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CHINA REPORT RED FLAG

No. 15, 1 August 1981

Translation of the semimonthly theoretical journal of the Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party published in Beijing.

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MAO ZEDONG MILITARY SCIENCE IS FOREVER THE CHINESE PEOPLE'S TREASURE--IN
CELEBRATION OF THE 60TH FOUNDING ANNIVERSARY OF THE CCP AND THE 54TH FOUNDING
ANNIVERSARY OF THE PLA

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 81 pp 2-10

[Article by Fu Zhong [0265 6945]]

[Text] It has been 60 years since the birth of the most loyal and farsighted and the bravest vanguard of the working class--the Chinese Communist Party! One of the immortal contributions made by the Chinese communists to our motherland and the people over the past 60 years was to found and nurture a completely new type of people's army--the Chinese People's Liberation Army. We all know that 1 August 1981 makes the 54th year since this people's army embarked on the brilliant and militant course of struggle.

Under the leadership of the party, the Chinese People's Liberation Army entered the agrarian revolutionary war, the war of resistance against Japan and the war of liberation. It fought successively for more than 20 years and wiped out a total of 11 million domestic and foreign enemies. A new China grew out of the barrel of the people's gun. The disaster-ridden Chinese nation eventually was able to stand on its own feet in the family of nations! Now this army has developed from a ground force into a combined arms unit which includes various armed services armed with self-defensive missiles and nuclear weapons. Just like a great wall of steel, it is defending the independence and security of the motherland as well as the socialist modernization of our country.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary. He was also a world famous great strategist and outstanding military expert. Proceeding from the basic principle of Marxism and our country's national condition, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms created and accumulated abundant and unique experiences which guided the Chinese revolutionary war. After a theoretical distillation, it became a science--Mao Zedong military science. Under its guidance, the Chinese people used armed revolution to defeat the armed counter-revolution and win the final victory.

Mao Zedong military science has played a very important part in the whole scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought. It was a product of combining Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of the Chinese revolutionary war. It is an invincible and correct proletarian military theory and principle which have been

repeatedly proven by war practice over scores of years. It is a comprehensive and complete scientific system. Therefore, it is completely worthy of the name Mao Zedong military science. Mao Zedong military science was named after Mao Zedong. Just like Mao Zedong Thought, it was a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the entire party and army. Many outstanding leaders of our party and army have made important contributions to the growth and development of Mao Zedong military science. Mao Zedong military science was a brilliant achievement of Marxism-Leninism in the military field. Furthermore, it enriched and developed the theory of knowledge of Marxism and dialectics. Mao Zedong military science is our powerful ideological weapon for building and defending our socialist motherland and striving for world peace and progress of mankind.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee highly evaluates Comrade Mao Zedong's theories on the building of a revolutionary army and his military strategy. It points out that Mao Zedong's military thought was his most outstanding contribution to the military theories of Marxism-Leninism. This is a matter of vital importance for us to learn, study, carry out and maintain Mao Zedong military science as well as apply and develop it under the new historical conditions.

Without the People's Army, There Would Be No Liberation of the People or Independence of the Nation

In the mid-19th century, Marx and Engels earnestly hoped that workers would arm themselves to organize an "independent proletarian guard." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 112) After the failure of the Paris Commune, Marx explicitly pointed out: "A proletarian army is the first condition for the proletarian dictatorship." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 2, p 443) In order to defend the newborn Soviet power, Lenin and Stalin organized the Workers and Peasants Red Army and gained the experiences of revolutionary war. However, just as Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out, although the experience of civil war in the Soviet Union led by Lenin and Stalin was of world significance, we should not copy it mechanically. The building of the Chinese revolutionary army and the guidance of Chinese revolutionary war bore their own characteristics which were different from those of the Soviet civil war. In accordance with the real condition in China and the reality of the Chinese revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Zedong founded the army and guided the war.

When our party was in its infancy, it did not realize the importance of organizing an army. During the period of the northern expedition, it had some idea of it, but it was still insufficient. It was only after the failure of the great revolution and learning a bitter lesson that the party truly realized the paramount importance of the revolutionary army. It was Comrade Mao Zedong who profoundly grasped and had a most farsighted view on this subject. When he was investigating the peasant movement in Hunan, he stressed the importance of organizing the armed forces of peasants. When he was in charge of the institutes of peasants' movement in Guangzhou and Wuhan, he paid close attention to military training. After the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the Kuomintang launched a surprise attack and ruthlessly slaughtered the Chinese communists. However, the Chinese communists held high the banner of revolution and carried

out armed resistance. Since the Nanchang Uprising which fired the first shot against the Kuomintang reactionaries, the party successively organized more than a hundred uprisings in various places. At the "7 August meeting," Comrade Mao Zedong maintained that the central authorities should attach importance to military affairs, pointing out: "We should know that political power grows out of the barrel of a gun." After that, he led the Autumn Harvest Uprising in the Hunan-Jiangxi border region and succeeded in leading the army which took part in the uprising to the Jinggang Mountains and establishing the first revolutionary base. In the meantime, he expanded the revolutionary forces in the rural area and pioneered the method of using the countryside to encircle the cities and seizing power by armed force.

In the practice of revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically solved the problems of turning the revolutionary army mostly composed of peasants into a new-type people's army which was of a proletarian nature, and observed strict discipline and maintained close ties with the masses of people. He maintained that to serve the people wholeheartedly was the sole purpose of the army and that our principle was that the party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the party. He formulated the three main rules of discipline and the eight points for attention and stressed the implementation of democracy in the three main fields of politics, economics and military affairs and the principles of unity between commanders and soldiers on the one hand and between the army and the people on the other, as well as other methods of disintegrating the enemy forces. In addition, he put forward and summed up a whole set of guiding principles and methods for political work in the army.

The key to building a people's army lies in maintaining the party's absolute leadership over the army. This is the fundamental method for retaining the proletarian nature of the army. Practice has proved that it is always a matter of great importance, whether in peacetime or war, to implement the responsibility system on the part of senior officers under the collective leadership of the party committee and give full play to the leading role of the unified leadership of the party committee, to the role of the party branch as a fighting bastion and to the vanguard and exemplary role of communists. This is a matter which we should never neglect. We should promote and consolidate the work of our army in various fields through strengthening the leadership and building of our party.

The party's leadership over the army is realized and ensured by political work, which includes the party's organizational and ideological work. History has proved that to turn an army mainly composed of peasants into an armed group which truly shoulders a revolutionary political task, it is necessary to conduct a Marxist and Leninist education so that it will constantly raise its proletarian class consciousness, establish a lofty ideal of communism and raise its awareness of resolutely implementing the program, guiding principles and policies of the party, willingly abide by the strict discipline and unceasingly overcome the ideological influence of petty producers, the bourgeoisie and feudalism. Political work should ensure that the fighting power of the army be constantly consolidated and enhanced so that the broad masses of commanders and soldiers possess the heroic spirit of "fearing neither hardship nor death," devoting oneself to revolution and crushing all enemies.

Comrade Mao Zedong always maintained that "revolutionary political work led by the Communist Party is the lifeblood of the revolutionary army." After nationwide liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong personally instructed that the principle "political work is the lifeblood of our army" should be included in the "rules and regulations of the political work of the Chinese People's Liberation Army." History has proved that political work and the people's army are as indispensable as air and water to life. We should neither abandon nor weaken it. We should follow the correct thesis "political work is the lifeblood of economic work and all other work" stated in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China." Only by vigorously strengthening political work, upholding the four basic principles, building both the high degree of socialist material civilization and spiritual civilization and carrying forward all patriotic spirit and the spirit of making contributions to modernization and hard struggle, can we work with one heart and one mind, surmount every difficulty and strive for the realization of the party's objectives in the new historical period.

After the founding of the People's Republic of China, Comrade Mao Zedong called for strengthening our national defense and building modernized army forces and acquiring modern defense technology which included self-defensive nuclear weapons. We are now following the teachings of the party and Comrade Mao Zedong to strengthen our military training, political work, logistics work and the study of military science. In so doing, we will further enhance our fighting power and gradually turn our army into a powerful and modernized revolutionary army which masters advanced technology, advanced military science. Historical practice has proved: "Without the people's army there would be no people's liberation and national independence." This was the case in the past and it has and will remain so at present and in the future. This is a basic experience paid for with blood, which we must never forget. During the socialist period, the People's Liberation Army is a mighty pillar of the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the proletarian dictatorship. Without such a complete new-type people's army which has close ties with the people, it is impossible to effectively defend our national independence and socialist modernization.

People's War and Its Strategy and Tactics Can Certainly Defeat All Powerful Enemies

"The army and the people are the foundation of victory." "The richest source of power to wage war lies in the masses of people."

Comrade Mao Zedong applied the basic principle of historical materialism-- "history is created by people"--to the revolutionary war and formed a guiding line for the people's war, which regarded the people's army as the mainstay and relied on the masses of people.

The people's revolutionary war in our country was actually a peasants' war led by the proletariat. The party and Comrade Mao Zedong closely linked armed struggle with peasants' agrarian problems. Due to the fact that millions upon millions of peasants owned the land and their rent for land and interest on loans were reduced, they realized, through their own immediate and vital

interests, that the revolutionary war led by the Communist Party was truly for their own liberation. Therefore, they wholeheartedly supported and assisted and took part in the revolutionary war. This was the inexhaustible source of power for the people's war. Extensive and profound political mobilization was the basic condition for carrying out the people's war. Once the masses of people were mobilized, they could engulf the enemy in the boundless ocean. During the years of the war of resistance against Japan, mine warfare, tunnel warfare, sabotage operations and sparrow warfare were the great creation of the masses of people. During the decisive battles in the later stage of the war of liberation, millions upon millions of people delivered grain and ammunition and supported the front. They organized stretcher teams and transport corps, using their shoulders and caravans to carry goods and wounded soldiers. The wheels rolled on and mountains stretched over a thousand li. What a magnificent sight it was! Without the irresistible force of the masses, it was impossible to win the nationwide victory.

Comrade Mao Zedong formulated the system of armed force which combined field army, local armed forces and people's militia. Under the unified leadership of the party, main formations and regional troops were combined. Regular forces and guerrillas as well as people's militia were combined. The armed masses and unarmed masses were also combined. The main forces were ready at all times to shoulder the fighting tasks over the local level and dealt with and wiped out the enemy's regular forces. Working in coordination with people's militias, local armed forces defended the bases and supported the main forces to attack and eliminate local enemies. A dragnet of fighting against the enemy was thus spread.

To develop the people's war and defeat our powerful enemies, we should unite with forces that can be united, form the most extensive revolutionary united front and organize thousands upon thousands into an enormous and powerful revolutionary army. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that the united front and armed struggle were the two basic weapons for defeating the enemy.

War should not be separated from politics even for a single moment. The purely military viewpoint which paid no attention to politics was wrong. The peaceful settlement of the Xian incident and the anti-Japanese national united front jointly formed by the Kuomintang and the Communist Party were a turning point of the situation at that time. After the formation of the united front, the people's armed forces were greatly expanded. During the liberation war, the democratic and revolutionary united front formed by our party and various democratic parties and patriotic personages of various circles was the second battle front in the Kuomintang-controlled area. Chiang Kai-shek was thus surrounded by the whole people. The revolts of the Kuomintang troops and "Beiping-type" as well as "Suiyuan-type" peaceful liberation accelerated the victorious process of the liberation war.

The victory of the people's war in China declared the bankruptcy of the bourgeois theory that weapons alone decided the outcome of war. Comrade Mao Zedong said: Weapons are an important factor in war, but not the decisive factor; it is people, not things, that are decisive. Have historical facts not proved this? The weapons of the Chinese troops were not as sophisticated as those of the Japanese

troops, but it was the Chinese people who won the victory. Chiang Kai-shek's troops armed with modern U.S. weapons were wiped out one division after another by the People's Liberation Army whose weapons were inadequate. Chiang Kai-shek became our "chief of supply corps." On the Korean battlefield, the U.S. ground forces had more tanks and artillery than we did. Besides, the U.S. Air Force and Navy held the upper hand. However, they were defeated by the Chinese and Korean peoples. In the past, when our weapons and equipment were inferior, the people's war was our magic weapon for defeating the enemy; now our weapons and equipment have been further improved and the forms of war have also changed, but we still rely on the people's war to wipe out the aggressors. We should never misunderstand or doubt this. Of course, new situations and new problems are bound to occur in the people's war under the present conditions, which we should consciously study and explore. They are different from the people's war in the past. For instance, with regard to guerrilla warfare, due to the fact that the enemy employs grand tactics and that it is armed with advanced technology and equipment and possesses stronger surveillance and mobilization capabilities, new conditions will occur when the people's guerrilla warfare is carried out. Although the enemy is powerful, it has its own difficulties. Although it is strong, it still has its weak points. The possibility of exploiting its weakness always exists. We can still actively carry out various kinds of guerrilla warfare, attack the enemy's rear bases, undermine its communications apparatus and communications and transportation, cut off its supply lines, tire out, wear down and pin down the enemy. In so doing, we will be able to fight in coordination with the main force.

