Question: Why be so concerned about courtesy? Some people say that courtesy is false civility and non-essential. Is this so?

Answer: In the course of their daily labor, study, and living, people should help each other and respect each other. Concern for courtesy is an external way of demonstrating this respect.

Concern for courtesy is very broad in scope. Some people include three major items in courtesy. One is neatness of dress and concern for hygiene. In this regard, the regulations promulgated by the Ministry of Education for primary and middle school students provides clear regulations. The armed forces should give special attention to military appearance and bearing, conduct and discipline. Not spitting about is part of this. So is proper speech and a modest attitude. For example, when one has a request to make of another, one should say "please." When others show consideration and provide assistance, one should say, "Thank you." When you have inconvenienced someone or have accidentally bumped into another person, you should say, "Sorry." Other examples include knocking at the door when visiting someone's home; greeting a guest warmly; not calling teachers or members of the older generation by their first names; no arguing, cursing people, or talking dirty. One should not give people insulting nicknames, nor accidentally interfere with the studies of others, their work, or their free time. Finally, one should preserve public order, and respect social ethics.

In the egotistical philosophy practiced by the bourgeoisie, the courtesy they advocate must of necessity be false in character. Our morality has collectivism as its highest principle. The friendliness, trust, and respect among people is sincere and people think and act in the same way. The notion that concern for courtesy is non-essential is also wrong. The concern for courtesy that we advocate is a realistic reflection of the spirit and style of a socialist country with a surpassing cultural tradition, which helps maintain and develop a stable and secure situation.

Concern for courtesy is an important mark of the degree of civilization of a people as well, which ramifies into the dignity of a people and a nation. We should nurture a good habit of concern for courtesy everywhere, and this is something that cannot be belittled in the growth and progress of individuals.

(19) Question: What is meant by home morality? What does it consist of? What is the significance of emphasis on family morality?

Answer: As the name suggests, home morality is the morality practiced among family members.

A family is composed of a man and wife, father and mother, sons and daughters, and other close relatives. The often mentioned conjugal love and harmony between man and wife, common goals, giving of presents to and providing for elders, the nurture and training of sons and daughters, the respect accorded older brothers, the tender care given younger brothers and sisters, etc. is all a part of family morality.

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Relations among members of a bourgeois family are nothing but money relationships. Relationships of family members of the proletariat and the broad working people should be truly mutual relationships with mutual love and mutual help in comradely relationships.

It should also be realized, however, that as a result of the poison of Lin Biao and the "gang of four," and the effects of the selfish and self-seeking ideology of the exploiting class, in some people's handling relationships with family members, conduct lacking in morality exists. For example, in the matter of love and marriage, there is some playing fast and loose and duplicity: "I am superior and you are inferior" in relations between man and wife, and fickleness and endless arguments over money and goods. In the treatment of old people, when parents are still able to work, for their sons and daughters it is a case of you struggle and I'll take, as a popular skit has it, mother becomes a "horse." When old people are no longer able to work or lack economic sources, they are treated as nuisances and burdens, pushed to the side and not looked after or even treated cruelly or beaten. All this goes against communist moral behavior, and not only should it suffer the rebuke of public opinion, but if it continues, it should be punished in accordance with law.

The home is a cell in society. Concern for home morality is not only a private individual matter, but also a major aspect of socialist cultural civilization. If our family relationships are handled badly, this will involve a lot of energy, and will impair concentration of all attention on the four modernizations. If in every family husband and wife lived in harmony, the old were respected and the young loved, and children taught in the right way, in the building of socialism, people would not have to be concerned about trouble in other quarters, and the building of a socialist cultural civilization would have a very solid foundation. A good job of home morality and home love and harmony is also a major condition in the training of a revolutionary posterity. Many comrades have a personal sense of this.

(20) Question: Some people believe that ethics and a person's material standard of living are closely related. As the economy improves and standards of living rise, ethics will naturally become better. Conversely, any further concern about morality is of no use. How should one regard this problem?

Answer: Fine ethics are definitely related to development of the economy and improvement in material standards of living. In establishing lofty social ethics, we cannot divorce ourselves from doing a good job with the national economy and doing a good job of the four modernizations, so that people's standards of living will improve. However, one positively cannot mechanically and vulgarly rationalize this relationship. One positively cannot say that it is necessary to wait for improvement in the economy and improvement in the material standard of living before showing concern for morality. We must realize that given the same material conditions, whether or not concern is shown for communist morality, the mental attitude of people differs vastly. Moreover, under any given conditions, the advanced ideology and thinking of people can exist in the midst of a social reality of rather backward economy.

