SELF-CRITICISM PRODUCES POLITICAL STRENGTH

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[PEOPLE'S DAILY 13 February article by Jen Li-hsin: "Everyone Should Conduct More Self-Criticism"]

[Text] Peking--In some units, the revolutionary mass organizations of two groups have failed after a long time to bring about revolutionary great alliances. Some organizations have split again after forming alliances. An ideological obstacle has been raised because the two groups blame each other and do not engage in self-criticism. The two groups have opposed each other for a long time, thus hindering the implementation of Chairman Mao's latest instructions. This is a result of mischief caused by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism and the existence of malignant "self-interest" in one's mind.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "The two factions should talk less about each other's shortcomings and faults, and instead talk about their own. They should engage in more self-criticism and seek common ground on major questions while reserving differences on minor ones." This latest instruction by Chairman Mao has provided us with a correct policy and a powerful ideological weapon for striking down bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism, for correctly handling relations between the two groups of revolutionary mass organizations, and for realizing, consolidating, and developing the revolutionary great alliance.

Self-criticism is one of the three great working styles of our party and it is a glorious tradition that developed during the protracted revolutionary struggle of our party under the leadership of Chairman Mao. "The conscientious practice of self-criticism is still another hallmark distinguishing our party from all other political parties." Anyone who does not engage in self-criticism can be described as one who has no proletarian party spirit. Engaging in more self-criticism is a manifestation of proletarian spirit.

"They must be modest and prudent and guard against arrogance and impetuosity; they must be imbued with the spirit of self-criticism and have the courage to correct mistakes and shortcomings in their work." This is a one of the requirements advocated by Chairman Mao which successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause must follow. It is also a political virtue which every revolutionary mass organization and every proletarian revolutionary fighter should possess.

By engaging in more self-criticism, we can get rid of bad working styles, maintain close ties with the masses, forever preserve revolutionary youthfulness, and make continuous advances along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Engaging in more self-criticism is a matter of vital importance concerning the prevention of and opposition to revisionism. And it is a question of great importance concerning the cultivation of our younger generation into successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause. At present, whether or not one conducts more self-criticism and uses the proletarian party spirit to conquer bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism to vigorously bring about, consolidate, and develop the revolutionary great alliance and the revolutionary three-way alliance is a rigorous political test determining whether every revolutionary mass organization and every proletarian revolutionary fighter is boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao and closely follows Chairman Mao's great strategic plan.

Engaging in more self-criticism demands that we first adopt a correct attitude toward ourselves. The great proletarian cultural revolution is a magnificent creation unprecedented in history. In this great movement, new things and new questions are emerging one after another. In the extremely sharp and complicated class struggle, it is unavoidable for a revolutionary mass organization or proletarian revolutionary fighter to have shortcomings and commit mistakes of one kind or another. This is quite normal. Adopting the attitude "Only I represent the left," styling oneself "outstanding" and "loo percent correct," regarding oneself as the number one man in the world, and refusing to admit that one has made mistakes are violations of dialectics and manifestations of the theory of combining two into one. In practice, this attitude serves to hinder the progress of our cause.

If a man or an organization fails to apply the principle of dividing one into two, dares not negate what is wrong, and defends everything he does, he is negating himself. If you defend everything you do, isn't it equivalent to defending all the wrong things you have done? Continuing to do wrong things runs counter to the road of Mao Tse-tung's thought and will certainly lead to backwardness.

Engaging in more self-criticism shows that one has strong determination to wage self-revolution and has a high degree of ideological consciousness, and that one is politically strong, hopeful, and far-seeing. Anyone afraid to engage in selfcriticism is afraid to wage self-revolution and afraid to touch oneself to the depths of his soul. This is a result of putting "self-interest' above everything else, and a result of the mischief caused by bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism.

Some people have said: "I joined this organization, and therefore I must speak in favor of this organization." Others have said: "If we make more self-criticism, what shall we do if the other side seizes on our mistakes?" Some people have even referred to making more self-criticism as "washing one's dirty linen in public," "Vacillation," "lack of firmness," "weakness," "compromise," "capitulation," and so on. These erroneous viewpoints are a determination of the lack of proletarian party spirit, of neglecting the interests of the whole, and of the lack of confidence in the cause of the party and in the broad masses of the revolutionary people.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "As soon as communists! shortcomings and mistakes are discovered in their work, they should be corrected. Communists should not be afraid of making self-criticism, and publicly admit their shortcomings and mistakes if they indeed have such shortcomings and mistakes. After having been corrected, the shortcomings would no longer be shortcomings! And mistakes would no longer exist." We should resolutely act according to this instruction by Chairman Mao.

In making more self-criticism, we are also required to adopt a correct attitude toward the masses and unite with the majority of the masses. We must trust the opposite side and have faith in the infinite might of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

We must pay more attention to others' strong points and to one's own weaknesses and overcome one's own weaknesses by acquiring the strong points of others. We must refrain from exposing other people's weak points and let other people expose their own weak points. To seize on others' shortcomings without letting go, to engage in unprincipled factional disputes, to elevate others' shortcomings and mistakes to the level of principle and line, and to stubbornly magnify ordinary differences of opinions and viewpoints to the level of "differences in principle" and "struggle between lines"--are these the work style we communists and proletarian revolutionary fighters should edopt?

We should be on the guard and know that if we persist in factional struggle, the class enemy will use the opportunity to incite one section of the masses to struggle against another so as to split the proletarian revolutionary ranks. This is the main method the bourgeois reactionary line uses in the new situation to resist the proletarian revolutionary line. Ideas, such as fear of making more self-criticism, "losses will be incurred" by refraining from criticizing the other side, refraining from criticizing others "will lower the prestige of one's own organization" and will make one sink into a passive position," are extremely erroneous and must be discarded. The two factions should make more self-criticism and let each side talk about its own shortcomings and mistakes -- this is one revolutionary noble style of work and noble attitude which puts proletarian party spirit above everything else. If both sides apply this method, understand each other, make mutual concessions, and learn from each other, they will be able to establish closer ties sentimentally and units on the basis of Mao Tse-tung's thought. In this way, forming, consolidating, and developing organizationally the revolutionary great alliance can be guaranteed.

Whether or not one dares to make more self-criticism involves a sharp, deepgoing, and acute ideological struggle. This struggle demands that we make revolution in the depths of our souls, use the proletarian "public interest" to defeat bourgeois "self-interest," and use the proletarian party spirit to defeat bourgeois and petty-bourgeois factionalism. To make more self-criticism, we must touch ourselves to the depths of our souls and launch a fierce on the "selfinterest" and factionalism in our minds. In making more self-criticism, we must "bb strict with those who are close to us, be lenient to those who are not close to us; we must fight an offensive battle, a battle of initiative, and attack from a favorable position with the force of a knife splitting bamboo. On no account should two factions wait for the other to act first. Nor should they doubt each other and attack each other. Still less should they engage in bargaining; saying for instance, "if opposite sides make self-criticism to a certain extent or to a certain depth, we will make self-criticism to that same extent or depth."

The situation of the great proletarian cultural revolution is unprecedentedly excellent and is becoming better and better. The wind of spring has reached the Yumen Pass; songs of victory are sung everywhere over China; mountains and rivers in northern China are covered with red; great plans are being made over the Yangtze River.

Through making more self-criticism and further strengthening ideological revolutionization, let us bring about a new upsurge in forming the revolutionary great alliance so as to win an all-round victory in the great proletarian cultural revolution.