During the long period of revolutionary war in our country, our enemy was strong and we were weak. During the period of agrarian revolutionary war, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The enemy is strong and the Red Army is weak." When the war of resistance against Japan had just started, we had only 30,000 troops, but we had to face the Japanese aggressor troops armed with sophisticated weapons. When the liberation war had just started, we had only about 1 million troops scattered in a dozen bases, but we had to face 4.3 million Kuomintang troops armed and supported by the U.S. imperialists. When the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea had just begun, our enemy was the U.S. aggressors who dominated the world and possessed atom bombs. However, Comrade Mao Zedong deserved to be called a contemporary giant of the proletariat and the greatest national hero of the Chinese nation. He showed great foresight and dared to struggle and win victory. With brilliant and scientific foresight, he delineated that the enemy was a paper tiger which was outwardly strong, but inwardly weak. He repeatedly told our cadres and soldiers that the small stone of revolution could smash the big water vat of the imperialists and the Kuomintang. He armed the minds of our people and our army with the principle "strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously," so that we were confident of our victory. In the meantime, Comrade Mao Zedong creatively applied Marxist dialectics to the military field and laid down a whole series of the strategies and tactics of the people's war for the weak to defeat the strong. Their characteristics which we usually call the "three general rules" were: quick decisions within a protracted war, offense within strategic defense and exterior lines within strategic interior lines. This was the basic strategic experience of giving play to the strong points and avoiding the weaknesses as well

as making use of advantages and avoiding disadvantages. Concentrating an absolutely superior force to thoroughly wipe out the enemies was the basic method taken by the weak army to defeat its strong enemies. By adopting such a method, our troops succeeded in turning their strategic inferiority into superiority in the battles. During the "second counter-campaigns against encirclement" in the agrarian revolutionary war, we had only 30,000 troops, but we had to cope with 200,000 enemy troops who were 7 times our strength. However, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, we concentrated our absolutely superior force to attack one of the enemy's routes. As a result, we wiped out the greater part of an enemy division and part of another division. After that, we pushed on in the flush of victory and successively won 5 battles and eliminated more than 30,000 enemy troops. In his poem "To the Tune of Yu Jia Ao--Against the Second 'Encirclement' Campaign," Chairman Mao wrote: "In 15 days we have marched 700 li crossing misty Kan waters and green Fujian hills, rolling back the enemy as we would a mat." This was a vivid description of the battle. This was also a successful combination of offense within defense, quick decisions within a protracted war and exterior lines within interior lines. By adopting such a strategy, our troops completely smashed the "encirclement" by a large number of the enemy troops.

Another example was a battle in the liberation war. Chiang Kai-shek concentrated his superior force to attack our bases in Shandong and Shaanxi. Comrade Mao Zedong instructed the south China field army to pretend to fight the enemy for the eastern part of Shandong Province so that the enemy's "right fist" was stretched to the coast of Bohai. In the meantime, he personally directed the northwest field army to hit out in Yulin so that the enemy's "left fist" was stretched to the verge of the desert. In so doing, Chiang Kai-shek's two fists were set far apart and "his chest was exposed." Just at that time, Comrade Mao Zedong ordered the main forces of Liu and Deng to cross the Huanghe River and march toward the Dabie Mountain, just like a dagger thrust at the enemy's chest. The war situation of the whole country was thus changed, reducing the enemy's strategic offense to strategic defense. Thus we turned our strategic defense into strategic offense.

Comrade Mao Zedong was good at correctly changing military strategy as the war developed. He adopted different kinds of warfare--guerrilla warfare, mobile warfare and positional warfare--in light of the changes in the balance of forces between the enemy and ourselves. At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong regarded independent guerrilla warfare as a strategy. It was entirely new in the history of war to regard tactical guerrilla warfare as a strategy. During the liberation war, under the guidance of Comrade Mao Zedong, we adopted the strategy of mobile warfare. In other words, we advanced or retreated in big strides and wiped out the enemy's effective strength. During the later stage of the war to resist the U.S. aggressors and aid Korea, we adopted the strategy of active defense to carry out positional warfare mainly by making use of tunnels. Working in cooperation with the Korean people and army, we battered the enemy, forcing the United States to agree to a truce. During the war, Comrade Mao Zedong appropriately adopted different kinds of strategy in light of local conditions so that we could give full play to our advantages and exploit the enemy's weakness.

While commanding our troops in a war, Comrade Mao Zedong always adopted a flexible strategy and avoided sticking to one pattern. His basic principle was to tie down the enemy but never let the enemy hinder us from attacking. He directed military operations with miraculous skill and devised strategies from a command tent. He not only directed our powerful troops with high proficiency, but also subdued our enemy. During the Long March, Comrade Mao Zedong personally directed the battle of "crossing the Cheshui River on four occasions" and our troops penetrated and cut up the enemy forces. When the enemy thought that we were marching toward the east, we outflanked it from the west. When the enemy thought that we were crossing the river, we gave it a back thrust from the east. In so doing, we puzzled the enemy and kept it constantly on the run. When the enemy was building blockhouses to check us crossing the Changjiang River from the north, our troops suddenly turned back to Guizhou from the south, crossing the Wujiang River and pressing up to Guiyang. Chiang Kai-shek, who was "supervising operations" in Guiyang, was compelled to move troops from Yunnan to protect him. Therefore, the main forces of the Red Army directed by Comrade Mao Zedong headed directly for Yunnan and passed the province to march northward. The superb art of military command in making a feint to the east and attacking in the west and defeating the opponent by a surprise move was extolled as a great success of Comrade Mao Zedong. During the war of liberation, Comrade Mao Zedong commanded our army to take the initiative and withdraw from Yanan, while he himself persisted in staying in northern Shaanxi and contended with the enemy using his "mushroom" tactic. Comrade Mao Zedong once remarked humorously: I am a piece of meat and I can attract Hu Zongnan and his swarm of flies. Under the wise command of Comrade Mao Zedong, our army finally annihilated with only inferior forces the crack troops of the Chiang army under Hu Zongnan's command, thus laying a solid foundation for liberating the northwest region.

Comrade Mao Zedong theorized the successful military strategies of our army in the protracted fighting against the enemies at home and abroad and summed them up into 10 major military principles. These principles played a very significant guiding role in the rapid ultimate victory in the war of liberation.

As was pointed out by Comrade Ye Jianying: "The idea of fighting strategically decisive battles is a significant integral part of Comrade Mao Zedong's complete military science." When the war of liberation entered its third year, and without missing the opportunity, Comrade Mao Zedong organized the three major campaigns of Liaoxi-Shenyang, Huai-Hai and Beiping-Tianjin and commanded the PLA in waging strategically decisive battles against the KMT army. Our army followed the instructions of Comrade Mao Zedong and achieved great success. In the Liaoxi-Shenyang campaign, it adopted the combat principle of bolting the door behind and beating the dog, "ignoring the enemy troops in Changchun and Shenyang and concentrating its forces against the enemy troops in Jinzhou, Yulin and Tangshan." In the Huai-Hai campaign, it adopted the principle of annihilating the enemy's main force north of the Changjiang River. In the Beiping-Tianjin campaign, in order to attract the enemy forces in Beiping and Tianjin so that they would not make the decision to flee by sea, it adopted the principle of "encircling without attacking" or "blocking without encircling." The great victories in the three major campaigns were victories of Comrade Mao Zedong's idea of fighting strategically decisive battles.

Seeking Truth From Facts--the Axis of Mao Zedong Military Science

When we make a comprehensive observation of Comrade Mao Zedong's systematic theory on the building of the people's army, carrying out the people's war and employing strategy and tactics in a flexible way, and when we make a comprehensive observation of Comrade Mao Zedong's great practice in leading the revolutionary war for several decades and the birth and course of development of Mao Zedong military science, we can clearly see that seeking truth from facts is the most important axis running through his military science. Seeking truth from facts is his concentrated and conspicuous demonstration of employing and developing the theory of knowledge and dialectics of Marxism-Leninism in the military field and is the quintessence and living spirit of Mao Zedong military science. As the objective situation changes in the future, we have to revise or use new conclusions to replace certain military principles and methods of fighting formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong under particular conditions in the past. However, the stand, viewpoint, methods and the ideological line of seeking truth from facts based on dialectical materialism and historical materialism have the greatest vitality running through Mao Zedong military science. They are like the sun and moon in the sky and will remain fresh forever. We have mentioned that Mao Zedong military science is forever the Chinese people's treasure and they are the most valuable parts of the treasure.

What is seeking truth from facts? Comrade Mao Zedong gave an incisive explanation during the Yanan rectification campaign. He said: "Facts" exist objectively, "truth" means their internal relations and "to seek" means to study. We should derive from them, as our guide to action, laws that are inherent in them and not imaginary. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee also points out: "Seek truth from facts. This means: proceed from reality and combine theory with practice, that is, integrate the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution."

The formation and the course of development of Mao Zedong military science itself is a course of strictly proceeding from reality, closely combining theory with practice and closely integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolutionary war. Comrade Mao Zedong employed the stand, viewpoint and methods of Marxism-Leninism, followed the line of dynamic theory of knowledge as a reflection of reality in accordance with dialectical materialism, carried out meticulous and systematic investigations and study, and painstakingly and carefully pondered over the abundant direct experiences of the Chinese revolutionary war (including both successful and unsuccessful experiences), namely the perceptual materials. He eliminated the dross and selected the essential, discarded the false and retained the true, proceeded from one point to another and from outward appearance to inner essence, and modified them. In this way, the perceptual knowledge leaped into rational knowledge and was subsequently raised to the level of theory. He used the theory in the practice of guiding the war and tested it through practice. He then continued to sum up the new practical experience from war and further enriched and raised the level of his military theory. Through this recurring process, the

theory became more and more correct and profound and could more comprehensively reflect the objective law of war. Comrade Mao Zedong's military theory, which was based on his scientific summation of the practice of the protracted war and was tested in the practice of war, is in complete accord with the "scientific abstraction" noted by Lenin. Therefore, it can objectively instead of subjectively, comprehensively instead of one-sidedly and essentially instead of superficially reflect the law of Chinese revolutionary war.

The scientific approach of seeking truth from facts was followed and manifested in the course of the shaping and development of Mao Zedong military science. To study, uphold, inherit and develop Mao Zedong military science, we, too, have to keep to this scientific approach. If we only learn the superficial meaning of the words of each principle or concept, we will never learn the essence and truth, or, the living soul, conveyed between principles and concepts. Some comrades are worried about their lack of combat experience. This, indeed, is not necessary. Comrade Mao Zedong himself went through the process from understanding nothing to understanding something and then from understanding something to understanding quite a lot in military affairs. If we follow Comrade Mao Zedong's example of sticking to the principle of seeking truth from facts, in constantly practicing and making investigation and study and in assiduously studying and digging into what we study, we will certainly be able to learn warfare from peacetime training and other military work and, once war breaks out, we will learn warfare from warfare.

Comrade Mao Zedong's concept of seeking truth from facts in directing military affairs has profound significance in many aspects.

First of all, he strictly proceeded from the practical condition of our country while formulating military strategy.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Fully understanding the condition of China is the fundamental basis for understanding all problems of the revolution." Of course, this is also the fundamental basis for studying the laws of the revolutionary war in China and for formulating military strategy and tactics for our army.

According to Comrade Mao Zedong's teachings, to persist in seeking truth from facts, we have to study not only the universality of contradictions in objective things, but, more importantly, their particularity. We have to study not only the particularity of the contradiction in the movement of an objective thing as such but, in in-depth study, the particularity of the contradictions in given stages of the development of things. At all times, we have to concretely analyze the specific conditions and study and direct warfare in view of the specific time and place.

Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed that we have to study not only the laws of war of a general nature but, in particular, revolutionary war and the still more particular Chinese revolutionary war. We must study the summed-up experiences in warfare by ancient and contemporary people. However, we must verify these conclusions through our own experience, absorbing what is useful, rejecting what is

not useful and adding in what is special of our own. Comrade Mao Zedong waged a persistent and resolute struggle against the erroneous tendency of making Marxism a dogma and deifying foreign experience in military affairs just as he did in political affairs. He opposed both foreign and local dogmas. He opposed both the mechanical copying of the laws of the civil war in the Soviet Union and the application of the military regulations of Chinese reactionary governments in a procrustean manner. Even our own very successful experience should be altered as the objective conditions and our missions change. Comrade Mao Zedong said in 1958: The 10 cardinal principles of military operation can be applied at present and in many instances in the future. However, Marxism is not stationary but developing as time goes by. So the 10 cardinal principles of military operation will have to be supplemented and developed and some of them revised in the light of the practical condition of war in future. In short, Comrade Mao Zedong's famous, concise, yet comprehensive saying "have the particularity and its development in mind" contains very profound Marxist philosophy. It is the fundamental principle for seeking truth from facts and directing war. We should make it a maxim in doing military work, thoroughly understand it and determinedly apply it.

In order to seek truth from facts in directing a war, it is necessary to follow Comrade Mao Zedong's Marxist theory on knowledge which he elucidated in his article, "On Practice." It is essential to try our best to ensure that the subjective direction of a war corresponds to the constantly changing objective realities of both the enemy and ourselves. There is absolutely no consideration for personal feelings in a war. Whoever acts in defiance of the principle of "making the subjective correspond to the objective" will be punished by blood immediately.