During the period of the New Democracy Revolution, warfare was so frequent, and material conditions were so poor, but we achieved tremendous results from perseverance in use of the communist ideological system to guide all activities, and use of communist morality to keep within bounds the words and deeds of Communist Party members and advanced elements, in advocacy and commendation of the spirit of singleminded

service to the people, unselfishness, no benefit for self but only benefit for others, arduous struggle, and brave sacrifice. Now, with entry into the period of socialism, great growth has taken place in the economy, and striking improvements have occurred in living conditions. Is it possible that concern for communist morality is no longer useful? Think back to the period immediately following founding of the Chinese People's Republic and why we were able to rapidly to wash away the muck and filth inherited from the old society, beat back the attacks with sugar-coated bullets of the bourgeoisie, and establish a brand new social ethic. The major reason was that the entire party from top to bottom displayed a spirit of arduous efforts, with emphasis on propaganda and education in communist ideology and morality. During the 3 year period of hardships, during the temporary decline in material standards of living, why did no decline in the standards of morality take place? The main reason was that every echelon of leadership gave strict attention to this matter. The campaign to study Lei Feng initiated an era of new morality of denial of self for others, and helping others to be happy, in a steady occurrence of good people doing good deeds. This was inseparable from attention to moral training. All this fully shows that good morality and habits do not arise spontaneously, but must be inculcated and advocated. It also shows at the same time that advocacy of communist morality is not something for which very high material conditions are a prerequisite.

It must be realized that antiquated productivity and an underdeveloped economy may limit people's mentality and vision. Certain hardships in life may also cause people to do some disreputable things. But to blame these entirely on economic hardships or lack of goods is not realistic. We frequently say that material determines the mental, and that social being determines social ideology. "Material," in the sense that it is used here, does not mean the conditions of material livelihood but rather the entire objectively existing material world. "Social being," as used here, likewise does not mean only the situation as regards the means of livelihood, but mostly it means the position and role of people in the development of productivity and the structure of production relationships. Consequently, the degree of productivity and the state of material life are not completely comparable with mentality and morality. For example, the material life of capitalists is vastly superior to that of workers, but bourgeois morality, founded as it is in benefiting oneself at the expense of others and money above all, would doubtlessly pale into significance before the selfless proletariat. All the antiquated ideas reposing in the brains of people today, and the uncivilized, immoral behavior is, when looked at in terms of its social origins, mainly the effect of the mentality of the exploiting class. Under identical economic conditions, real life has a large number of good people and good deeds; conversely, those who have antiquated ideas and do disreputable things lack neither for food to eat nor clothes to wear. This shows that our building of cultural civilization is inseparable from vigorous education in communist thinking and morality.

To say that under any certain material conditions morality is useful or not useful is in fact an issue of whether to acknowledge or not to acknowledge the reaction of a cultural thing on a material thing. We must bear in mind the basic concept of dialectic materialism, both acknowledging the determining role of the material on the cultural, while at the same time acknowledging the reaction of the cultural. We oppose the thesis of the "cultural being omnipotent," and oppose as well the lopsided understanding the "cultural being useless."

(21) Question: Some people say that advocacy of communist morality and institution of the principle of distributions in accordance with work are mutually exclusive. Is this view correct?

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Answer: Incorrect. The two are a unity, mutually reinforcing and mutually promoting. Implementation of the socialist principle of distributions in accordance with labor and institution of communist morality are both for the purpose of building socialism and for the gradual future transition to a communist society of "from each according to ability, to each according to need." Only by using communist ideology as a guide can we correctly implement the principle of to each according to work. Were we not to use proletarian ideology to handle distribution according to work, a phenomenon might result of "the more money paid, the more work done; a penny's worth of effort for a penny;" or the emergence of benefiting oneself at the expense of others and lining private pockets at the expense of the public. This would fundamentally destroy the principle of to each according to work. Still another aspect is in instituting the principle of to each according to work, it is also possible to steadily increase people's ideological consciousness. To each according to work requires "from each according to ability," and "those who do not work do not eat." This, in itself, signifies that people must possess communist moral qualities. In the process of instituting to each according to work, it is also necessary to cultivate people's deep love of labor, their respect for discipline, and their cherishing of the accomplishments of labor and such fine morals.

Therefore, institution of the principle of to each according to work is both in accordance with the laws of objective economic development and in accordance with requirements of communist morality at the present stage. Leaders must strictly carry out the principle of to each according to work, with the more work the more received. Every worker should have a work attitude of being the master, and strive to make a greater contribution without quibbling about remuneration. Only by combining these two aspects is it possible to fully arouse the enthusiasm of the masses and advance the cause of socialism.

Institution of the principle of to each according to work, and advocacy of communist morality, are, in fact, related problems of material benefit and cultural civilization. In instituting moral education, we cannot divorce ourselves from material benefits or otherwise, "'ideology,' once it is separated from 'benefits' will make one look like a fool." ("Collected Works of Marx and Engles," Vol 2, p 103). At the same time, concern for material benefits cannot be divorced from moral education, because "morality serves to lift human society to a higher plane and divests human society of the exploitation of labor." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 355).

(22) Question: Some youths believe that people are "subjective about themselves and objective about others." Where is the error in this view?

Answer: The question of for whom is a fundamental question in outlook on life. The nub of the proletarian view of life is collectivism and wholehearted service to the people. The nub of the bougeois view of life is extreme individualism. It raises as a fundamental issue in a view of life "subjectivism about oneself and objectivism about others," which clearly does not meet the needs of the proletarian view of life.

