

P.L.A. Air Force's Experience in Creative Study and Application of Mao Tse-tung's Thought

The following is a slightly abridged translation of the basic experience in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought as summed up at the recent second congress of activists in the study of Chairman Mao's works held by the air force of the Chinese People's Liberation Army. — Ed.

CHAIRMAN MAO, the great teacher of the proletariat and revolutionary people of the present era, has inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism with genius, creatively and comprehensively and has brought it to a higher and completely new stage, thereby raising the third great milestone in the development of Marxism.

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the powerful ideological weapon for opposing imperialism, revisionism and dogmatism. Dissemination of Mao Tse-tung's thought and establishment of the complete ascendancy of the great thought of Mao Tse-tung throughout China and the world are the major undertaking that concerns the future of the Chinese people and the revolutionary people of the world. This is the basic issue that decides everything. It is precisely on this issue that a protracted and sharp struggle has been going on in China between Marxism-Leninism and counter-revolutionary revisionism. A similarly sharp struggle is developing on this issue on a worldwide scale.

In this struggle that will decide the future of mankind, our respected and beloved deputy supreme commander Comrade Lin Piao, with boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, the great teacher of the proletariat, always follows him closely, holds high the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought, consistently defends the great leader Chairman Mao, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and wages tit-for-tat struggles against the "Left" and Right opportunist lines. By resolutely and actively initiating and energetically promoting the mass movement for the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought throughout the army, Party and nation, he opened the basic way for the masses in their hundreds of millions to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought directly. He has thus made an outstanding contribution to the Chinese and world revolution.

The series of important instructions given by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works aim to guide us to foster boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and to follow Chairman Mao in carrying the revolution through to the end. However, the handful of top Party persons in authority taking the capitalist road, including China's Khrushchov, frantically opposed the invincible thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and did all they could to prevent and sabotage the uniting of Mao Tse-tung's thought with the broad masses.

The struggle between the two diametrically opposed attitudes towards Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought is a struggle to decide which guiding ideology shall be used to build the Party, the army and the nation, and decide which road China and the world will take. In the past few decades this struggle has always been the focus of the struggle in our Party between the proletarian revolutionary line represented by Chairman Mao and the bourgeois reactionary line. It is also the focus of the struggle between the two lines in the present international communist movement.

Only with such a knowledge of this question, can we really understand the great strategic significance of the whole series of policies, principles and methods put forward by Vice-Chairman Lin Piao on the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works. Only in this way can we more consciously study and apply Mao Tse-tung's thought in a creative way, more effectively implement Chairman Mao's latest instructions in an all-round way and be truly loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao. Otherwise, we shall go against the demands of the times, lag far behind and make big mistakes.

In the past few years, particularly during the great proletarian cultural revolution, the basic experience of the air force in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought is to make conscious efforts

to understand and carry out Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's series of policies, principles and methods for the creative study and application of Chairman Mao's works in the light of the struggle between the two lines and to follow the brilliant example of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao in being boundlessly loyal to the great leader Chairman Mao, the great thought of Mao Tse-tung and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao is the highest form of revolutionary integrity of proletarian revolutionary fighters and the basic motive force and purpose in the creative study and application of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(1) To Be Loyal to Chairman Mao, One Must Have the Most Profound Proletarian Feelings For the Great Leader Chairman Mao

Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has pointed out: "The question of attitude to Mao Tse-tung's thought is one of great importance. We should take firm hold of the question of attitude to Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought." To have profound proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao is a manifestation of one's steadfast proletarian stand and high level of proletarian consciousness. One's proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao is the foundation of one's loyalty to Chairman Mao. The more profound one's feelings for him, the firmer is one's loyalty to him.

How can one deepen one's proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao? The main experience gained by the various units of the air force is as follows:

One must continuously raise the level of one's understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and raise one's proletarian feelings of warm love for Chairman Mao to the height demanded by the new era of Mao Tse-tung's thought.

The great leader Chairman Mao pointed out in 1962: **"The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of thoroughgoing change in the social system in the world, an earth-shaking era without comparison in all previous history. Living in such an era, we must be ready to engage in great struggles whose forms will have many features different from those of the past."**

Mao Tse-tung's thought is the sharpest ideological weapon for the struggle in this great era of ours. It is the great banner of this great era of ours. Only Mao Tse-tung's thought is the guarantee that China and other countries that have established the dictatorship of the proletariat can prevent the restoration of capitalism, that the oppressed nations and people can win liberation, and that the people in those countries in which state power has been usurped by revisionism can overthrow revisionist rule and re-establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. Therefore, loyalty to Chairman Mao is the first requirement of the times, the revolution and the interests of the proletariat. Only when we acquire a profound understanding of this

fundamental issue can we raise our proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao to the height demanded by the new era of Mao Tse-tung's thought, and have an infinite love for, faith in and loyalty to the great leader Chairman Mao.