To know the enemy and yourself is the fundamental way to solve contradictions between the subjective and the objective in a war. In conducting a war, we must firmly regard investigations and studies as the first step in directing battles. We must neither exaggerate the enemy's strengths and superiority nor belittle its shortcomings and inferiority. We must oppose the tendency to ignore the enemy's superiority in certain areas and, at the same time oppose any tendency to be overawed by the ferocious enemy. We must also adopt a clear-cut stand among ourselves. We must realize our own shortcomings as well as our strengths. When the situation or the balance of strength between the enemy and ourselves changes and when a war or campaign enters a new stage of development, we should make timely changes in our strategy and tactics. Because both sides in a war or a battle are composed of living human beings bearing arms, keeping their secrets from each other and making false moves to confuse each other, the phenomenon of war is more elusive and is characterized by greater uncertainty than any other social phenomenon. It is extremely difficult to make subjective direction correspond entirely to the objective situation in a war. However, we must strive to achieve a basic conformity between the two. This means that those elements which play a decisive role in a campaign or battle should conform to each other. Only in this way will we lay the foundation for victories.

In order to solve the contradiction between the subjective and the objective in fighting a war, a campaign must be carried out in the war from beginning to end. Continuous efforts must be made to examine and revise the original military plans

throughout the course of the ever-changing military operation. Whenever it is discovered that the subjective direction does not correspond, or corresponds only in part, to the objective situation, we must demonstrate the courage to resolutely make timely changes. Anyone who does not understand the need for such changes or is unwilling to make them, and who acts blindly, is bound to fail.

Utilizing the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge, Comrade Mao Zedong systematically described the source of a commander's correct thinking in directing war and what form it takes. In his article, "Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," he wrote: "A commander's correct disposition stems from his correct decisions, his correct decisions stem from his correct judgments, and his correct judgments stem from a thorough and necessary reconnaissance and from analyzing and piecing together various kinds of data gathered from reconnaissance." The commander employs all possible and necessary methods of reconnaissance, analyzes the information gathered about the enemy's situation, takes his own conditions into account and then makes a study of both sides and their interrelations. Through this process, he forms his judgments, makes up his mind and works out his plans. This is the sequence and the complete process of assessing a situation which a military commander goes through before he formulates a strategic plan, a campaign plan or a battle plan. Under no circumstances should we reverse such an order, particularly since a modern war is highly mobile and the military situation may undergo myriad changes in the twinkling of an eye. It is extremely difficult to know the enemy and to know yourself. This calls for even greater efforts on our part to achieve this. In ordinary times, we should also make full preparations for this and we should make strenuous efforts to conduct systematic and careful investigations and studies of the military, political, economic, cultural and other situations of the enemy and fraternal units as well as our own situation.

Comrade Mao Zedong applied the dialectical-materialist theory of knowledge to war and completely placed our army's art in directing war on a scientific basis. There is an erroneous saying among some comrades--which we have already refuted--that holds that the serious accidents in economic construction in the past, which were caused by the arbitrary issuance of subjective orders, resulted from the adoption of the same methods used for giving battle commands when giving directions for construction. Those comrades who support such sayings apparently fail to understand that our army is most scientific and realistic in directing war and in opposing rashness and foolhardiness.

To direct a war by persistently seeking truth from facts according to Comrade Mao Zedong's teaching, we fully respect the objective conditions and refrain from becoming "armchair strategists." Nor should we depend on wishful thinking. We should fight no battle unprepared, fight no battle we are not sure of winning; make every effort to ensure victory in the given set of conditions as between the army and ourselves, and oppose impetuosity and military adventurism. However, we must not regard our efforts to respect objective conditions as an excuse not to bring into full play our subjective dynamic role. Comrade Mao Zedong emphatically pointed out more than once: "In their endeavor to win a war, those who direct war cannot overstep the limitations imposed by the objective conditions; within those limitations; however, they can and must play a dynamic

role in striving for victory." He also pointed out: "It is a human characteristic in war." It was also on the stage built upon objective conditions that, in war, Comrade Mao Zedong himself directed the performance of one live drama after another, full of sound and color. Going into battle with a relatively weak force against the stronger enemy, he directed our army to strategically "pit one against ten" and tactically "pit ten against one." He turned strategic inferiority into a superiority in a campaign or battle. This is an important point in the dynamic role in war.

In explaining Comrade Mao Zedong's art in directing military affairs, Comrade Ye Jianying often cited the story about Sun Bin's advice to Tian Ji, a general of the state of Qin on chariot races to show the dynamic role in war.

Tian Ji bet heavily on races between his chariots and those of the young lords of Qi. Sun Bin saw that the three sets of teams were well matched. Seeing this, Sun Bin said to Tian Ji: "Bet heavily. I shall see that you win." Taking him at his word, Tian Ji bet a thousand gold pieces with the king and lords. Just before the race started, Sun Bin said: "Now, run your worst team against their best, your best against their second-best and your second-best against their worst." After three races, Tian Ji lost one race but won the two others, getting a thousand gold pieces from the king. After this, he recommended Sun Bin to King Wei, who consulted him on military theory and then made him his chief of staff. (Sun Zi: "Biography of Wu Qi")

This story from the "Historical Records" vividly and metaphorically explains that to defeat a superior force with an inferior force, we cannot rely on foolhardiness; we must depend on planning with a scientific approach. Despite the fact that the practice of bringing the subjective dynamic role into full play is inevitably limited by objective conditions, we will open up vast vistas in giving full play to our subjective dynamic role--just as the ancient saying goes: "Ingenuity in varying tactics depends on mother wit"--as long as we comprehensively and fully understand the objective situation and pay attention to objective laws. On the other hand, we will never be able to make a good move in a chess game if we fail to take the entire situation into account. Mao Zedong military science has properly and highly appraised the subjective dynamic role, and dialectically elucidated the relations between objective conditions and the subjective dynamic role. Not only does it not run counter to materialism, it has also avoided the practice of mechanical materialism and upheld dialectical materialism.

As far as giving guidance in a war is concerned, to persist in seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality in doing everything is the only correct way to have a good grasp of the law of the unity of opposites, which is the very core of Marxist dialectics. In a war, the strong and the weak, the big and the small, the attacker and the defender, the winning side and the losing side, the side with the initiative and the side thrown into a passive position as well as the concentration or the dispersion of the forces used, and so on, all represent a unity of the opposites that tend to transfer themselves and reverse with each other. To guard against adventurism when on the offensive, against conservatism when on the defensive and against flightism when on the move are the basic strategic and

tactical principles worked out by Comrade Mao Zedong by applying the law of the unity of opposites. When there are more than two different contradictions, the way to handle them as stressed by Comrade Mao Zedong is to be good at grasping the main contradiction. Specifically, this means to pay attention to the use of the forces. In other words, it is necessary to concentrate the forces and guard against egalitarianism. He said that concentration of the forces appears to be easy, but it is not when it comes to actually doing it. Everyone knows that the best way to win victory is to use more forces than the other side. But many people cannot achieve this. The reason is that they do not have a strategic mind and adopt a perfunctory attitude as one who allows himself to be dominated by the circumstances. This makes it clear that when we are not good at analyzing the contradictions and fail to have a good grasp of the main one, or the key, we will be confused and at a loss for what to do and it would be impossible for us to guide the war to victory in the manner of seeking truth from facts.

To seek truth from facts is also of utmost importance to building the people's army, just as it is to providing guidance in a war. When offering his incisive exposition of Comrade Mao Zedong's concept of seeking truth from facts in the all-army political work conference held in June 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping pointed out emphatically that it is necessary to proceed from reality both in doing the army's political work and in army-building as a whole. We said that it is necessary to pay attention to analyzing the new situation and solving the new problems emerging under the new historical conditions, to decide on the principles for our work in accordance with the actual conditions instead of acting in the manner of "an office handling incoming and outgoing documents" to simply copy and convey the messages transmitted from above, and to carry out work in a creative way by combining the instructions of the central authorities or instructions from other superior authorities with the actual conditions in our own units.

The major military works written by Comrade Mao Zedong contain a wealth of penetrating philosophical concepts of Marxism. As has been noted in the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," Comrade Mao Zedong's important works on the question of the Chinese revolutionary war represent the most brilliant examples of applying and developing the Marxist theory of knowledge in the course of practice. In concept, we must more clearly understand that Comrade Mao Zedong's philosophical works are not limited only to such articles as "On Practice" and "On Contradiction." "On Correcting Mistaken Ideas in the Party," "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in Guerrilla War Against Japan," "On Protracted War" and "Problems of War and Strategy" and other military works are also important philosophic works of Marxism written by Comrade Mao Zedong.

In 1935, after the Red Army reached northern Shaanxi in its Long March, Comrade Mao Zedong delved into the study of philosophy, despite his busy schedule, in an effort to find theoretical answers to the extremely complex problems facing China's revolution at the time. He told us on many occasions that one important condition for winning victory is to study theory. He also said: My advice to you, comrades, is to study philosophy. Marxism encompasses several schools of knowledge, but what is fundamental in it is Marxist philosophy. We should regard

the study of philosophy as a matter of importance not to be neglected if we are to push revolution and construction forward.

Mao Zedong Thought, which is the outgrowth of the collective struggle of the party and the people, has educated one after another generation of us. It will remain the guiding thought of our party in the future. By the same token, Mao Zedong military science, which likewise is an outgrowth of the collective struggle, is a valuable spiritual wealth of the people of our country. It will continue to guide our actions for a long time in the future. Furthermore, its significance and role will far exceed the military field.

Mao Zedong military science has displayed its tremendous might in China's revolution. This historical fact fully demonstrates that our party has the ability to solve the most complex and difficult problem in the revolutionary war and the superb art of military command with which we can change from an inferior to a superior position. Comrade Mao Zedong has left this world forever. Now the glorious duty to inherit and develop Mao Zedong military science has been passed onto our shoulders. In the new historical period in which we will carry on our cause and forge ahead, as long as we assiduously study Comrade Mao Zedong's military theory of materialism and military dialectics and see that Mao Zedong military science is passed on from generation to generation, we surely will be able to use our relatively inferior equipment to prevail over a relatively superiorly equipped enemy in any future war against aggression.

The basic principles and scientific methods of Mao Zedong military science will never become outdated. We must unswervingly affirm its scientific value, seriously study it, inherit it and apply it at all times. Of course, we must study Mao Zedong military science in such a way that it is accurately and comprehensively understood. We must adopt the scientific attitude of seeking truth from facts and persist in the method of combining theory with practice, instead of mechanically copying isolated phrases or words or ready-made formulas. The important thing is to use "the arrow" of Mao Zedong military science to shoot at "the target" in the war against aggression in the future, strive to use its stand, viewpoints and methods to study the new situation and solve the new problems emerging in the course of national defense modernization--the many new problems emerging from a future war against aggression in particular--and strive to sum up the new experience expected in the course of new practice, so as to enrich and develop Mao Zedong military science with new principles and new conclusions that conform with the reality. We should not neglect the need to study Mao Zedong Thought and Mao Zedong military science simply on the grounds that Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. Nor should we doubt or play down the role of Mao Zedong military science just because the development of modern military technology has brought about such new conditions as the emergence of guided missiles and nuclear weapons. However the types of weapons may change, however the forms of war operations may change, we must always uphold the basic principles of Mao Zedong military science, particularly the dialectical materialistic and historical materialistic concepts and the principle of seeking truth from facts contained in it.

Modern military science and military technology is changing and developing with each passing day. If we are blind to this new situation, we would be practicing conservatism militarily. This would only bring about backwardness in our military science and technology and such backwardness would mean nothing else but taking a beating. Therefore, we must keep our eyes wide open, strive to learn and study the achievements made in modern military science, attach importance to the accomplishments made in new military technologies and practically enhance our efforts in investigating and studying the military situations of foreign countries. We must understand and learn from both positive and negative experiences gained by foreign countries in the military field. In short, we should "make foreign things serve China" and be good at absorbing the good things of foreign countries and at developing and creating the new things of our own.

At present, the world has become even more turbulent and uneasy. The factors of war are continuously increasing and the danger of war remains. The whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities of the whole country must maintain a high degree of vigilance and pay attention to military matters. For this reason, we must particularly cherish Mao Zedong military science and make efforts to study and understand it. It is the powerful ideological and theoretical weapon with which to strengthen the national defense, build a modernized revolutionary army and win victory in a future war against aggression. It will forever remain the treasure of the people of our country in defeating and prevailing over the enemy.

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FOUR UNFORGETTABLE MONTHS--REMINISCENCES OF COMRADE SHAOQI IN SHANDONG

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[Article by Xiao Hua [5135 5478]]

[Text] I have in my hands a frayed clothbound "study notebook," its 230 pages filled with about 200,000 Chinese characters. On the title page is a solemn picture of Marx. This notebook contains the notes that I took down in the course of work and study from 1941 to 1942. It provides a true record of what Comrade Liu Shaoqi said at the base in Shandong in 1942 in his talks with the leading comrades of party, government, military and civil organizations of Shandong, and it contains detailed information about a series of political reports made by him. It recorded Comrade Liu Shaoqi's acts of unswerving loyalty to the revolution and his outstanding contributions to Marxist-Leninist theory. Fortunately, this notebook, stained by the acrid smoke of gunfire in the war of resistance against aggression, was not burned during the 10 years of turmoil. Every time I pick it up I feel like I'm holding a ball of fire. As I turn the pages of this notebook of crude paper, with some of its characters fading in color--tracing history--I conjure up the affectionate expression of Comrade Liu Shaoqi and relive the fiery years of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression.

