

# 17

## Opinions and Questions Concerning the Reconsolidation, Revitalization, and Rebuilding of the Party Organization

CCP Center and Central Cultural Revolution Group

*Source:* These opinions and questions (“Guanyu zhengdun, huifu, chongjian dang de zuzhi de yijian he wenti”) were distributed on 2 December 1967 in the form of Central Document *Zhongfa* [1967] 366. Our translation is based on the text reproduced in CCP Central Committee General Office and State Council General Office Joint Cultural Revolution Reception Office, ed., *Wuchanjieji wenhua dageming youguan wenjian huiji* (*Collection of Documents Concerning the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution*), 5 vols. (Beijing, 1967–68), Vol. 5, pp. 138–46.

To all provincial, municipal, and regional Revolutionary Committees (including Preparatory Groups) and Military Control Commissions; Party Committees of military regions and districts:

We are now distributing these “Opinions and Questions Concerning the Reconsolidation, Revitalization, and Rebuilding of the Party Organization” in the hope that you will solicit comments on them and, in order to permit us to revise them, pass on your comments to the Center before the end of the year.

(Distribute down to the county/regiment level.)

### OPINIONS AND QUESTIONS CONCERNING THE RECONSOLIDATION, REVITALIZATION, AND REBUILDING OF THE PARTY ORGANIZATION

The reaction of a vast number of Party members and revolutionary masses to the Party Center’s “Comment/Instruction on the Revitalization of the Regular Activities of the Party Organization in Units that

Have Set Up Revolutionary Committees” was quite positive.<sup>1</sup> Everyone agreed that this directive from Chairman Mao and the Party Center was very timely and very wise, that it expressed concern and care for the vast numbers of Party members, that it was a major event in the political life of the entire Party, and that it was yet another great victory for Chairman Mao’s revolutionary line.

### **1. On Using Mao Zedong Thought to Reconsolidate, Revitalize, and Rebuild the Party Organization**

Comrades have stressed that the resumption of regular activities of the Party organization by no means is a revival of the old ways and old system from before the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Instead, we must hold high the great red banner of Mao Zedong Thought and employ Mao Zedong Thought to reconsolidate, revitalize, and rebuild the Party organization; thoroughly denounce the Liu-Deng revisionist Party-building line; and build our Party into a vanguard organization imbued with vitality, composed of the progressive elements of the proletariat, and capable of leading the proletariat and the revolutionary masses in the struggle against the class enemy. This is the most fundamental principle that absolutely must be observed when reconsolidating, revitalizing, and rebuilding the Party organization.

### **2. On Ideological Work in the Process of Reconsolidating, Revitalizing, and Rebuilding the Party Organization**

In the process of reconsolidating, revitalizing, and rebuilding the Party organization, it is imperative that a good job is done of ideological and educational work among Party and non-Party proletarian cultural revolutionary rebel comrades. Comrades have proposed: (a) conducting Mao Zedong Thought Study Classes wherein the living study and living application of Chairman Mao’s works is employed to raise ideological consciousness and resolve ideological questions; (b) mobilizing the

masses on a grand scale to discuss and modestly listen to the opinions of the proletarian revolutionary rebels, to improve the relationship between the Party and the masses, and to once and for all overcome the notion that Party members are somehow a cut above other people, as well as the notion shared by proletarian revolutionary rebels that Party members will take revenge on them; (c) that those Party members who have committed errors must “combat selfishness and repudiate revisionism” as the key link and conscientiously engage in self-criticism, so as to be forgiven by the revolutionary masses.

### **3. On the Conditions, Scope, and Policy Limits of Reconsolidating, Revitalizing, and Rebuilding the Party Organization**

What are the conditions to be satisfied by a unit prior to the resumption of regular activities by the Party organization?

A majority of comrades are of the opinion that in accordance with the Center’s instructions, all units that have set up Revolutionary Committees or Revolutionary Committee Preparatory Groups may resume the regular activities of the Party organization.