Of primary importance in raising the level of one's understanding of Mao Tse-tung's thought is the study and grasping of Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles, methods and policies on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the acquiring of a deep understanding of their great significance for the Chinese revolution and the world revolution. At the same time, it is necessary to repeatedly study and understand Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's high estimation of Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, and raise our understanding to the height of Vice-Chairman Lin Piao's estimation. The higher the level of one's understanding, the deeper are one's proletarian feelings of warm love for Chairman Mao.

One must deepen one's proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao through participation in revolutionary struggle. Mao Tse-tung's thought has a clear-cut class nature and applicability. Its essential points are criticism, struggle and revolution. A real understanding of Chairman Mao's genius, wisdom, greatness and correctness and the fact that his words are great truths requires that we go among the masses, go among the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers for a long period of time unreservedly and wholeheartedly, and go into the heat of the struggle.

The process of taking part in revolutionary struggle is a process in which one deepens one's proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao. By applying Mao Tse-tung's thought in struggle, every victory one wins and every difficulty one overcomes deepens one's feelings for Chairman Mao.

As far as leading cadres at various levels are concerned, the basic conditions for deepening their proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao are close links with the masses, always being one of them and making revolution with them. The revolutionary masses have the deepest love for Chairman Mao and follow his teachings most faithfully. The closer the links of the leading cadres with the masses, the deeper their feelings for Chairman Mao.

We must get a firm grip on class education and carry out mass activities to foster our loyalty to Chairman Mao and heighten our proletarian feelings for Chairman Mao. During the past year and more, the various units of the air force launched extensive campaigns to carry out class education by recalling the sufferings of the past and contrasting them with the present happiness, and also widespread activities to enhance their loyalty to Chairman Mao, ardent love for him and consciousness in carrying out his instructions and intensify their hatred for the class enemy. These activities enhanced the commanders' and fighters' level of consciousness of boundless loyalty to Chairman Mao.

(2) Loyalty to Chairman Mao Demands That We Never Forget Class Struggle, Never Forget The Dictatorship of the Proletariat, and That We Vigorously Repudiate Revisionism

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"Classes struggle, some classes triumph, others are eliminated. Such is history, such is the history of civilization for thousands of years."** Vice-Chairman Lin Piao has said: "Mao Tse-tung's thought reflects the objective laws of the domestic and international class struggle." "Mao Tse-tung's thought is precisely that of class struggle." The question of class struggle, the question of the proletariat's seizure and consolidation of political power, is the fundamental question of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung's thought. Chairman Mao himself initiated and is leading the first great proletarian cultural revolution in the history of mankind; he has penetratingly disclosed the laws of class struggle in a socialist society, and put forward a whole body of theory, line, principles, methods and policies for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. He has raised the fundamental issue of Marxism—class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat—to a higher stage in both theory and practice.

To be loyal to Chairman Mao and really grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, one must increase one's understanding of class struggle, and, first of all, study and apply well Chairman Mao's great theory on continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and correctly understand and implement Chairman Mao's latest series of extremely important instructions.

To forget class struggle, forget the dictatorship of the proletariat, forget to carry on the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, is to forget the fundamental viewpoint of Mao Tse-tung's thought, to lose one's soul and become muddle-headed.

In never forgetting class struggle, what is of first importance is to learn to use Chairman Mao's method of class analysis to distinguish right from wrong and to distinguish the enemy from ourselves. In observing everything and in analysing everything, we must firmly keep in mind Chairman Mao's teachings and use the viewpoint of classes and class struggle and the method of class analysis.

The outstanding characteristic of class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat is that the main target of the revolution is the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party who wave "red flags" to oppose the red flag. This has created new problems in distinguishing the enemy from ourselves and the situation is complicated. If things are not well handled, it is possible to mistake enemy for friend or vice versa. In these circumstances, strict observance of class analysis in dealing with people and affairs is of special importance. The relationship between man and man is a class relationship, a political relationship. Political

principle must be used as the criterion in judging whom to support and whom to oppose. The criterion is support or opposition to Chairman Mao, support or opposition to Mao Tse-tung's thought and support or opposition to Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line.