I

In the great war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Shandong was an important base of our party in the enemy's rear area and an important link between north China and the base in central China. The Yimeng Mountain area was also our base for dogged guerrilla fighting in the plains of northern Jiangsu, western and northern Shandong, posing a direct threat to the enemy's artery linking northern and southern China--the Tianjin-Shanghai Railroad--and his coastal traffic. It was a steel blade aimed at the back of the Japanese aggressors.

In a wicked attempt to swallow up the Chinese nation, Japanese imperialism started invading Shandong on a large scale from October 1937. From 1939, it stepped up its "mopping-up operations" in number and scale against our Shandong base and our anti-Japanese armed forces. In 1941 and 1942, there were over 70 "mopping-up operations," each involving over 1,000 Japanese renegades. There were also 9 operations, each involving over 10,000 of them. Owing to the

influence of Wang Ming's rightist capitulationist line, some leading comrades of the then Shandong Bureau lacked a clear understanding of certain major issues of principle. They were not keen on implementing our party's guideline calling for acting independently--with the initiative in our own hands--and establishing bases in the enemy's rear area. This resulted in our anti-Japanese bases being nibbled at and reduced in size. The enemy surrounded our bases at over 2,400 points. Our base in southern Shandong (the Baodugu Mountains area) was reduced to a narrow position which was "over 10 li wide from north to south" and which stretched like a "line from west to east." Our other areas were also divided up. At that time, our Shandong base, like other bases, faced the most critical period in the anti-Japanese war.

Confronted with this situation, Comrade Luo Rongheng, who was in charge of the 115th Division, was unusually anxious. On the one hand, he did all he could to turn the tide. On the other hand, he cabled the central authorities about the situation in Shandong, requesting that someone be dispatched to Shandong to take charge and help the Shandong Bureau solve the series of problems existing within the party.

Having regard for the importance of the matter and the magnitude of the task involved, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong appointed Comrade Liu Shaoqi, who was on his way back to Yanan from the New Fourth Army, to go to Shandong to tackle the problem on behalf of the central authorities. In mid-February 1942, Liu Shaoqi left northern Jiangsu. Braving biting winds and trudging along icy trails, he found his way through multiple enemy blockades to Shandong. In the first part of March, Comrade Liu Shaoqi arrived at the headquarters of the 115th Division in Zhufan village, Donghai County. He immediately set to work feverishly.

With the complicated situation, ruthless fighting and trying circumstances, some comrades at that time became lethargic and worried about the future. How to cope with the prevailing situation and how to persist in struggle under difficult conditions--this was the acute problem confronting everyone. Farsighted and outstanding Comrade Shaoqi took full note of this. Whether in his individual talks with comrades or in any report he gave, he made a point of using revolutionary dialectics to analyze the situation involving the enemy and ourselves and of using the revolutionary spirit of optimism to arouse the comrades' fighting will, so that they could have firm faith in fighting the enemy and confidence in victory.

In my "study notebook," I recorded how, on many occasions, Comrade Shaoqi inspired comrades by recounting the history of our army, which had persisted in struggle and grown in size and strength. At that time, Comrade Shaoqi made a review as follows: In the past, the New Fourth Army in the south doggedly fought a guerrilla war for 3 years. Many people then never thought that there would be much hope of founding a new China. Nor did they dare to look forward to all that several hundreds or several thousands of people could achieve by fighting. But, given a sudden change in the international and domestic situations, and the outbreak of the Lugouqiao [Marco Polo Bridge] incident, those guerrillas, carrying weapons of all sizes and shapes and wearing worn and torn clothes, rushed

down from the mountains to form the impressive New Fourth Army. The same was true of the growth of the Eighth Route Army. When the central Red Army first arrived in north Shaanxi after the 25,000-li Long March, it had only a little over 6,000 persons left. However, our party adopted a Marxist line and strategy. It correctly handled the "12 December" Xi'an incident, promoting cooperation for the second time between the Kuomintang and the Chinese communists. As a result, the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border area was consolidated and expanded, enabling the Red Army to enter a new stage of development. Comrade Liu Shaoqi cited these examples in order to let the comrades, especially the leading comrades, know that we should not let the prevailing difficult situation blind us. Come hell or high water, we had to stick it out over these 2 most trying years. He explicitly told the comrades: Japanese imperialism is a decadent force. It is extremely reactionary. It has an extremely narrow and weak social base in our country. It has no future and is heading for ruin. This is the law governing the development of things. However, history tells us that imperialism of any kind will not be reconciled to its doom. Therefore, we must add to the strength of the people and draw on their strength to send imperialism to the grave. Shandong and the whole base in the enemy's rear area will be the grave for Japanese imperialism. Our struggle must "not be stopped halfway. If we have no rice for food, we can feed on grass, even for 2 years. So long as the green mountains remain, we need not worry about firewood." "Even if we have only several hundred people or several villages left, we can never take these positions lightly. All of them are the foundation for our future development." "We are neither pessimistic nor disappointed. We refuse to lay down our weapons or lose heart. Whatever the reverses and whatever the difficulties, they are only the darkness before the dawn. Dawn will come soon." At this point, Comrade Shaoqi briskly waved his hand, his cheeks shining with the glow of health. As the comrades fixed their gaze upon him, they felt as if they were focusing their eyes on a blazing torch--suddenly enlightened and charged all over with the courage and energy needed to persist under trying circumstances.

After strengthening our confidence in the struggle against the enemy, we must also study the strategy and tactics of how to persist in struggle and how to effectively cope with the enemy's gaining the upper hand. Comrade Shaoqi pointed out: We must take Comrade Mao Zedong's "On Protracted War" as a powerful ideological weapon. We must not only work at the base but also in the enemy-occupied area. He believed that the greatest weakness of the enemy in Shandong or in its rear area was its lack of military strength, or the scattered state of its armed forces. This gave us an opportunity to conduct various forms of guerrilla warfare behind the enemy lines. He called on the comrades to find truth in ordinary things, arouse themselves and deal a fatal blow to the Japanese aggressors.

In analyzing the struggle situation in Shandong, Comrade Shaoqi explicitly pointed out that a comparison of triangular strength among the enemy, the die-hards and ourselves showed that we were still in a fairly disadvantageous position. Considerable difficulties were still being encountered in expanding certain bases (such as Huxi and southern Shandong). One of the most important factors causing such difficulties was that some leading comrades subjectively lacked the strategic foresight of Marxism. In the 4 years of struggle against

the diehards, they had proved themselves to be slow-thinking and inactive, letting slip a number of opportunities that could have been seized to grab the historic opportunity to gain the upper hand over the diehards. Thus, many golden opportunities were thrown away. After citing repeated examples of good opportunities being missed, Shaoqi expelled a long sigh: "We should miss no chance. Opportunity knocks but once. Historic opportunities are hard to come by. Every time such an historic opportunity appears, its duration is only several weeks or several months. Despite its brief duration, it often affords us a chance to accomplish what otherwise we could not accomplish in many years. However, when given such a rare opportunity, we often take things easy and do nothing until it is too late."

Comrade Shaoqi repeated Comrade Mao Zedong's instructions in a very stern tone: "The present policy of an anti-Japanese united national front does not mean that unity is a negation of struggle or that struggle is a negation of unity. Instead, it is a policy combining unity and struggle." In our approach to anticommunist diehards, we must doggedly carry out the guideline: "If people make no trouble for us, we will leave them alone. If people disturb us, we will not let them get off." He told the comrades: The policy of a united front is a class policy. Chiang Kai-shek also has his bourgeois united front policy. If we were to equate a united front policy with something transcending a class, this would be a serious mistake. Why did the great revolution in 1927 fail? This was because Chen Duxiu and others gave up their leadership over the revolution. They did not know or understand what the Kuomintang and the Kuomintang government represented. They did not wage a persistent struggle against bourgeois reactionaries. They did not understand that armed struggle was the main form of China's revolutionary struggle. This accounted for the failure of the first civil revolution. Then Comrade Shaoqi reminded everyone of the lesson from the South Anhui incident. He pointed out: "We must stress the independence of the party and the army politically. Concerning the united front, we must combine unity with struggle. Only by persisting in struggle can unity be consolidated. By stressing only unity and not struggle, we will forfeit the stand of the party and the class. We will not be mentally prepared for unexpected events and will lose independence in political thinking. The failure of Xiang Ying and Yuan Guoping should serve as a lesson."

After enlightening the comrades by spelling out various principles and citing various cases, Comrade Shaoqi explicitly pointed out: Our guideline for a united front is aimed at defeating Japanese imperialism, or at strengthening ourselves and weakening the enemy. Our aim in uniting all anti-Japanese forces is to defeat Japanese imperialism. The core of the problem lies in how to continuously increase and consolidate our strength and to sap the enemy's strength. We can never hand over the revolutionary forces in our hands to the diehards, begging others for a chance of unity. Therefore, we must resolutely carry out the policy of combining unity and struggle. We must make it clear to the diehards that if they want to resist Japanese aggression, we are willing to unite with them. If they are up to some tricks and get involved with anticommunist and antipeople efforts, then we surely cannot go along with them. If they hold a candle to the devil and join the enemy in nibbling at and attacking our bases and blocking communications and contact between our bases, we will resolutely launch a counterattack. In Shandong, our principle in coping with the diehards

is: We must hold our ground, adhere to our stand of self-defense and cling to the guideline of struggle--a guideline of acting with good reason, with advantage and with restraint, and alternating attack with persuasion.

Like a beacon in the darkness, Comrade Shaoqi's instructions illuminated the path of advance for the militarymen and civilians of Shandong. Guided by Comrade Shaoqi's instructions and the party Central Committee's guideline calling for "matching the enemy in every forward movement," they put forward "reverse-side tactics" (viz., if the enemy strikes at us in one place, we hit him in another place). A powerful political offensive was combined with the tactics and strategy of flexibility and mobility in directing the spearhead of struggle at the enemy-occupied areas. A struggle against nibbling and blockades was resolutely waged. The enemy and bogus troops were disintegrated over a wide area. "Sparrow warfare" and mine warfare were conducted extensively. Harassment, encirclement, ambush and sneak attack marked our activities against the enemy. In particular, the armed work teams and small armed teams honored with the title of "people with sharp swords in their bosoms and daggers in their sleeves" penetrated deep into the enemy-occupied areas and showed their full power, catching agents, slaughtering enemy troops and snatching their guns, sabotaging storehouses, disrupting communications, and giving the enemy no end of trouble and a big fright. This struggle was lively.

In accordance with Comrade Shaoqi's instructions, the Shandong Bureau reviewed and corrected the defects existing in the early stages of the war of resistance against Japanese aggression. The party's policy of an anti-Japanese united national front was correctly carried out. Especially after Comrade Luo Rongheng took charge of the bureau, the whole situation of struggle against the diehards quickly changed. Faced with our counterattack for self-defense, some of the diehards and capitulationists who sought "the salvation of the country in an indirect way" and resolutely fought the communists--such as Shi Yousan and others--were dealt a crushing blow. Some--like Shen Honglie--beat a hasty retreat from Shandong when faced with an extremely serious situation of struggle in the enemy's rear area. Some local forces (middle-of-the-road elements) who were willing to unite with the communists in resisting Japanese aggression continued to cooperate with us in the anti-Japanese war. Our forces increased considerably. What had been divided up into small bases gradually formed one single area. In Shandong, our strength, compared with that of the diehards, underwent a fundamental change. We obviously held the upper hand. This paved the way for repulsing Chiang Kai-shek's attack against Shandong after the victory in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression.

II

Comrade Shaoqi was one of the leaders of our party who had a wealth of experience in leading the masses. The greater the difficulties encountered, the greater the attention he paid to launching the mass movement. In Shandong, his deep insight into the mass movement, his delineation of mass work under complicated wartime conditions and his great practical experience in personally guiding and taking up mass work won him high praise among comrades working in Shandong. I will never forget the inspiring lessons I received from him. It can be said

that this marked the beginning of my relatively deep understanding and grasp of the guideline, the strategy, the pattern and methods of the mass movement.

At that time, as soon as Comrade Shaoqi reached Shandong, he tried his best to keep in contact with the masses. At the sight of peasants, he would ask: "Is there an agricultural salvation association in your village? Have all the countrymen participated? How are things with the reduction of rent for land and of interests on loans?..." He also told the workers who accompanied him: We should miss no chance to talk with the countrymen and check up on how the party's policy is being carried out and how the masses are responding. We must also further study the basic demands of the masses, the attitude of the middle peasants and the opinions of all other segments of society. In a word, he was always mindful of acquainting himself with conditions and collecting information and drawing on what he knew as a basis for formulating policies and making work arrangements.

In Zhufan, he listened to views from all quarters. He called on the Shandong Bureau to compile relevant data about the party, the administration, and the army and civilians, and to find a complete copy of the bureau's magazine DOUZHENG [STRUGGLE]. Comrade Shaoqi personally went over all the important data and made a systematic and serious study of them. After a period of time, when Comrade Shaoqi had thought the problems over, he called several people to a meeting-- Comrade Luo Rongheng, Zhu Rui and Li Yu of the leadership of the Shandong Bureau, Chen Guang and me. He sternly pointed out: "The Shandong Bureau has not put the mass movement first; instead, it has put it in fourth place. The masses of Shandong have yet to develop flesh-and-blood relations with the agricultural salvation association. The agricultural salvation association has no authority. The masses thus do not receive strong support. Their enthusiasm is dampened. It can be said that of all the kinds of work at the base of Shandong, the mass movement is the weakest link."