First, to say that all people are "subjective about themselves," is, in fact, to deny that there are any truly selfless people in the world. This is unrealistic. In real life, there are indeed some extremely selfish and self-seeking people who do everything "for themselves," and who "sleep late when there is no benefit to be had, but hope for the dawn when there is." At the same time, however, there are truly numerous

people with lofty moral qualities. Lu Xun's "bowing the head and being willing to be a child's ox;" Bethune's "utterly no benefit for self but only benefit for others; Zhang Side's [1728 1835 1795] wholehearted service to the people; Lei Feng's, "as long as I live it will be so others may have a better life;" Jiao Yulu [3542 5940 4389], whose "heart is filled with all the people, but not himself; Zhang Zhixin [1728 1807 2450], who gave his life for truth, and Liang Yingrui [2733 5391 3843], who sacrificed his life to blow up an enemy fortification to protect the four modernizations....Can one use "subjective about themselves" to evaluate the countless people who contribute themselves to the revolutionary cause?

Second, to view people as being "objective about others" is likewise lacking in a modicum of analysis. Through the exploiting class has been wiped out in China, the class struggle still exists. The effects of feudal class and bourgeois mentality still exist, and as a result people's moral conceptions cannot all be the same. The broad masses of workers, farmers, soldiers, and intellectuals are concerned with morality, but are the actions of the counterrevolutionaries, hooligans and thieves, speculators and profiteers, criminal elements etc. "objective about others"? Obviously not.

Third, "subjective toward oneself, and objective toward others" is to set subjective and objective apart from each other. We are advocates of the unity of subjective and objective, stimulus and response. For the individual, it is always a case of thoughts controlling actions, and actions being the test of thoughts. In real life, situations exist in which one has good intentions subjectively but botch matters objectively, and there are also examples in which being "subjective about oneself" objectively brings advantages for others. However, in most cases when people are subjective about themselves, they must also be objective about themselves. That people frequently criticize others as "benefiting themselves at the expense of others," "lining their pockets at the expense of the public," "using public office for private gain" etc. is a disclosure that these people are both subjectively and objectively selfish.

When some of our comrades talk about this matter of being "subjective about oneself and objective about others," they frequently do not distinguish between selfishness and proper benefits secured through working for them. Consequently they are confused. We say that everybody needs clothing, food, shelter, and travel, and everybody needs certain material conditions in life in order to be able to exist. This is common knowledge. We are not opposed to people working to get these things, because this is entirely proper, and there is nothing selfish about it. What we do oppose is only the individualist mentality that opposes selflessness in the public interest and advocates everything for oneself. One of the entries in Lei Feng's diary was as follows: "A comrade said, 'People live to eat...' I feel it is wrong to say this. We eat in order to live rather than live in order to eat. I live in order to wholeheartedly serve the people, and for the cause of emancipating mankind, fighting for communism." Once this demarcation line has been drawn, one cannot agree with the concept of "subjective about oneself and objective about others." Some people want to stick to this concept, but that is for nothing more than to use it as a cover for their own selfish calculations.

(23) Question: Some people say that it is man's nature to be selfish. Is this correct?

Answer: The proposition that "man's nature is selfish" is by no means a "scientific truth." Only if one says that the nature of the exploiting class is selfish would it be correct.



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This history of human society is itself the best demonstration. After man finally separated from the animal kingdom, he lived for a long time in social groups in nature, leading in primitive communal life. This historical period accounts for more than 99 percent of the history of the human race. During this long period, people did not know what was public and what was private. Because production forms were extremely backward, people could only maintain life the best way they could by hunting and gathering. During this long historical stage, selfish thoughts could not occur.

With the later development of production forms, the products of labor showed a surplus, and only then did the question arise of to whom the surplus goods belonged, and social divisions of labor and private ownership appeared. It was only then that exploitation and oppression came into being and selfishness became a concept. Selfish ideas were the products of this period of the history of society.

According to the concept of historical materialism, these selfish ideas must inevitably gradually wither away with an extreme increase in social productivity, and with the establishment and development of socialist and communist public ownership. In our real lives, the appearance of a large number of people like Bethune and Lei Feng, people with advanced ideals of absolute selflessness and only the benefit of others, are a portent of the inevitable trend of this historical development.

(24) Question: Is the notion that "those who are concerned with morality become losers" correct?

Answer: Superficially, it seems so. If you give up your seat on a vehicle to others, you will have to stand yourself. If you want to be law-abiding you have to curb yourself. If you want to rescue people during an emergency, you must be willing to sacrifice yourself. Isn't this "being a loser?" In essence, it is not. The fundamental characteristic of communist morality is collectivism and wholehearted service to the people. Willingness to sacrifice individual benefits, or even one's life, for the people and for the collective, is the essence of the revolutionary soldier and it is something done willingly. In our socialist society, you sacrifice for others, and others likewise sacrifice for you. Concern for morality is not doing business. To link morality and being a loser or being taken advantage of is to lower the level of our concern for morality.

If some people view as fools who "are not afraid of being losers" those who use our communist morality to keep in bounds their words and deeds, we should feel honored and proud. We can reply with perfect assurance using the words of Lei Feng, "I want to be a person of benefit to the people and of benefit to the country. If this is being a 'fool,' then I am willing to be such a 'fool.'" The revolution needs this kind of 'fool.' Construction also needs this kind of 'fool.' Were I to become more intelligent, I would still incline to the party, to socialism, and to communism."

(25) Question: If I am concerned about morality and others are not, what is to be done?