In order never to forget class struggle, one must study well Chairman Mao's teachings on the struggle between the two lines, enhance one's understanding of the struggle between the two lines and firmly maintain the proletarian class stand. Vice-Chairman Lin Piao pointed out that the side on which one stands in the actual class struggle is a question of class stand and a question of primary importance to which other questions are secondary.

Since the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party are the main enemy in the class struggle under the dictatorship of the proletariat, class struggle manifests itself in a prominent and concentrated way as the struggle inside the Party between the two lines, namely, the struggle between taking the socialist road and taking the capitalist road. Shorn of the concept of the struggle between the two lines, the concept of class struggle is abstract and not thoroughgoing. Which line to support and carry out in this struggle between the two lines is a question of whom to follow and this is the most fundamental question of stand.

In order never to forget class struggle one must vigorously repudiate revisionism. Chairman Mao has said: **"One of our current important tasks on the ideological front is to unfold criticism of revisionism."** We must fully arouse the masses, have close contact with reality and undertake penetrating revolutionary mass criticism and repudiation, refute and discredit politically, ideologically and theoretically the handful of capitalist roaders in the Party, headed by China's Khrushchov, and thoroughly eliminate their pernicious influence.

In never forgetting class struggle, one must take Chairman Mao's latest instructions as the guide and carry on constant education in the current situation. One can stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line only by using Mao Tse-tung's thought to observe and analyse the complex class struggle, to unify understanding of the situation and to maintain at all times a correct political orientation and a sober mind.

(3) To Be Loyal to Chairman Mao, One Must Maintain the Revolutionary Style of Study Which Chairman Mao Advocates, Apply What One Learns From Mao Tse-tung's Thought and Follow It Step by Step

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that style of study "is a question of the method of thinking of comrades in our leading bodies, of all cadres and Party members, a question of our attitude towards Marxism-Leninism, of the attitude of all Party com-

rades in their work. As such, it is a question of extraordinary, indeed of primary, importance."

Of primary importance in the revolutionary style of study which Chairman Mao advocates is the combining of theory with practice. In studying Chairman Mao's works it is necessary to apply what one learns from them and live up to what one says, so as to get quick results. Whether one applies Chairman Mao's works or not after studying them is a reflection of the two diametrically opposed standpoints of the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, a question of one's class sentiment and basic attitude towards Chairman Mao, and an important criterion for judging whether one is loyal to Chairman Mao or not.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is unprecedented in the history of mankind. New things emerge endlessly. To keep abreast of the situation and carry out the glorious tasks assigned by the great leader Chairman Mao, the most fundamental thing is to follow closely the great strategic plan of Chairman Mao, and study earnestly and apply resolutely his latest series of instructions.

To follow the great supreme commander Chairman Mao closely, we must have a strong proletarian Party spirit. We should have firm faith in Chairman Mao's instructions and resolutely carry out those we understand. As for those instructions which we do not fully understand for the moment, we must also resolutely carry them out and deepen our understanding of them in the course of implementation.

Chairman Mao is the greatest genius and his instructions have far-sighted, scientific foresight. At the outset, we often do not fully understand or have only a very poor understanding of many of his instructions. This shows that our thinking does not conform to or does not fully conform to Mao Tse-tung's thought and that our Party spirit is not very pure. Therefore, it is all the more necessary to stress resolute implementation of these instructions. Only in this way, can we guarantee that we will not go so far as to make mistakes in the matter of general orientation, or that even if we make mistakes, we can quickly correct them.

To closely follow the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, it is necessary to have high revolutionary enthusiasm. We should carry out his instructions with driving spirit and go immediately into action. As soon as Chairman Mao issues an order, we must relay it, study it, understand it thoroughly and carry it out resolutely as speedily as possible and in the most effective way.

To closely follow the great supreme commander Chairman Mao, we must have revolutionary spirit, a scientific approach and a sense of organization and discipline. Chairman Mao's instruction is the supreme command. We should resolutely carry out and do whatever Chairman Mao tells us to do, no matter what the obstacles, difficulties or danger we face. We cannot be deterred even by a mountain of swords and a sea

of flames. We should not do anything he does not sanction.

To follow the great supreme commander Chairman Mao closely, we must have a spirit of strict self-criticism. We must have a correct attitude towards our achievements and mistakes. All our achievements are victories for Mao Tse-tung's thought. The greater our achievements, the more we should face up to our mistakes. In the final analysis, we commit mistakes when we deviate from Mao Tse-tung's thought. If we commit mistakes, we should make serious self-criticism and correct them quickly and thoroughly. With Mao Tse-tung's thought as our guide, we should constantly sum up experience and draw lessons from revolutionary practice. This is an important method for studying and grasping Mao Tse-tung's thought.