How was the mass movement to be done well? The key was to make the leading cadres at all levels acquire a correct ideological understanding of the mass movement. With reality in mind, Comrade Shaoqi specially read out several times a report, "The Problems of the Mass Movement." In this report, he stressed the importance of the mass movement. He said that without launching a mass movement, we could not do anything well. Not only would the administrative work of the government be reduced to empty talk, but also nothing could be done about the development of local armed forces. The inevitable result would be that our main force would not receive aid and would suffer economic difficulties and a shortage of grain. At that time, Comrade Shaoqi stressed the relations between our proletarian political party and the masses. He pointed out: The masses are the mother of the Communist Party and the party is the son of the masses. Therefore, anytime and anywhere our party must integrate with the laboring masses and rely on our own masses and our own class. Here, Comrade Shaoqi cited a conclusion in the closing remarks in a book on the history of the CPSU (Bolshevik). One of the most important experiences and lessons had to do with the relations between the party and the masses. If our party were to depart from its own mother--the masses--it would be like the hero Antaios in Greek mythology being separated from the earth, giving rise to the possibility of his being strangled by his rival at

any time. Comrade Shaoqi pointed out profoundly: "For a Communist Party member to deviate from the masses is most dangerous, most serious and most deserving of punishment. Any Communist Party member in whatever line of work should pay great attention to mass work at all times and anywhere. If he forgets this rule, he is no longer a Communist Party member despite his claim to membership." He clearly pointed out: "At present, reduction of rent for land and of interest on loans is the focus of Shandong's work. All work should revolve around this focus. The whole party must get involved. Cadres from the party and the government and from among militarymen and civilians must also participate." He also said to Comrade Luo Rongheng and myself: In the past, your 115th Division handled mass work well. It adhered to the traditional style of the central Red Army, conducting publicity among the masses and seeking to build up the revolutionary regime everywhere it went. You must properly promote this good tradition and help the people of Shandong to start a campaign to reduce rent for land and interest on loans as quickly as possible. The main task of your army at present is to protect harvests and insure the smooth progress of work on reducing rent for land and interest on loans. You should send some cadres to the lower levels to help the agricultural salvation association in arousing poor peasants and farm laborers, convincing landlords, and also reconciling the relations between landlords and peasants. The agricultural salvation association is a link between the party and the masses of people. When an agricultural salvation association is set up, you should send people to join it and give it a silk banner inscribed with words of praise. Any show of disrespect for peasant cadres or any lack of respect for the peasant masses should be forbidden and criticized. We must first properly handle the work of the agricultural salvation association and then set about the work of the self-defense corps. With the work of the agricultural salvation association and the self-defense corps done well, work involving the women's salvation association, the youth association and juvenile corps could also catch up.

To arouse the masses quickly, Comrade Shaoqi sent his secretary and all those working with him to the lower levels to take a direct part in the heated struggle to reduce the rent for land and the interest on loans. He also personally went to Dongpan, Helinzi, Xiazhuang and other villages to get acquainted with the progress of the movement and the implementation of various policies. Comrade Shaoqi put much energy into laying down clear-cut guidelines and a series of practicable and effective measures for the leading comrades of Shandong. He pointed out: "The mass movement must be guided by the principle of laborers 'emancipating themselves.' The mass movement has its own unique laws of development." Comrade Shaoqi drew a vivid analogy: The mass movement is not like wood. If we subjectively want to make tables and benches by putting pieces of wood together as we liked, this will not do. Therefore, our leadership at all levels must respect the independent leadership of the agricultural salvation association. In no way can we place ourselves outside the mass organization or above it, barking out orders and commands. He said that the function of a mass organization is to focus on protecting mass interests. If a mass organization is to really speak on behalf of the peasants (and to refrain from speaking on behalf of landlords and despotic gentry while discouraging practices which were too "leftist" and incompatible with the united front), all mass work should be taken care of by the mass organization itself. But this is not to say that the

mass organization is not subject to party leadership. The party must politically control leadership over the mass organization while refraining from interfering with its internal life. The party approaches the masses through Communist Party members. Communist Party members cast themselves in the role of the masses and of ordinary members. We must strictly guard against officials controlling and monopolizing things. Otherwise, the mass organization will change in nature.

In pushing the mass movement, what role should party members assume among the masses? How should the work method of "a breakthrough at the center" be effected? How should we struggle against the landlord class with reason, to advantage and with restraint? Comrade Shaoqi elaborated on these points. He even touched on how to fight the policy of bribery pursued by the landlords and despotic gentry. He repeatedly stressed that all the arrangements made by us centering on the mass movement were designed to achieve this aim: through economic struggle we must first gradually induce the masses of people to switch over to political struggle. With the living standard of the masses improved, we must again gradually raise their class consciousness and political consciousness, enabling them to participate in the establishment of a regime, in armed struggle and in the war of resistance.

Under the concrete guidance of Comrade Shaoqi, work on reducing rent for land and interest on loans was started at the base in Shandong in a sweeping manner. The people got a breathing space from the local tyrants and evil gentry that had weighed on them like a heavy burden. From their personal interests they realized that the Communist Party and the revolution had a close bearing on their own existence. The masses' enthusiasm for resisting Japanese aggression was considerably raised. Every village at the base became a bulwark. In time of battle the masses strictly kept all news to themselves and abandoned their homes so that the enemy could find no water to drink and no rice to cook. In ordinary times, women and children stood guard and questioned passers-by, leaving the enemy no room for activity. The masses in the plains also dug a network of anti-Japanese ditches, leaving the enemy's mobile forces no chance to play their role. Various areas established intelligence networks and communications networks. This enabled our army to show great initiative and flexibility in fighting. The widespread mobilization of the masses to participate in and support the anti-Japanese war enabled us to ride out the crisis. Our anti-Japanese democratic base was consolidated and expanded.

III

In this "study notebook," a record is also kept of the report "The Problem of Inner-Party Struggle" that Comrade Shaoqi made in light of the problems existing in inner-party struggle.

Comrade Shaoqi had a wealth of experience when it came to the matter of coping with inner-party contradictions. When his article entitled "On Inner-Party Struggle" was published in Yanan's JIEFANG RIBAO, Comrade Mao Zedong said in an introduction to it, "This is a speech given by Comrade Liu Shaoqi at the Party School of the Central China Bureau of the CCP Central Committee on 2 July 1941. It has provided a solution to the major issue of inner-party struggle in terms

of theory and practice. It must be read by every comrade." Recalling the way Comrade Shaoqi handled the differences of opinion within the party in Shandong, we deeply feel that Comrade Mao Zedong was entirely correct in making this assessment. After 4 months of work, Comrade Shaoqi, drawing on his own brilliant experiences, came out with an effective criticism of such leftist tendencies as "ruthless struggle" and "relentless blows" represented by Wang Ming, providing us with an example of correctly handling the problem of inner-party struggle.

After his arrival in Shandong, Comrade Shaoqi did not immediately call conferences to give instructions and draw conclusions. Instead, the first thing he did was to look for Comrades Luo Rongheng, Zhu Rui, Li Yu, Chen Guang and myself. He kept exchanging views with us. At that time, Comrade Luo Rongheng was seriously ill. Therefore, after briefing Comrade Shaoqi on a series of major problems and the differences within the leadership of the Shandong Bureau, he let me report to Comrade Shaoqi on the work of the 115th Division over the past 4 years. He listened to my briefing for over 3 hours. He fully affirmed the work of the 115th Division and gave me great encouragement. At that time, Comrade Shaoqi was very weak because he had been constantly on the go. But, to obtain all available information from every quarter, he thought nothing of his own health. He took up at night what he could not finish by day. He kept discussing problems that he could not straighten out at once. He often worked throughout the night. In his talk with comrades, he was mindful of seeking truth from facts. He never jumped to conclusions. He never treated major problems of principle haphazardly. His work style of delving into the realities of life and patiently making investigations and studies left no comrade near him unaffected in terms of influence and education. Today, every time I pick up the "study notebook," I conjure up the smiling face of Comrade Shaoqi confiding in me by lamplight.

Confronted with the ideological problems existing within the party, how could we seek a proper and satisfactory solution?

In his report on "the problem of inner-party struggle," Comrade Shaoqi clearly pointed out that there actually existed three tendencies in inner-party life. The first was the idea of compromise and liberalization. The second was struggle waged mechanically and excessively. The third was unprincipled dispute and struggle. These three trends could not be reconciled with Marxist principles. At that time, what was the main trend as far as the problem of inner-party struggle was concerned? It was obviously the pattern of mechanical and excessive struggle left over from the leftist mistakes represented by Wang Ming. Comrade Shaoqi said that in a lifelong struggle for communism, no Communist Party could avoid making mistakes. But so long as he did not act against the party or against the revolution, we must fervently help him to correct his mistakes. Friendship, understanding and unity between comrades count for more than everything else. To establish close relations, as between Yu Boya and Zhong Ziqi, and cultivate profound friendship, as between Marx and Engels, we can in no way treat our comrades the way we treat our enemy. In order to correctly guide the ideological struggle within the party in Shandong, eliminate ideological differences in principle within the party and strengthen inner-party unity based on Marxist principles, Comrade Shaoqi pointed out the 10 following

manifestations of the leftist tendency, based on experiences and lessons about the serious harm our party had suffered from leftist mistakes over a long period of time.

1. A meeting was always being held within the party. It might be called a struggle meeting, but it was first of all directed against people and not at things. It was convened to strike at someone. It was not an ideological struggle but an inner-party trial.
2. When an individual or a certain problem was made an object of struggle, everyone pursued the matter as if there were no end to it--freely labeling and randomly criticizing, moderation being the last virtue. How were things in ordinary times? Everyone kept mum and did nothing. But where there was an accusation, everyone scrambled to hit at the object involved, or freely raised any problem to the high plane of principle.
3. Inner-party struggle was used as a means to suppress others and punish certain people. An accusation was determined beforehand. It was not a matter of calmly joining with comrades guilty of mistakes to find out causes. Rather, it was a matter of accusation based on rumor and gossip.
4. Where work failed to progress, a struggle was waged to stimulate it to progress. Every thought went into the subjective selection of an object of struggle within the party, thus giving rise to inner-party struggle.
5. The object of criticism was forced to plead guilty and subject himself to criticism with no appeal allowed. He could not cling to his own views and had to be thorough in his confession. Regardless of whether he had known the nature of his mistakes, he had to plead guilty, right or wrong.
6. Struggle was separated from education. Where an accusation was made, the accused had to be greeted with a poker face.
7. An organizational conclusion was freely used as a basis for the argument that party members guilty of mistakes must be punished and that the iron hammer and not consciousness is to be relied upon.
8. A hasty conclusion about a problem of principle was made. This conclusion was treated as the equivalent of a resolution after a meeting.
9. Inner-party struggle was lumped with struggle outside the party. There was confusion about what means should be adopted in coping with the enemy and what means could not be used in dealing with comrades inside our party. What was followed in struggle inside the party was applied to struggle outside the party. Or the approach to struggle outside the party was adopted toward comrades inside the party. In particular, inner-party struggle was lumped with the struggle to eliminate counterrevolutionaries and traitors.
10. The situation obtaining in inner-party struggle was freely made public in an appeal to people outside the party for sympathy. Even in bourgeois newspapers, grievances in opposition to the party were aired.

At this point, anger showed in Comrade Shaoqi's eyes. With a thoughtful expression on his lean face, he said with a long sigh: These methods of "ruthless struggle and relentless blows" have made our party suffer too much and cost us dearly! If we had waged struggle correctly, we would have paid a much smaller price, suffered much less and achieved much more. Some of our comrades erroneously thought that ceaseless struggle must be waged against anyone at any time and anywhere, and as far as any problem was concerned. Besides, the fiercer the struggle the better, and the more heated the struggle the greater the need for revolution. Therefore, these people became "experts in scolding others" and "experts in struggle and fighting." They wanted to use these means to prove their "Bolshevization." Actually, this was the practice of opportunism within the party by borrowing Bolshevik terms and patterns. All comrades must know that inner-party struggle is a solemn piece of principled work; in no way can the term "struggle" be lightly applied to it.

Precisely because Comrade Shaoqi deeply realized the harm done by Wang Ming's leftist mistakes, he showed unusual respect for revolutionary comrades and made a point of protecting everyone's pride--within reason--in conducting ideological education among cadres and in handling differences of opinion within the party. Comrades, including those guilty of mistakes, liked to call at Comrade Shaoqi's home. When these comrades showed up, Comrade Shaoqi greeted them with a smiling face, affectionately telling them to take a seat and bringing them glasses of water. He then asked them to talk about work and living conditions in their units and about personal ideological problems. Even when the comrades who talked with him did not share the same views and were even entirely wrong, Comrade Shaoqi never showed impatience. He always patiently heard people out before he affectionately enlightened and guided them. He set forth facts and reasoned things out, leaving everyone convinced in every way. What he said was easy to understand, closely related to the actual conditions of Shandong, to the point and convincing--so much so that people felt greatly inspired. Comrades who had not had a clear idea of things were brought around and convinced. They not only found the causes of their erroneous ideas but became charged with the inner strength needed to correct their mistakes. Comrade Shaoqi always asked in a humble, questioning tone: "Is this so? What do you think of it?" All the comrades felt that Comrade Shaoqi was full of vigor, highly mindful of principle and easy to get along with. He distinguished himself by his outstanding art of the leadership of a Marxist. Thirty-nine years have passed since then. As we recall those times, we feel an extra sense of affection. His teachings, shining with the brilliance of Marxism, remain our guideline today in strengthening party building and correctly waging inner-party struggle.