Answer: Your concern for morality and your attention to using communist morality to keep in bounds your words and deeds in all situations and everywhere merits praise, and you should keep at it. If you are a member of the Communist Party and a party cadre, you must regard communist morality as your duty, otherwise you cannot be considered to be a qualified member of the Communist Party. If you are a member of

the Communist Youth League, you must make the same demands of yourself, because the League charter clearly stipulates as the duty of League members, "advancing communist ethics." Our armed forces are revolutionary armed forces that enjoy the devotion of the people. Every cadre and soldier should be a good example of concern for morality, and that will lead inevitably to a fine social ethic.

If one encounters someone who does not consciously advance communist ethics or does a bad job of it, what should one do? First of all, do not act rashly. To say, "If you are not concerned about morality, then I am not concerned either!" is to counter one wrong with another. Second, do patient and meticulous work to convince others. Some people say, "Making sure about one's own concern for morality is enough. Whether others are concerned or not, I don't care." This attitude of "paying attention to one's own moral uplift without concern for others" is, in the final analysis, passive. An active attitude should be: I am concerned about morality, and my concern influences and helps other people's concern for morality, especially the use of actions to influence others. I should also dare to criticize and struggle with behavior that violates communist morality.

In short, we should have a larger breadth of vision, and we should have an aspiration such as this: To set a personal example, to be a model everywhere, and through our own efforts to promote a good atmosphere of concern about communist morality throughout the armed forces and among the body of the people, so that they become a strong moral force.

[Continuation presently unavailable]

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[Text] 4. Foster a Fine Work Style of Strict Observance of Discipline

(40) Question: How can the relationship between heightened sense of discipline and the building of socialism be understood and intensified? Why should the armed forces, in particular, strengthen observance of discipline and strictly enforce orders and prohibitions?

Answer: What is discipline: Discipline means observance of social conventions and national laws. It is a code of conduct requiring that in their collective lives, people respect order, carry out orders, and act in accordance with a personal sense of responsibility. Discipline, the system of laws, and morality are all part of the superstructure, and they are also an integral part of cultural civilization. Under a system of exploitation, the exploiting class force the exploited class to labor in strict compliance with its will and to respect the order it has laid down and support the welfare and laws of the exploiting class. Slave masters and feudal lords use "bludgeon law" to oppress the slaves and poor peasants. Capitalists using firings to maintain "starvation law" to oppress the workers. Under the socialist system, discipline reflects the common will of the entire people, and plays a role in maintaining the common welfare of the people. It is an assurance for carrying out the line, and for doing revolutionary work and production.

The more advanced material production, the more strict are people's requirements for discipline and order. For example, in modernized industrial production, because of the application of various new technologies, the complexity of machines, and the fineness in division of labor, the requirements for each member to observe discipline

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are vastly more strict than in handicraft production. Therefore, if we are to develop material production and do a good job of economic construction, it is necessary to establish strict discipline to assure it. Discipline is also an important assurance for the consolidation and development of political stability and unity. If every individual in every trade and profession observes the discipline he should observe, the production order, work order, and living order of the entire society could be guaranteed. Conversely, if a minority does not care about the overall situation and destroys discipline, they will create factors of instability. Consequently, we must intensify the inculcation of discipline and education about the law in party and government organizations, in the armed forces, in enterprises, in schools, and among the people as a whole, firmly oppose and correct all disorganized, undisciplined, and illegal things. If we do not, we will be unable to build socialism, and we will be unable to realize modernization.

The armed forces have real need for strengthening discipline. The famous bourgeois military expert, Napoleon, has described the French cavalry whose horsemanship was not refined but which was disciplined, and the cavalry troops of the time who were adept at individual fighting but who lacked discipline--the Mamuliuke [7456 2606 3966 4430] soldiers. He wrote, "Two Mamuliuke soldiers positively can beat three French soldiers; 100 French soldiers are about equal to 100 Mamuliuke soldiers; 300 French soldiers would usually be able to beat 300 Mamuliuke soldiers, and 1,000 French soldiers would always be able to beat 1,500 Mamuliuke soldiers." This passage shows how important discipline is in the armed forces. In both ancient and modern times in China and abroad, all armed forces, without exception, have required strict observance of discipline, because without strict discipline, armed forces cannot vanquish their enemies. Conversely, they may be annihilated by their enemies. Every military training school emphasizes strict control of forces. Consequently, discipline is a major element in the fighting strength of armed forces.

All old style armed forces were tools for the use of the exploiting class in suppressing people internally, and for carrying out aggressive expansion externally. This discipline was founded upon class oppression and could rely only on the lash and cudgels, manacles, and shackles, and such cruel measures, or depend on deceit for its maintenance. Our armed forces are armed forces that wholeheartedly serve the Chinese people. Discipline in our armed forces is founded on conscious observance by cadres and soldiers. We both strictly control and demonstrate the mandatory nature of discipline, not permitting anything that destroys discipline to exist, but also emphasize patience and winning over, allowing cadres and soldiers alike to understand why it is necessary to observe discipline, to understand the need and the goal of disciplinary rules and regulations so that discipline becomes a code of behavior that every comrade consciously observes.

(41) Question: Some people say: "Democracy is, in essence, freedom" and they feel that discipline may obstruct democracy and limit individual freedom. Why is this view wrong?