(4) To Be Loyal to Chairman Mao, One Must Combat Self-Interest, Foster Devotion to the Public Interest and Carry Forward the Revolutionary Spirit of Being Courageous and Fearless of Death

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us: **"This change in world outlook is something fundamental."**

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a revolution that touches people to their very souls. The deeper it develops, the more deeply does it touch the souls of people, the sharper is the contradiction between the public interest of the proletariat and the self-interest of the bourgeoisie, and the more elevated and more pressing is the demand to destroy self-interest and foster devotion to the public interest. Unless one destroys self-interest, one may be dragged to the side of the class enemy through "peaceful evolution." Only by consciously destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest can we truly be boundlessly loyal to Chairman Mao.

In eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest, attention must be paid first of all to the major issue of one's integrity — one's attitude to Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Always and in all circumstances, we must have firm faith in Chairman Mao and Mao Tse-tung's thought, resolutely carry out his instructions and unswervingly advance along the revolutionary course charted by him. At the same time we should also deal with minor issues of integrity seriously, set strict demands on ourselves, and strive to maintain our integrity in regard to both major and minor issues.

Destroying self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest means establishing the world outlook of serving the people "wholly" and "entirely." In our army, this means rearing and fostering the revolutionary spirit of being courageous and fearless of death, daring to sacrifice one's life for Chairman Mao, Mao Tse-tung's thought and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is a concentrated expression of our boundless loyalty to

Chairman Mao and a height which we must attain in thoroughly remoulding our world outlook. When we achieve this height, we are able to courageously vanquish all enemies on the battlefield; stand firm, fear no force or violence, and prefer death to surrender in the sharp class struggle; and, under dangerous and difficult circumstances, dare to step forward to sacrifice our lives for the public interest or for others.

Establishment of the spirit of dedication to the revolution, characterized by courage and fearlessness of death, entails a fierce battle to destroy the philosophy of survival and the renegade's philosophy advocated by China's Khrushchov, a sharp revolution in our innermost souls, a fierce-fought action in which the public interest of the proletariat wholly overcomes the self-interest of the bourgeoisie. There is a battlefield of class struggle in people's minds, in which proletarian ideas contend with bourgeois ideas for positions and when one kind of idea grows in strength the other weakens. There is no third road. Therefore, we must set ever higher criteria in eliminating self-interest and fostering devotion to the public interest. "Offensive battles" are needed; "peaceful evolution" is what must be guarded against. Compromise and eclectic measures actually pave the way for revisionism.

Chairman Mao's "three constantly read articles" — *Serve the People*, *In Memory of Norman Bethune* and *The Foolish Old Man Who Removed the Mountains* — are the sharpest weapons for eliminating self-interest, fostering devotion to the public interest and making revolution in the depth of our souls. They shine with the brilliance of the communist spirit; they contain the quintessence of the proletarian world outlook, and are the most fundamental required course for proletarian revolutionary fighters. As long as we constantly study and apply them, we will be able to establish in our minds the proletarian world outlook centred on whole-hearted devotion to the public interest, and climb the heights of revolutionary heroism.

(5) To Be Loyal to Chairman Mao, One Must Put Proletarian Politics to the Fore and Ensure That the Great Red Banner of Mao Tse-tung's Thought Is Planted in All Positions

The great leader Chairman Mao teaches us that **politics is the commander, the soul in everything, and political work is the life-blood of all work.** Vice-Chairman Lin Piao says: "We will enable hundreds of millions of people to grasp Mao Tse-tung's thought, ensure that it occupies all ideological positions, use it to transform the mental outlook of the whole of society, and turn Mao Tse-tung's thought, this great spiritual force, into a great material force."

Putting politics to the fore and ensuring that Mao Tse-tung's thought occupies all positions are the requirements for waging class struggle, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing a capitalist restoration, and building our army. Political work takes care of thinking, souls and revolutionization and commands every field of work. The focus of the struggle between the two lines in our army has always been the question whether politics or military affairs should be put to the fore. To persevere in taking the road of giving prominence to proletarian politics means loyalty to Chairman Mao and his thought; to go against that road means betrayal of Chairman Mao and his thought.

Putting proletarian politics to the fore means using Mao Tse-tung's thought to command, guide, transform and push forward everything. This is a process of great ideological revolution, a process full of sharp and complex struggles. Only by mobilizing the masses fully, destroying the old ideas and customs of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes and establishing the complete ascendancy of Mao Tse-tung's thought can this revolution be carried through to the end. Only by doing this, can we ensure that the great red banner of Mao Tse-tung's thought flies high over all fronts.