IV

As a farsighted Marxist, Comrade Shaoqi, when placed in the trying circumstances of war, also paid particular attention to using Marxist revolutionary theory to systematically educate party members and cadres. Based on an overall grasp of the situation in Shandong and fully prepared after careful consideration and planning, he delivered for the benefit of the masses of cadres in Shandong eight reports in installments over different periods of time beginning from 26 April, reports with given objectives in mind. They were: "On the Work of Shandong,"

"The Problem of the Mass Movement," "The Strategy and Tactics for the Chinese Revolution," "The Problem of Restructuring the Regime," "The Problem of Inner-Party Struggle," "Struggle Between Two Fronts Within the Party," "The Way of Thinking," and "On Finances and Food." In making these reports, Comrade Shaoqi cited large numbers of cases in the 4 years of war of resistance in Shandong. Using simple and easy-to-understand language he spelled out the ideological principles of Marxism-Leninism in a vivid and inspiring manner. He gave the leading cadres of Shandong systematic education in Marxist theory. He was actually giving them the benefit of a very good party school, education. Our comrades working in Shandong were really lucky to have been given this chance for an overall study of revolutionary theory.

In a report he sternly reminded comrades that to maintain the purity of Communist Party members, we must systematically grasp Marxism. Marxism is the science of the laws governing the development of human society and the science of the revolution of the proletariat and the masses of laboring people. Only by studying, applying and grasping it can we understand the internal relations of all things that change around us and understand how and in what direction various classes and segments march forward at present and in the future. Only in this way can we discern the direction and define the guideline for action and have full confidence in the future of the revolution. In the process of revolution, the powerful enemy wanted to fight us and the influence of the exploiting class was corrupting us. We had periods of victory and also, inevitably, ran into various difficulties and setbacks. If we had not armed our minds with Marxism, we would inevitably have lost our bearings in the confusion of the changing struggle. We would have been carried away by victory or have lost confidence when confronted with setbacks and defeats. History is drastic and ruthless. Only communists armed with Marxist scientific theory are people of really special material, people who can stand the test of the fiery revolution. Comrade Shaoqi's reports were easy to understand and thought-provoking. The more our comrades listened to him, the more enlightened they became and the more energetic they were.

Comrade Shaoqi was well-read in Marxist theory. But he never took it easy, he continued to study tirelessly. To give us a good report, he put every problem of theory in clear-cut and simple terms. On his desk there always lay classics by Marx, Lenin and Comrade Mao Zedong. Some of their pages were marked with dots or small circles and with notes. To prepare the outline of a report, he worked by lamplight until the wee hours, as we found him on many occasions. Our comrades knew that he had a serious stomach ailment. Seeing the light burning in his room, everyone could not help feeling anxious. I urged him to go to bed early and not read too much, considering his health. He said that learning was like rowing a boat against the current: it was either moving forward or sliding backward. As the revolutionary situation changed very quickly, we could not keep abreast of it and, still less, promote the development of objective things without giving time to reading or study. He said in all sincerity to me: You are still young. You must spend more time studying the works by Marx and Lenin and more time studying the works by Comrade Mao Zedong, such as "On Protracted War," "Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War," "Problems of Strategy in the Guerrilla War Against Japan," "The Chinese Revolution and the CCP," and so forth. You have been very busy working in the enemy's rear area. Working

conditions have been poor. The greater the plight, the greater the need for you to find time to study revolutionary theory. If you do not study hard and if you refrain from grasping the scientific weapon of struggle, what will you rely upon as a guide in your work?

Like a motto, Comrade Shaoqi's instructions given in his pleasant and amiable manner have always been a source of inspiration to me as I studied and grew amid struggle and groped my way toward progress in practice.

Truth is a source of infinite strength. Comrade Shaoqi spent 4 months working in Shandong. With his deep insight and his profound knowledge of Marxist principles, he decisively straightened out the problems of Shandong. He armed the party members, troops and people of Shandong with Marxist revolutionary theory and also with the guiding ideology and general and specific policies of the party Central Committee, bringing about a quick change in the situation in Shandong during the war of resistance against Japanese aggression.

At the end of 1942, Comrade Luo Rongheng assumed the post of secretary of the Shandong Bureau of the CCP Central Committee. With the Shandong Bureau under the correct leadership of Comrade Luo Rongheng, the masses of militarymen and civilians ingeniously applied Comrade Mao Zedong's idea of people's war and his strategy and tactics of mobility and flexibility in developing and expanding the anti-Japanese united national front. Bases were consolidated and grew vigorously, enabling us to gain the upper hand in various fields in Shandong where we had been in an unfavorable position. We eventually achieved an overall victory in the war of resistance in Shandong. Here, Comrade Shaoqi left a brilliant page in history by giving his all.

In the several decades of revolutionary struggle, we had much contact with Comrade Shaoqi. Especially after national liberation, I had more contact with him. But the 4 months that I spent with him in Shandong in 1942 will always remain fresh in my memory. I deeply feel that Comrade Shaoqi was infinitely loyal to the party and the people. He devoted his whole life to our proletarian cause of construction and revolution. He was worthy of being one of the outstanding leaders of our party and state, a great Marxist-Leninist and a great proletarian revolutionary. In building our Marxist-Leninist party and in safeguarding the purity of the party ideologically and theoretically and establishing the criteria for party life, Comrade Shaoqi had his own unique strengths and made indelible contributions. The contributions made by Comrade Shaoqi are an important part of Mao Zedong Thought.

As I hold his "study notebook," which has survived many crises, I am seized with a mixed feeling of sadness and infinite excitement! Every word, every line in this record of Comrade Shaoqi's instructions of 39 years ago shines with the smiling face of affable and lovable Comrade Shaoqi and embodies great sincerity. It is my hope that all the pages of this truthful historical record will turn into sparks that will stimulate us to build a modern and powerful socialist country.

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A CHAPTER IN THE HISTORY OF THE CCP'S STRUGGLE FOR SCIENCE

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[Article by Gong Yuzhi [7895 5148 0037]]

[Text] Synopsis: The bourgeoisie failed to take up the historical mission to develop science in China, and this mission has now fallen on the shoulders of the proletariat and the people under its leadership. The Chinese communists were the enthusiastic supporters of the slogans of democracy and science raised during the May 4th movement of 1919. Their proposition for saving the nation can be summarized as "revolution plus science." During the period of the revolutionary base areas, the party tried hard to advocate science. After the founding of the PRC, signal achievements were made in science under the leadership of the party, and the party also followed a zigzag road in this respect. Through summing up historical experience and lessons, the party has put forward a series of policies and measures and determined to more conscientiously struggle for wiping out the erroneous ideas denigrating science and for bringing the role of science into fuller play in the socialist modernization program.

The 60 years since the founding of the CCP have been years of heroic struggle for the liberation of the Chinese nation, for the victory of people's democracy and socialism in China, and for China's industrialization and modernization. The party's 60-year history contains a chapter of struggle for developing science in China. This is because, as a Marxist party, our party is aware that science is needed in transforming and building China. To struggle for science is an important component part of the general struggle for transforming and building China. Since the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique, and particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, through bringing order out of chaos and summing up historical experiences and lessons, our party is continuing to fight for the modernization of science and technology with renewed understanding, consciousness and determination.

I

In the history of mankind, the bourgeoisie was the first to realize the great role played by natural science in the development of society. On the one hand, the rising West European bourgeoisie made natural science an ideological weapon and used it to fight against the rule of the feudal class and the theology opposed to science. On the other hand, the bourgeoisie made natural science a weapon to change the nature of the productive forces, used it to develop industry and economically destroy the base of feudal relations and strengthen the bourgeois power. Engels once said that the result of the integration of science and philosophy was materialism, the Enlightenment era and the French political revolution, and the result of the integration of science and practice was the British social revolution and industrial revolution. This was a profound generalization of the role played by science in the history of the West European bourgeois revolution.

The Chinese bourgeoisie put in a lot of effort in developing science in China. At the end of the Qing dynasty, those who sought truth from the West advocated the study of Western science in the hope of applying it to China to help China progress and become rich. With the bourgeoisie being weak economically, politically and ideologically, they accomplished little in promoting the bourgeois revolution, and although they did commendable work in disseminating Western science, generally speaking, their efforts produced little effect. The Chinese bourgeoisie failed to undertake the historical mission to understand and develop science in China as the West European bourgeoisie had done in Europe. The duty of fulfilling this mission has historically fallen on the shoulders of the Chinese proletariat.

II

The first time the people in China were aroused to understand science was during the May 4th movement of 1919. The two big slogans of democracy and science struck a chord in the hearts of the people. Those who advocated these two slogans the most energetically were the leftwingers of the May 4th movement with the magazine XIN QINGNIAN [NEW YOUTH] as their organ. They firmly believed that only the two teachers--democracy and science--could bring China out of darkness. They would do anything to support these two teachers, despite beheadings and bloodshed. At the early stage of the formation of these two slogans, they modeled themselves on the slogans of democratic revolution of the European and American bourgeoisie. The salvo of the October Revolution brought us Marxism-Leninism. The CCP was born as a result of the integration of the leftwingers of the May 4th movement who had accepted Marxism-Leninism with the rising workers' movement in China. XIN QINGNIAN, which first advocated democracy and science, became the official magazine of our party. In 1923, XIN QINGNIAN carried an article entitled "New Declaration," pointing out that in China "even the bourgeois revolution will accomplish nothing without the guidance of the laboring class." "The real liberation of China is, in the final analysis, the cause of the laboring class." XIN QINGNIAN continued to uphold the banner of supporting science and vowed to fight against the "opposition to science" by the "autocracy of patriarchal society" and against the "misinterpretation of science"

by the "philistinism of the bourgeoisie." In this way, the slogan of science was integrated with the ideology and practice of the democratic revolution led by the proletariat and was included in the category of the slogans of the new democratic revolution. That is to say, the May 4th new cultural movement, with democracy and science as its center, became the forerunner of the rise of the Chinese communist movement. The Chinese communists became the most energetic supporters and the most loyal successors to those advocating the two slogans. At the same time, the Chinese communists raised the two slogans to a new height of ideology, brought them onto a new revolutionary course and carried them forward.

During the May 4th movement of 1919, the role of science was understood from two angles: On one hand, science was regarded as a weapon for ideological struggle and was used to fight against the darkness and ignorance of the feudal and patriarchal ideologies. On the other hand, science was regarded as a force that could be transformed into material productive force. Due attention was paid to developing industry with science and to using science and industry to save and cure the age-old weakness and poverty of old China. Thus emerged the problem of the relation between "saving the nation through revolution," "saving the nation through science" and "saving the nation through industry." We communists undoubtedly maintained that "revolution and revolution alone can save China" and did not agree with the argument of saving the nation through science and industry in the absence of revolution. However, upholding the idea of saving the nation through revolution did not mean that we had to negate or underrate the development of science and industry. The debate between the communists and certain people did not center on whether or not we needed science and industry to save the nation, but rather on what road we should take to enable science and industry to develop in China. We had stressed that only when we carried out revolution, overthrew the reactionary rule of imperialism and feudalism, and then took the socialist road could we develop science and industry in China. In 1922, in "Communism and Revolution," Zhou Enlai wrote: "Looking at the situation in China today, the development of industry and commerce has apparently become an indisputable inevitability. The question of what measures should be taken to develop industry and commerce deserves our special attention." He held that "it is really impossible to develop China's industry and commerce" "by taking over the capitalist ways." We should take the road of saving the nation through revolution; "Once we succeed in the revolution, and the political power is in the hands of the laboring class, we are then in a position to talk about the communist ways to make industry and commerce flourish." At that time, the government of the laboring class will "put the scientists in important positions" "to help the proletarians develop industry and commerce and revitalize learning," so as "to enable science to serve all mankind." In 1923, Liu Shaoqi wrote: "As regards the steps for transforming society, we have maintained that, first, the proletariat must be urged to unite to cultivate its latent power in order to dominate society. Second, we should seize political power and use political force to eliminate the oppression of all classes in society by men. Third, under the system of public ownership of property, industry and commerce should be developed at the highest speed so as to reduce the oppression of mankind by nature." In 1926, in his "The National Revolution and the Peasants' Movement," Mao Zedong said: "The problems of the peasants originally included two aspects of the matter: that is, the problem of oppression by the imperialists, warlords

and the landlord class and oppression by nature such as drought, waterlogging, sickness, insect pests, inferior techniques and decline in production. The former is admittedly the pressing problem at the present stage, and it is natural for you comrades to focus your attention and energy on this matter. But the latter is also very serious. It deserves our positive attention." Solving this latter problem required "nationwide revolutionary political power and scientific methods." It can be seen that the Chinese communists put science in an important position in their own proposition of saving the nation through revolution. If we summarize the proposition of saving the nation through revolution of the Chinese communists as a formula, it must be "revolution plus science." It is the integration of the two, revolution and science, not one to the exclusion of the other or one in opposition to the other.