Answer: Both democracy and freedom are relative. So-called absolute democracy or absolute freedom have always been in a illusion. All that is required is a look at real life to readily understand this principle. Take a company size unit for example. Were there to be absolute democracy or absolute freedom with everyone doing whatever he wanted to do, or doing things however, he wanted to do them, wouldn't that be a mess? Not only could no combat missions be carried out, but even the normal living routine could not be maintained. For things as small as a family or as large as

society and the nation, this principle equally applies. Only when every member observes the discipline that he should individually observe under the guidance of the collective, can normal development of democratic life take place and individual freedom be assured. Therefore, concern for democracy requires concern for the collective, and concern for freedom requires concern for discipline. It is like riding a bicycle. When everyone observes traffic rules, everyone enjoys freedom of movement. If some people do not observe the traffic rules, but rather careen around, everybody's freedom of movement will be impaired and obstructed, and finally even the undisciplined may lose this freedom of movement. Some people place discipline and freedom in opposition to each other, supposing that it is necessary nowadays to be concerned only with democracy and freedom, but not necessary to stress concern for discipline, and that concern for discipline obstructs individual freedom. This formulation is dead wrong. Anyone who pursues freedom as the highest goal or preaches absolute democracy and absolute freedom, opposes collectivity and opposes discipline, is pursuing only anarchism or bourgeois liberalism.

(42) Question: Please talk about the dangers of the anarchist trend of thought. What is the significance at the present time of further purging of the pernicious influence of anarchism in terms of consolidation of a stable and unified political situation and the building of a high degree of cultural civilization?

Answer: Anarchy is a reactionary trend of thought that negates all national political authority and class struggle. Anarchists begin from the stand point of extreme individualism to preach absolute individual freedom, oppose all power and authority, and advocate building of an "anarchic" society of so-called "do whatever you please and however you please doing it" with no orders, no authority, no obedience, no punishment, and absolute freedom. In their opposition to all nations, and denial of government authority, anarchists are opposed to the dictatorship of the proletariat, and are opposed to the socialist revolution. Therefore, anarchism is a reactionary trend of thought, which can corrode people's mentality, sap the will to fight, poison the social atmosphere, and undermine revolutionary organization. When Lin Biao and the "gang of four" were running amuck, preaching "suspect everything and down with everything," "mass movements are naturally sensible," and such reactionary slogans, the anarchist trend of thought spread unchecked in China for a time. For a while, the party organization and the government structure was assaulted and fell into a state of paralysis. The laws were brazenly trampled underfoot; the physical security of citizens was no longer assured, and all society was in a state of chaos, visiting a tremendous calamity on the people of the entire country, and causing severe losses for economic construction throughout the country.

The smashing of the "gang of four" brought to a conclusion this extremely abnormal situation. However, the perniciousness and effects of anarchism have been by no means thoroughly purged, and still pose a danger. This is manifested by some people in society flying the flag of "emanicipation of mentality," suspicion of everything, denial of the four fundamental principles, and even the picking up from the garbage heap of capitalist thought some worn-out merchandise, dishing up in new form this and that kind of slogan, vainly attempting to get rid of the party leadership and leave the path of socialism. Under the pretext of demands for democracy, some people preach no need for any restraints on freedom, negate democratic centralism, and negate normal production, work, study, and living routines, and even create disturbances. Still other people do not obey socialist laws and discipline, violate communist morality,

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and even commit acts of violence and cause trouble, destroying social order. Within the armed forces, an extremely small minority of comrades also have been affected by the anarchist trend of thought, and will not accept disciplinary restraints, will not submit to control, and individually or even openly oppose superiors in violation of military discipline and military law. All this is extraordinarily wrong behavior.

Unless there is thorough criticism and eradication of the perniciousness and the influence of the anarchist trend of thought, and unless determined struggle is instituted against the minority who disregard the overall situation to engage in anarchism, and if the evil wind of anarchism is allowed to spread unchecked again, our social order cannot be stabilized, the social atmosphere will be poisoned, the current stability and unity, and the vivid and vigorous political situation will not be able to be consolidated. The people's democratic rights, and even their rights to existence, will be endangered. Obviously, under these circumstances, not only will it be very difficult for our economic readjustment to advance, but building of a highly cultured civilization will be even less attainable. Therefore, we must firmly criticize the reactionary trend of thought that is anarchy, and thoroughly eradicate its odious influence. Each and everyone of our revolutionary soldiers must recognize the reactionary nature of anarchism and increase immunity to it, consciously carrying out resolute struggle against all anarchical trends of thought and behavior, not letting its damage spread unchecked, much less drift with the tide, ourselves engaging in it too.

(43) Question: Why is it necessary to observe the principle of "individual submission to the organization." When an individual believes instructions from superior authority are not right, isn't it all right for him not to carry them out?