What kind of person should no longer participate in the regular activities of the Party organization?

a. “Those persons who have proven to be renegades or special agents and those who in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution have performed very badly, yet show no remorse whatsoever” should no longer take part in the regular activities of the Party organization.

b. A majority of comrades are also of the opinion that those persons who are suspected of being renegades or special agents but whose cases have not yet been settled should temporarily be excluded from taking part in the regular activities of the Party organization. Once their problems have been resolved, one should decide whether or not to allow them to take part.

c. Party members who have committed serious errors, who have performed very badly in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and against whom the revolutionary masses have major objections, should be excluded from the regular activities of the Party organization for as long as they have not admitted their errors, presented the revolutionary masses with a self-critical examination of their own mistakes, and been forgiven by the revolutionary masses.

<sup>1</sup>CCP Central Document *Zhongfa* [1967] 328 (“Guanyu yijing chenglile geming weiyuanhui de danwei huiyu dang de zuzhi shenghuo de pishi”) issued on 27 October 1967. Reprinted in People’s Liberation Army National Defense University Research Institute for Party History, Party Building, and Political Work, ed., “*Wenhua dageming*” yanjiu ziliao (“Great Cultural Revolution” Research Materials) (Beijing, 1988), Vol. 1, pp. 600–1.

What are the conditions for taking in new Party members? A summary of major shared proposals follows:

a. New Party members should be accepted on the basis of Chairman Mao's five criteria for successors and Vice Chairman Lin's three criteria for selecting and promoting cadres, and while importance should be attached to class background, one should also look at the person's ideological and political performance and whether or not he is loyal to Marxism, to Leninism, to Mao Zedong Thought, and to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line.<sup>2</sup>

b. Performance in the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution: Proletarian revolutionary rebels loyal to Chairman Mao who have come to the fore in the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and who have been tested and tried in the course of the movement may be admitted into the Party.

c. The Party should admit those progressive elements of the proletariat who are imbued with vitality, have a strong proletarian rebel spirit, and who have daringly charged and shattered enemy positions in the class struggle. The Party should admit, in particular, progressive elements from among the workers, poor peasants, and Red Guards. The "docile tool theory" and the notion that "obedience," "hard work," "professional competence," etc., are criteria for admission into the Party must be thoroughly denounced, as must the Liu-Deng Party-building line of not paying attention to proletarian political ideology and revolutionary integrity.

d. Right now there are a number of probationary Party members who have not yet been formally admitted, and those among them who satisfy the criteria and whose time of probation has passed may be admitted into the Party.

On what grounds are members to be thrown out of the Party?

a. Renegades, special agents, and class alien elements are without exception to be thrown out of the Party.

b. Arch-unrepentant counter-revolutionary revisionist elements are to be thrown out of the Party.

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<sup>2</sup>Mao's "five criteria" were that a revolutionary successor should be: (1) truly Marxist-Leninist; (2) determined to serve the people of China and the great majority of the people in the world; (3) able to unite with and lead the proletariat; (4) able to listen to the masses; and (5) willing to criticize himself and to correct mistakes in his work. Lin's "three criteria" were that a good cadre should: (1) hold high the red banner of Mao Zedong Thought; (2) engage in political ideological work; and (3) possess revolutionary vitality.

c. Spiritless and useless Party members totally devoid of revolutionary vitality who simply do not qualify should either be expelled or asked to withdraw from the Party.

d. Persons who have remained probationary Party members for an extended period of time and who do not qualify [as members] should no longer enjoy the status of probationary Party members.

e. In the course of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution movement, in some units, some Party members have been expelled by popular demand. Those who fall within the above categories should remain expelled, while those who do not should—after education and after having been forgiven by the revolutionary masses—have their Party membership reinstated.

#### 4. On the Question of Setting Up Party Nuclei

Most comrades argue that as far as the Party's organizational leadership is concerned, there should within each Revolutionary Committee be a Party nucleus that exercises leadership. At the grass roots level, there should be branches and small groups.

The nucleus must be set up by proceeding from higher to lower levels, through interlevel and inside-outside cooperation, and after ample deliberation and democratic consultation. [Its composition] must be reported to and ratified by higher levels.

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## 18 Instructions on Cracking Down on Counter-Revolutionary Destructive Activities

CCP Center

*Source:* These instructions ("Guanyu daji fangeming pohuai huodong de zhishi") were issued on 31 January 1970 in the form of Central Document *Zhongfa* [1970] 3. Our translation is based on the text reproduced in an official compilation of documents from the Cultural Revolution published in 1981.

Since the Ninth National Party Congress and inspired by our great leader Chairman Mao's great appeal to "heighten vigilance; protect the