III

Of course, at that time our party could not make much direct effort to develop science, since it first of all fought for the seizure of political power. As early as in the period of the agrarian revolutionary war, our party began to put on the agenda the technical work of medical officers, war industries and radio communications which were badly needed by the Red Army, and the education in scientific knowledge and agricultural experimental work which could be carried out in the base areas. We can even now read historical documents such as the order signed by Zhu De and Mao Zedong in those years for building up radio communications troops in the Red Army and the notices of the Chinese soviet government inviting doctors, radio personnel and military technical personnel in the KMT-controlled areas. By the period of the anti-Japanese war, in Yanan our party did more work in developing science since the situation was more stable and the ranks of intellectuals were bigger than in the past. In 1939, the CCP Central Committee decided that a natural science research institute should be set up in Yanan. It was the first research organ for natural science set up by the party (later it was changed into an educational organ--the natural science research institute). In 1940, together with personages of various circles in Yanan, Mao Zedong initiated the Research Association for Natural Science of the Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia Border Areas. It was the first academic natural science organization set up by our party. Mao Zedong and Chen Yun personally attended the opening ceremony and delivered speeches, and Zhu De personally attended the first annual meeting and made a speech. In 1941, the party Central Committee made a decision concerning the party members who were taking part in economic and technical work, and the Military Commission of the CCP Central Committee worked out directives on the policy concerning the recruitment and treatment of specialists in the army. What particularly deserves our praise is that in Yanan our party expounded the theory, program and policies of the new democratic revolution in a systematic way. Meanwhile, it made a full deliberation on the position and role of science in the democratic revolution. They can be summed up in the following three aspects:

1. Science and the political construction of new democracy: One fundamental thought was that the development of science and industry "has yet to see the realization of the new democratic political conditions throughout the country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 1030) "Only when the war of

resistance against Japan is victorious and democracy is successful can there be fields for the flourishing development of China's science." "It is unimaginable for science to have bright prospects under the dark dictatorial autocracy." (Zhu De: "Integrate Science With the War of Resistance Against Japan") Wu Yuzhang, chairman of the Research Association for Natural Science in Yanan, wrote: "Democratic freedom is the nurse of the development of science." "New democracy means democratic politics plus new scientific economic construction." These expositions and the slogans of "democracy and science" as well as the formula of "revolution plus science" all came down in one continuous line. The founding of the new democratic theory clearly laid out the process and road of the Chinese revolution. The meanings of the words "democracy" and "revolution" in such circumstances were more substantial than in the past, and they contained new scientific applications.

2. Science and the economic construction of new democracy: Our party has repeatedly stressed that science is a weapon for people to "win freedom" from the natural world. (Mao Zedong: "Speech at the Opening Ceremony of the Research Association for Natural Science of the Border Areas") Science is also a "great force" promoting the flourishing of industry and agriculture, the improvement of productive capacity, the development and correct utilization of natural resources and the correct management of industry and commerce" (Zhu De).

Xu Teli, chairman of the Research Institute for Natural Science in Yanan, provided a striking formulation: Science is the "soul of national strength." Scientists and technical personnel enthusiastically participated in the development of self-supporting industry in the border areas. Mao Zedong highly praised the contributions they (as the leading force in building industry) made and called upon the party members "to learn and master various kinds of technical knowledge to industrialize China." He also pointed out that although industry in the border areas was "small in quantity, it is of far-reaching significance." It was "a force abundantly full of prospects and vitality that is sufficient to change everything." Economic work, and industry in particular, "determines all things such as military affairs, politics, culture, ideology, ethics and religion, and it determines social change." ("Speech at the Meeting of the Representatives of Staff and Workers of the Factories in the Border Areas Received by the General Office of the Party Central Committee")

3. Science and the cultural construction of new democracy: Mao Zedong summarized the new democratic culture as a national, scientific and popular culture. On the one hand, science was put in a conspicuous position, and on the other hand, science was integrated with the masses. The new democratic culture should be regarded as a deepening of the slogan of science of the period of the May 4th movement of 1919. At that time, emphasis was put on using science to do away with superstitions and oppose the restoration of ancient ways and to do away with the practice of blindly following all pernicious evils of the feudal remnants opposed to science and progress. This enabled the people's ideology and customs and habits to develop in the direction of science and progress. ("Declaration of the Research Association for Natural Science")

Our party carried out work for a long time among the scientific circles and scientific youth in the KMT-controlled areas and helped them to take part in

the democratic movement's mass struggles for resistance against Japan and for national salvation. Under the influence of the party, the Association of Chinese Scientific Workers was founded in 1946. More and more scientists converged into the mighty torrent of the people's revolution.

IV

After the nationwide victory of the democratic revolution, our party was confronted with a brand new situation and task. In the past we realized the importance of developing science and industry, but we were still not in a position to shift our focus to this matter in our practical work. At present, the founding of the PRC has created the necessary political conditions for developing science on a nationwide scale. The focus of our work should have been and can now be shifted gradually to economic construction and the development of science.

In the first historical stage after the founding of the PRC, remarkable successes were achieved in our party's struggle for science.

As for the party's guiding ideology, in the "common program" put forward by the party in the early days of the founding of the PRC, there was the following stipulation: "Strive to develop science to serve the building of industry, agriculture and national defense." This showed the party's and the state's basic attitude of attaching importance to science.

After that, we began to enter the stage of developing the first 5-year plan in 1953. In that year, Mao Zedong repeatedly urged studying advanced science and technology to build our country.

In that year, in "Instructions Concerning the Erroneous Formulation of the Slogan of 'Technology Learning to One Side,'" the CCP Central Committee pointed out: "At a time when we are carrying out construction on a large scale, we urge that special importance be attached to technology. Stalin said: 'In the period of transformation, technology decides everything.'" This is applicable for us today. "In contrast to political issues, there is no difference between classes and camps on the issue of technology. Technology itself can equally serve various classes and systems. In technology the problem of not leaning to one side being tantamount to leaning to the other side does not exist."

In that year, the party Central Committee promulgated the general line in the transition period to the people throughout the country. The outline for propagating the general line stressed that the aim of the socialist transformation was to enable the country "to start a revolution in the sphere of technology." This was the first time the party set forth the tasks for carrying out technical revolution to the people.

In 1954, in his work report on the discussion of the Chinese Academy of Sciences submitted to the party Central Committee and the government administration council, Zhou Enlai pointed out: "We must attach great importance to scientific research work. In combination with the current study of the general line, due consideration should be given to scientific work." The party Central Committee

transmitted this report, with long written instructions on it, to the whole party. These instructions stressed the significance of scientific work for the construction of the country, pointing out that China's scientific foundation was weak, and that increasing the number of scientific research cadres and accumulating scientific research experience would take considerable time. For this reason we had to try hard to rouse ourselves to catch up; otherwise, backward science would hamper the development of the cause of constructing the country. These instructions stressed that attaching importance to and uniting with the scientists was the party's important policy in scientific work. The party formulated a series of rules for policy issues concerning uniting, utilizing and educating the scientists and cultivating the rising scientific research force. These instructions programmed a system in which, with the Academy of Sciences as the center of nationwide scientific research, scientific research work was to be enthusiastically unfolded among the scientific research organizations of the institutes of higher learning and production departments. The proposal that the systems of academic degrees and encouragement for scientific research be introduced was put forward. It can be said that this was the first party document to lay down an initial and all-round foundation for the policy toward science after the founding of the PRC.

In 1956, the CCP Central Committee convened a meeting concerning the problems of intellectuals. At this meeting for the first time it was earnestly proposed to the whole party that a good deal of attention be paid to scientific work. On behalf of the party Central Committee, Zhou Enlai made a speech, pointing out: "In the era of socialism, greater improvement of production techniques, development of science and utilization of scientific knowledge are required more than in previous times." "Science is a decisive factor that has a bearing on our national defense, economy and culture." We should make the most strenuous efforts "to forge ahead toward modern science." Mao Zedong delivered a speech at the meeting, calling on the whole party to study hard scientific know-how and to unite as one with nonparty intellectuals in fighting to swiftly catch up with the advanced scientific standards of the world. In accordance with the proposal of the meeting, the State Scientific Planning Commission was established with Chen Yi as chairman. This commission gathered large numbers of fine scientists to draw up a national plan for developing science in the period from 1956 to 1967. The political report and decision of the eighth national congress of the party made the realization of the formulations of this plan one of the important tasks of the party and state.

Attaching importance to science is related to attaching importance to the scientists. Zhou Enlai's report clearly declared that the overwhelming majority of China's intellectuals had become part of the working class. In both the speech delivered by Liu Shaoqi at the representative assembly of staff and workers of Tianjin held on the eve of liberation of the country and the report made by Zhou Enlai at the national assembly of the representatives of literary and art workers, there was a stipulation that mental workers were members of the working class. In both the document for determining class status in the land reform and the document for defining the conditions for trade union members, it was stated that the intellectuals hired by the state and the cooperatives and the intellectuals privately hired by individuals were part of the working class. This meeting

further clarified this matter, not only on the basis of economic position but also on the basis of assessing the ideological and political progress made by intellectuals.

Not long after the meeting concerning the problems of the intellectuals, Mao Zedong set the basic policy that in scientific and cultural work, the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend" should be carried out. Our party stressed that letting a hundred schools of thought contend was the only way to develop science. Free contention among different schools in science was allowed. The rights and wrongs in science were to be solved through free discussions within the scientific circles and through scientific experiments. The enforcement of one school of thought in science and the banning of another school of thought would harm the development of science. On the basis of summing up the historical experiences in the development of science, the lessons in which many theories of natural science were crudely criticized and administrative oppression was imposed in the Soviet Union and the lessons in which we repeated the wrongs of that kind in learning from the Soviet Union, the formulation of this policy was a Marxist summarization of these experiences and lessons, a summarization full of the spirit of science and democracy.

The above-mentioned examples show that after the founding of the PRC, in our party's guiding ideology the understanding of the important role of science and the scientists and the understanding of the laws of scientific work were deepening step by step. Under the guidance of these correct understandings, our party did much ideological and political work among the scientist circles. It assigned more party cadres, gathered and developed the party's forces, and mobilized people in every walk of life to support scientific work. It vigorously expanded and strengthened the party's influence over scientific circles. United around the party, the vast numbers of scientific workers actively concerned themselves with the construction of the country and diligently developed scientific work with surging political enthusiasm. A flourishing situation emerged in our country's scientific cause.

V

Since 1957, the party's guidelines concerning science have developed through twists and turns. Continuous advance was one aspect of the question. This found expression in the party's clearly pointing out that, after the basic completion of socialist transformation, the focus of work of the whole party should be shifted to technical revolution and socialist construction, and the enthusiasm of the broad masses and scientific workers for socialism should be aroused. This resulted in the emergence of a new situation in construction and scientific research. Retrogression was the other side of the coin. This was manifested in the fact that the serious enlargement of the scope of the antirightist struggle led to a change from the correct judgment that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals had become part of the working class to that of generally regarding intellectuals as part of the bourgeoisie. Under the influence of the "leftist" guidelines, in the economic and the scientific and technical work, attaching importance to scientists was repudiated as opposition to the mass line,

and respecting science was toppled over as an old idol and the different views in technology and science were struggled against as political errors. These practices were the important reasons for the mistakes that appeared during the "Great Leap Forward."

In the winter of 1960, our party began to earnestly correct and clear away the previous erroneous "leftist" ideas. In the realm of science, through investigation and study and by summing up correct ideas from the scientists and the party's scientific working cadres, a 14-point regulation concerning scientific work was formulated in 1961 with Nie Rongzhen presiding over the work. This regulation provided a series of detailed rules on the party's policy on science, centered on the correction of the "leftist" mistakes in violating the policy toward intellectuals, letting a hundred schools of thought contend and stabilizing the order of scientific research work. A scientific and technical conference was convened in Guangzhou in 1962. Zhou Enlai made a report on this occasion, reaffirming that the overwhelming majority of intellectuals no longer were intellectuals of the bourgeoisie but had become intellectuals of the working people. To counter the mistakes resulting from going against science in the "Great Leap Forward," the conference pointed out that doing away with superstitions should be integrated with respecting science, stressed that the roles of science and the scientists should be brought into full play in production and construction, and proposed that the scientists participate in making decisions on the state's construction. Following the meeting concerning the problems of intellectuals in 1956, there was another important conference in which the party's understanding of the important roles of science and the scientists was again straightened out.

In early 1963, Zhou Enlai made a speech at a scientific and technical meeting in Shanghai, further pointing out that the key to realizing the four modernizations lay in accomplishing the modernization of science and technology. At the end of that year, upon hearing a report on a program for scientific work, Mao Zedong stressed that we were bound to fight a battle for science and technology. In the past we carried out revolution in the fields of superstructure and production relations in order to develop productive forces. If we were not to succeed in this battle for science and technology, the productive forces would hardly be enhanced. In early 1965, in checking and approving the government work report to be delivered at the third national people's congress by Zhou Enlai, Mao Zedong wrote a passage in the chapter on technical revolution, urging the adoption of as much advanced technology as possible and the building of our country into a powerful modern socialist country in a not too long a period of time.