Answer: "Subordination of the individual to the organization" is a major organizational principle that our party has worked out in the course of a long period of revolutionary struggle, and it is also an extremely important discipline. Our goal in stressing individual subordination to the organization is to maintain the unity of thought and the unanimity of action of the entire party in order to increase the combat strength of revolutionary ranks. Very clearly, were it not for individual subordination to the organization, but instead each individual and each trade going in separate directions and each individual doing something different, the party organization and revolutionary ranks would become like a sheet of loose sand. Decisions of the organization would not be put into effect, and the party's missions could not be fulfilled. As far as the armed forces are concerned, because we must at all times be prepared to carry out combat missions and to engage in life and death combat using live bullets on the battlefield, unified action is necessary. Consequently, stress on subordination of the individual to the organization is even more important.

Some people suppose that one need not carry out instructions from superior authority that are not correct, but this view is wrong. Instructions from superior authority are always made in view of the general situation. If in the course of carrying them out it is discovered that they do not accord with the real situation, or if new changes occur, or if in carrying out the original instructions new problems are encountered, subordinate organizations or individuals can report the situation to higher authority and offer recommendations. But up until such time as superior authority changes its decision, except in especially emergency situations in which the carrying out of the original instruction will immediately create serious damage, they must be continued to be carried out, and no subordinate organization or individual has authority to cancel

or change the decisions of higher authority on his own initiative. The CCP Central Committee has repeatedly reiterated the policy of "individual subordination to the organization, minority subordination to the majority, lower level subordination to higher level, and the whole party's subordination to the Central Committee." Every member of the Communist Party and all revolutionary military personnel must strictly obey this. The pretext that instructions from higher authority do not match or are not in accord with the realities of a particular unit or individual and thus should not be carried out is entirely fallacious. The theory is very simple. If you suppose that instructions are not right and should not be carried out, and he supposes that instructions are not right and should not be carried out, the instructions of higher authority become nothing but a scrap of paper, don't they? Inevitably this results in each one doing as he pleases and creating confusion. Centralized unity is destroyed, and the cause of the revolution sustains loss.

(44) Question: Some people suppose that so long as discipline is observed in action, if one commits a little liberalism or spreads "hearsay" there is no need for a fuss. Is that so?

Answer: Liberalism is also conduct that violates discipline, and one cannot say that those who commit liberalism are observing discipline in their actions.

Liberalism is an extremely damaging tendency. As long ago as the beginning of the Sino-Japanese War, Comrade Mao Zedong wrote a famous article titled, "Oppose Liberalism" in which he listed 11 evidences of liberalism, noting that liberalism "is a corrosive, which diffuses unity, and relates to slackness, passivity in work, and divergent views. It causes the revolutionary ranks to lose close organization and discipline, prevents full implementation of policies, and brings about a divergence between the party organization and the masses led by the party. This is a seriously odious tendency." He also emphatically pointed out that liberalism "objectively plays a role in helping the enemy." Our party and armed forces have also treated opposition to liberalism as a serious task, helpful in combat and in the maintenance of unity within the revolutionary ranks.

As a result of the maniacal stirring up of a noxious wind of anarchy by Lin Biao and the "gang of four," liberalism flourished greatly for a time, and this evil wind has yet to be entirely purged. Some comrades take extreme delight in listening to and passing on "hearsay," even to the extent of fabricating it, or embroidering it. Some believe that rumors they hear, pass them on, and spread them everywhere. A small number of comrades do not diligently study and fully carry out the party's policies, decisions, and instructions, but when they have an comments on them, they do not make suggestions to the organization, but rather discuss them privately, become overcritical, and individually spread suspicions and contention, and air grievances. Comrades on the spot do not offer explanations or stop them. As a result, instances of disclosure of secrets have occurred, and instances of damage to unity, have taken place, with damage even being done to the party's and leadership's prestige, the ideology of the masses sapped, popular tranquility interfered with, and losses incurred for the revolutionary cause. Liberalism is also very damaging to individuals, and unless it is corrected instead of continuing to develop, it will cause disunity and dissension for the party, will cause a loss of vigilance against reactionary statements, or may even lead to being duped. In short, this odious tendency severely damages political discipline, and must be resolutely corrected.

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As revolutionary military persons, we must resolutely fight against liberal tendencies. We ourselves do not listen to, believe, or spread "hearsay," and those that do pass on "hearsay", or spread rumors and gossip should be severely criticized. Those who violate organizational principles, and who willfully discuss or spread dissatisfaction with the party's policies, decisions, or instructions, should be resolutely opposed, and needed ideological struggle instituted against them. Truly, as Comrade Mao Zedong said, "No matter when or where, persevere in correct principles, and tirelessly struggle against every incorrect idea and action." Only in this way can revolutionary discipline be consolidated, unity of the revolutionary ranks and among comrades be maintained, the line, policies, and programs of the party be resolutely carried out, and the combat strength of the forces be increased.

(45) Question: Some people say that just so long as one does a good job, a little violation of discipline doesn't amount to anything. Is such a view correct?

Answer: Such a perception is incorrect.

First, the doing of a good job and the observance of discipline cannot be set in opposition to each other. Observance of discipline is a major guarantee for the completion of every task. When we speak of doing a good job, what is meant is active completion of tasks handed us by higher authority while maintaining discipline. If discipline is violated, work cannot be considered as having been well done, nor can it be truly done well.

Second, a little violation of discipline by no means amounts to nothing, because in the future it can cause damage or losses to revolutionary work in one degree or another. Take, for example, the regulation requiring "asking for leave to travel." Some comrades suppose this is a small matter. But, if nobody adhered to this regulation in doing their work, and anybody could go anywhere he pleased, whenever units suddenly had an emergency requiring action, things might be bungled pretty badly. Or take the regulation on work and rest in daily life, and military conduct and discipline, which ramify into the forces' collective living routine, and ramify into the bearing of military men, the fostering of work style, and the impression they leave among the masses, which are no trifling "small matters." On the battlefield, observance of discipline is an even larger matter, and sometimes when a person violates discipline, he may even cause reverses for the entire engagement; therefore, one positively cannot regard discipline as unimportant.

Third, one must also realize that only through regular fostering of serious regard for discipline is it possible at crucial times to have a strong concept of discipline. If violation of discipline is to be regarded as a trifling matter, or a "small error," to continue in this way would be very dangerous. Violation of discipline and violation of criminal law to take the path of crime are two different things, of course, but they are not separated by an impassable chasm. In real life, real cases are not unknown in which violation of discipline was not corrected and turned into commission of a crime. This should be an object lesson for us.

(46) Question: Some people say that being a little easygoing and undisciplined in ordinary times is nothing, just so long as one is able to pass the stiffest test at crucial times. What is wrong with this view?

Answer: What is wrong is viewing matters too simply, supposing that just so long as one grits his teeth and makes a hard stand when the time comes, rendering meritorious service will be no problem. It should be realized that whether on the battlefield or in carrying out tasks, whenever one is at a crucial time, the objective circumstances place stringent requirements upon us, and sometimes they are surprising. For example, the so-called "crucial time" is sometimes several minutes and sometimes several days and nights on end, or even scores of days and nights. The so-called "passing the stiffest test" is sometimes a life and death test, which shows whether in the face of serious danger one is able to unhesitatingly carry out orders, and coolly and calmly carry out tasks. Sometimes it is various sufferings that are hard to bear such as fatigue, cold and hunger, thirst, etc, which show whether one can or cannot persistently and dauntlessly triumph over them. Unless one has a high degree of consciousness, indomitable will and physical strength, and firm organizational discipline, it will be difficult to bear up under these stern tests. This requires assiduous tempering in ordinary times, and constant nurture.

Nurture in ordinary times is the foundation for passing the stiffest test during crucial times, and this is true both collectively and individually. Only through strict requirements in ordinary times, the cultivation of strict obedience to discipline, and a scrupulously fine work style can one resolutely carry out orders and strive to complete all combat tasks during crucial periods. When burned in roaring flames and suffering severe pain, the famous fighting hero Qiu Shaoyun [6726 1421 0061] did not hesitate to sacrifice himself at every turn to assure the safety of a large number of comrades and win overall victory in war. In ordinary times, he had been a model of obedience to discipline. Yue Fei and Qi Jiguang, famous generals in Chinese history; were celebrated for their strictness in controlling their armed forces. History reports that Yue Fei strictly forbade soldiers to harrass the people. "If a civilian were to invite a soldier in to spend the night, he would not dare enter the home." The military discipline of Qi Jiguang was very strict, and even when his son broke the law, he was punished. Therefore, when "Yue's Army" or "Qi's Army" took to the field, they were able to win, and made a name for themselves in warfare against the aggression of foreigners. Some of our comrades are envious of the ability of some heroes to pass the stiffest tests in battle and to do deeds of valor, yet they do nothing in regular times to cultivate strong organizational discipline nor make an effort to foster, bit by bit, the qualities of military men. Instead they trust to luck, supposing that being a little easygoing and undisciplined in regular times, or even to violate discipline, is not very important. This is truly a mistaken notion. If passing the stiffest tests in crucial times is so easy, why then are people so respectful of heroic models?

We must make strict demands of ourselves in ordinary times and not be the least bit negligent. Comrades should check on each other and help each other, and fight against all self-indulgence, lack of organization, and lack of discipline. If everybody fosters a fine work style and consolidates the iron discipline of our armed forces, when they are needed by the party and the people all of a sudden, they will be able to pass the stiffest tests and perform deeds of value.

(47) Question: Why is it that somethings are permitted locally that are not all right in the armed forces. How should this situation be viewed?

Answer: Such situations exist. For example, as a civilian in a locality, one can wear any clothing or hat, and maintain any hair style. There are uniform regulations about such things. But it is different in the armed forces. From the time one



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enters service, one has to adhere to a dress code in wearing a uniform. Even the color of one's underwear and the way he wears it is prescribed. Through there are no uniform regulations in hairstyle, nevertheless, male comrades may not have long hair, nor are they allowed to grow beards and mustaches. They have to eat together, and get up in the morning and go to sleep at night at a uniform time. In civilian life, there are no such strict regulations. When some comrades enter military service, they are not accustomed to these practices, and they feel requirements are too strict and that they are unnecessary.

Actually these regulations are decided by the mission and characteristics of the armed forces. The armed forces are highly centralized combat organizations in which everything from the daily routine, clothing, regulations, and work style must meet the needs of fighting. Some regulations such as tidying up every day and military conduct and discipline, etc. may seem to have no direct relationship to fighting and are only a formal requirement. Nevertheless, they relate to the appearance of the armed forces and soldiers, and are an important part of fostering military qualities and military bearing. They are also an expression of the combat strength of the armed forces. Additionally, the armed forces have specific regulations about marriage and love affairs for soldiers, and about dependents of cadres accompany the armed forces, etc. These differ from requirements in civilian life also because of the special requirements placed on the armed forces. We positively cannot regard such things as "formalism", or consider them to be excessive requirements. Conversely, in the course of strictly observing and carrying out these regulations, we should make ourselves adapt to the requirements of military life, and foster a fine habit of doing things in accordance with rules and regulations and the system, so that every comrade becomes trained as a qualified revolutionary soldier.

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MILITARY AND PUBLIC SECURITY

PLA UNIT INFORMATION, DESIGNATIONS

[The following PLA unit number and information are taken from various issues of ZHANSHI BAO, published in Guangzhou. The date in parenthesis refers to date of newspaper report.]

- Unit 53010--Mao Yu [3029 0151] is identified as commander of this unit and Li Peijiang [2621 1014 3068] is identified as deputy chief of staff. This unit belongs to the Guangxi Military District. (25 Feb 81 p 1)
- Unit 53013--This unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53019--This unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 2)
- Unit 53023--This unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 1)
- Unit 53203--A command company of this unit is mentioned. (13 Mar 81 p 2)
- Unit 53207--The 7th Artillery Company of this unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53208--This unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53210--The 3rd Artillery Company of this unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53211--The New Recruit 1st Company of this unit is mentioned. (13 Mar 81 p 2)
- Unit 53212--The 7th Company of this unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53213--This unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 2)
- Unit 53215--This unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 1)
- Unit 53217--Deng Yujun [6772 3768 0971] is identified as commander of a machine gun company of the 1st Battalion of this unit. (13 Mar 81 p 2)
- Unit 53224--A warning signal company of this unit is mentioned. (7 Jan 81 p 3)
- Unit 53501--This unit is stationed in Chaozhou [3390 3166] Municipality. (5 Feb 81 p 2)

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- Unit 53504--The 86th Fendui of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 1)  
 --The New Recruit 1st Company of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 4)
- Unit 53505--A new recruit battalion of this unit is mentioned. (7 Jan 81 p 2)
- Unit 53509--The 1st Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 3)  
 --The New Recruit 3rd Company of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 1)
- Unit 53510--An artillery company of the 2nd Battalion of this unit is mentioned.  
 (7 Jan 81 p 3)  
 --The 3rd Machine Gun Company of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 1)  
 --The New Recruit 5th Company of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 2)
- Unit 53511--The 4th Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 1)  
 --The 1st Battalion of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 2)  
 --The 1st Artillery Company of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 2)  
 --The 70th Fendui of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 3)
- Unit 53512--This unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53513--A logistics department of this unit is mentioned. (25 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53514--The 7th Company of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 2)
- Unit 53515--The 2nd Machine Gun Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 1)  
 --This unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 3)
- Unit 53603--The 2nd Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 3)
- Unit 53607--This unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 6)
- Unit 53609--The 2nd Machine Gun Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 1)
- Unit 53610--The 2nd Artillery Company of this unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)
- Unit 53614--The 2nd Artillery Company of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 3)
- Unit 53807--An antichemical warfare platoon of a special task company of this unit  
 is mentioned. (13 Mar 81 p 2)
- Unit 53808--This unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 6)
- Unit 54001--This unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 1)
- Unit 54066--This unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 2)
- Unit 54102--This unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 1)
- Unit 54105--A machine gun and artillery company of this unit is mentioned. (25 Feb  
 81 p 2)

Unit 54107--The 4th Company of this unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54229--This unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 1)

Unit 54231--A 100mm artillery company of this unit is mentioned. (7 Jan 81 p 3)  
--The 5th Company of this unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54251--This unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 2)

Unit 54256--A guard company of this unit is mentioned. (5 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54257--The 1st Company of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 4)

Unit 54258--The 7th Company of the New Recruit 3rd Battalion of this unit is identified. (11 Jan 81 p 2)  
--A new recruit company of the 2nd Battalion of this unit is mentioned. (11 Jan 81 p 2)

Unit 54259--The 9th Company of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 1)

Unit 54263--The 81st Fendui of this unit is identified. (7 Jan 81 p 2)

Unit 54305--A machine gun and artillery company of this unit is mentioned. (7 Jan 81 p 6)  
--The 8th Company of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 4)

Unit 54409--The 5th Company of this unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54423--The 5th Company of this unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54424--A repair company of this unit is mentioned. (25 Feb 81 p 2)

Unit 54442--This unit is identified. (5 Feb 81 p 1)

Unit 54443--The 15th Company of this unit is identified. (13 Mar 81 p 3)

Unit 54459--The 5th Company of this unit is identified. (25 Feb 81 p 2)

## Biographic Information

Li Wanyu [2621 5502 0151] is identified as deputy chief of staff of an unidentified army headquarters. (25 Feb 81 p 1)

Wang Chengben [3769 2052 2609] is identified as a political commissar of a division of a Guangxi border defense unit. (13 Mar 81 p 2)

Wu Zuochun [2976 4373 2504] is identified as a political commissar of the Ling Ling [7190 7117] Military Subdistrict, Hunan. (25 Feb 81 p 1)

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