Making a comprehensive survey of the 17 years from the founding of the PRC to the "Cultural Revolution," generally speaking, great achievements were made in the party's struggle for science, although we took a roundabout course in this respect owing to lack of experience and faults in our guidelines. In the difficult years in old China, our scientific workers diligently did research work, trained cadres and prepared a foundation for the scientific cause of new China. As a result, however, this foundation was very weak and backward. In the early days of the founding of the PRC, the Chinese Academy of Sciences was set up on

the basis of the former Central Research Institute and the Beijing Research Institute, with only 13 research organs for natural science and an enrollment of 300 technical research personnel. The Chinese Academy of Sciences grew at a very fast pace with 50 research organs for natural science and an enrollment of 4,000 technical research personnel in 1956, and 106 organs and an enrollment of 20,000 in 1965. The number of research organs and personnel throughout the country increased at an even faster pace. The great "frontline armies" of the various central industrial departments and vocational departments, the research organs of enterprises, the research organs of various localities, the defense research organs, and the research work of institutions of higher learning all grew in strength. The mass research activities also expanded extensively. Starting in 1956, scientific and technical work was carried out under the guidance of state planning; the major targets of the formerly fixed 12-year plan were fulfilled ahead of schedule. The implementation of a new 10-year plan for developing science throughout the country was started in 1963. The rapid development of science and technology of atomic energy, semiconductors and electronic computers and the success of synthetic bovine insulin showed that the gap between the scientific levels of ourselves and the advanced countries had been narrowed remarkably. This was the fruit of the struggle of all scientists and scientific workers under the party's leadership. Although China's socialist scientific cause has not yet been able to suit the needs of the state's construction, it has laid a far more solid foundation than was laid in the past.

It was unfortunate that, along with the course of national life, the course of the development of science of our country was upset by the "Cultural Revolution." Before the "Cultural Revolution," the magnification of the class struggle had continuously obstructed the steady development of science and disrupted the above-mentioned party guidelines for attaching importance to science, with the result that they could not be carried out in an invariable and fully effective way. A complete change took place during the "Cultural Revolution." The backbone of the scientific ranks was subjugated to torture and murder because it was a "reactionary bourgeois authority," research work was suspended, research organs were sabotaged, the party's correct policy on science was discredited as being "revisionist" and the party cadres in charge of scientific work were toppled because they were "capitalist roaders." This was a great calamity to our socialist scientific causes and the outcome of both the sabotage of the Lin Biao and Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques and the mistakes of the party leadership. During the "Cultural Revolution," science was harmed because the party was harmed before everything else; meanwhile, under extremely difficult conditions many of the party's leading cadres carried out a bitter struggle to protect and develop science. Zhou Enlai's protection and concern for many scientists, his resistance to and negation of the fallacy of "dictatorship by a sinister line in the scientific and technical work of the past 17 years," and his struggle for the revival of scientific work including basic theoretical research work, as well as Deng Xiaoping's 1975 rectification of scientific work and the proposed outlines for the report on scientific and technical work supported by him represented the party's correct leadership over scientific work in this special stage of development of our history. Precisely for this reason, the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique hated and attacked these efforts. As for the vast number of scientists and scientific workers and the party cadres

in charge of scientific work, they persisted in doing their work under extremely difficult conditions. The severe tests in prisons and "cowsheds" could not shake the faith of many scientists in the party and socialism, and they even carried on unimaginable scientific research work. During this period, major successes were scored in our scientific work such as the launching and retrieval of man-made satellites and the development of new hybrid strains of paddy rice. This was the result of the longstanding education and influence of the party in the scientific circles, clear proof of the loyalty of China's scientific circles to the people and the vivid expression of the great vitality of our socialist scientific cause.

VI

With the smashing of the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary clique and the end of the "Cultural Revolution," our party and state have entered a new historical stage. The national conference for science convened by the party Central Committee ushered in a springtime for science. At the conference, Deng Xiaoping made a speech which laid the foundation for reviving the party's correct policy on science and for further developing the party's policy on science in the new historical period. Over the past few years, particularly since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has deeply deliberated over and summed up historical experiences and lessons and greatly increased its understanding of the tasks and the road of our socialist modernization program. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" adopted by the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee completed the historical task of bringing order out of chaos in the party's guiding ideology. A new chapter in our party's struggle for science has been opened.

1. The 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee pointed out that the focus of the work of the whole party and government should be shifted to the socialist modernization program. This was a great strategic shift. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" took this as the first point of basic historical experience and lessons since the founding of the PRC. This was also the case in scientific work. Over the past 32 years, whenever science was developing fairly smoothly, the party put economic construction in a central and important position. Whenever the party deviated from and even threw this focal point of work out of the window because of mistakes in widening the scope of class struggle, the development of science was, to varying degrees, neglected, disturbed and sabotaged. Attaching importance to science is closely related to attaching importance to construction. This is very natural logic. At present, our party is determined to fight for prolonged political stability and for unswervingly focusing work on the socialist modernization program. This also means fighting for the creation of the most favorable conditions for developing science.

2. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" pointed out: "We must firmly eradicate such gross fallacies as the denigration of education, science and culture and the discrimination against intellectuals--fallacies which had long existed

and found extreme expression during the 'Cultural Revolution.' We must strive to raise the status and expand the role of education, science and culture in our drive for modernization. We affirm unequivocally that, together with the workers and peasants, the intellectuals are a force to rely on in the cause of socialism and that it is impossible to carry out socialist construction without culture and the intellectuals." The existence and development of the erroneous idea of denigrating science and discriminating against scientists and technical personnel was caused by the party's making absolute and magnifying the class struggle in political theory and practice as well as in the economic construction in the past and also by profound social and historical reasons. This reflects the influence of ideas which looked down on science and which were formed in the feudal society over a long period of time and also reflects the conservative bad habits and narrow-minded outlook of small producers. Therefore, to eradicate these erroneous ideas is an arduous task that calls for the party's carrying out long-term ideological struggle and ideological education for this purpose. Herein lies an important task, a task of using the basic viewpoint of Marxism to earnestly study the interrelation between science and technology and the social economic and political development in theory and creatively explore and study new conditions and tendencies in this respect, thus enabling the understanding of Marxism in this respect to reach a modern level. This study should be integrated with China's actual conditions and the improvement of our various kinds of work and should enable the understanding of the importance of science to go beyond the level of abstract principles and foreign examples. It should become a guideline giving full scope to the great role of science in various kinds of work in a detailed and practical way.

3. Our party also pointed out that, during the readjustment of the national economy, it is necessary to readjust concurrently the relation between science and technology and the economic development in order to ensure the harmonious development of science and technology and of the economy and society. This included the gradual increase of the proportion of scientific research expenses in the national budget and the gradual changing of the disproportions in this respect. It also redefined the policy that the development of the national economy should rely on science and technology, and at the same time science and technology should serve the development of national economic construction, and corrected the previous practice in which in the national economic plan, science and technology did not receive due attention, and in which there were some unrealistic demands regarding the targets, scope and speed in the plan for developing science and technology. By doing this, science and technology would be more closely integrated, thus making practical contributions to economic development. In order to increase people's understanding of the importance of science, we must not only depend on propaganda and education in ideology and theory, but also help them see the practical results of economic development by attaching importance to science in their practical life.

4. Our party has again pointed out that to really bring the role of science and technology into play in the national economy, it is necessary to reform the existing system. One of the aims of the reform of the economic system is to promote the formation of a powerful driving force in industry, agriculture and other various enterprises and encourage innovating techniques, adopting

scientific results, supporting scientific research and integrating the attaching of importance to science with the economic interests of enterprises themselves (including the interests of the enterprise managers and laborers). Those elements in the system of scientific work which are detrimental to the selection and growth of qualified scientists, the production and popularization of scientific results and the cooperation and exchange--in short, those elements which are detrimental to the emancipation of scientific productive forces--must be reformed step by step. Only by doing this can the superiority of the socialist system be manifested in developing science through the concrete economic management system and scientific management system.

5. The party's struggle to build socialist democratic politics is of great significance to the development of science and technology. Sound democracy is a political prerequisite for the vigorous and free development of science. Our party's policy of letting a hundred schools of thought contend is not only a policy that correctly reflects the laws of development of cognition and promotes the progress of science, but also a policy that effectively ensures that citizens exercise the right of freedom to carry out scientific research provided by the state constitution. The democratic right of scientists to air their opinions freely should be guaranteed not only in the exploration of scientific theories, but also in the discussions of policy on technology, plans and measures for technology, in the scientific and technical deliberation of economic construction projects, and in plans for economic and social development. Our party protects the scientists' free study and free discussion on scientific and technological issues. This means the protection of the rights of the people, scientific truth, the party's policies and the interests of the socialist cause.

6. As a spiritual force, science is an important weapon in the party's struggle for the building of socialist spiritual civilization. The development of spiritual civilization includes the popularization and raising of scientific and cultural knowledge and the improvement of people's consciousness and moral quality as well. The spirit of various kinds of fine traditions formed through the prolonged development of science, such as the spirit of respecting facts and truth and opposing superstitions and the practice of following along blindly, the spirit of daring to renovate and create and opposing the practice of sticking to old ways, the spirit of working with perseverance for science and the spirit of devoting oneself to science and so on are the products of scientific labor and are undoubtedly important sources for the latter aspect of the socialist spiritual civilization. In the early days of the PRC, we included the love of science as part of our national social ethics. The scientific spirit, the scientific approach and the respect for science should become the important content of the socialist spiritual civilization. At the same time, carrying forward a fine work style, fostering lofty scientific morality, developing a new type of socialist relationship between men and overcoming the corrosive influence of bourgeois and feudal ideologies are also important tasks in building a socialist spiritual civilization.

7. In the new historical period, our party is determined to become more able in leading the socialist modernization program. The party's cadres at various levels and vast numbers of party members must assiduously study science and

technology. There are large numbers of scientists of the older generation in our country who have traversed a long and tortuous road and eventually found their own political homes in the ranks of our party. A good many of the fine middle-aged and young scientists who are growing under the cultivation of the party are party members. They are the important assets of the party. We must further overcome the reflection in party building of the erroneous idea of discriminating against intellectuals, and absorb large numbers of scientists and technical personnel who have the awareness of the advanced elements of the working class. The increase of the scientific force in the party's ranks and leadership core at various levels will enable our party to become abler in fighting for science and socialist modernization.

In a word, in summing up historical experiences and lessons, and in deliberating the definition of the correct goal and road of our socialist modernization program, our party has obtained a fresh understanding of socialism and science and has linked together its fresh understandings of both aspects. In the new historical period, in the general struggle for turning China step by step into a powerful modern socialist country which is highly democratic and highly cultured, our party will fight for science in a more conscientious, assiduous and steadfast way.

CSO: 4004/128

CORRECTION

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 81 p 26

[Text] In issue No 12 of this year's RED FLAG, the sixth line of the last paragraph on page 33 "Comrade Mao Zedong, in a speech at a meeting on 21 March, said" should read "Comrade Mao Zedong, in a speech at a meeting on 31 March, said."

CSO: 4004/128

THE PARTY IS LEADING THE TRIUMPHANT ADVANCE OF SOCIALIST LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 81 pp 27-32

[Article by Wei Jianlin [5898 1696 2651]]

[Text] Leadership Over Literature and Art Is Indispensable

Generally speaking, there must be leadership, in the final analysis, over man's social activities. Primitive tribes chose their own leaders. Even in the simplest type of cooperation, there must be a common will to coordinate and unify the actions of various groups of people. In literary and artistic creation, which is one form of human spiritual activity, it is obviously more necessary than in some other social activities to bring the personal roles of writers and artists into play. On the basis of social understanding and past experiences in literary and artistic creation, the ideological and artistic achievement of a work may be said to directly depend on the writer or artist's personal experiences, ideology, sentiments, artistic accomplishment, power of artistic expression and originality. Expounding or even emphasizing this point, as part of an issue, cannot be considered groundless or unnecessary in eliminating the influences of leftist ideology on literary and artistic work. However, we must not regard this as something which a writer or artist can accomplish all by himself in the absence of any leadership, just as we must not summarize literary and artistic activity, which should extensively and artistically epitomize the social life of the times, as so-called self-expression. (The types of literature and art which flaunt the banner of so-called self-expression are actually subject to the leadership of certain social forces or social trends of thought, because their authors, on account of their world outlooks of various natures, can be grouped under certain social forces or social trends of thought.)

A writer or artist is not only governed by some particular social relations, but must also act as an embodiment of some particular social interests. He belongs to a certain class, stratum or group. Whatever its social status, and whether or not it consciously takes part in social struggles, this class, stratum or group will inevitably employ various forms, including the form of literature and art, to safeguard and fight for its own interests, to state its own demands and ideals, and to express its opinions in a scattered, centralized or systematic way on various social issues. Through administrative or organizational channels, and in particular through the mass media, these opinions will ultimately consciously or unconsciously govern the process of creation by the writer or artist.

A writer or artist cannot be secluded or isolated from society. Literary or artistic creation is a form in which he is linked to society, and a form in which he expresses the social interests of the class, stratum or group to which he belongs. Speaking on literary and artistic criticism, Lu Xun said that it would be odd for a critic not to belong to any circles. This remark is equally applicable to literature and art in the broad sense. Literary and artistic creation is sometimes influenced by certain forces in some organized forms, but in most circumstances it is influenced by certain ideologies or social trends of thought which ultimately reflect some particular real interests. Such influences of different degrees and in different forms actually constitute a kind of leadership. Moreover, such leadership is very important to creative activity.

A common and imperative reason why writers and artists of the past could create great works is that within the limits allowed by the conditions of their own lives, they accepted, in one way or another, the advanced ideologies of their times. Balzac said: "An artist is invariably related to a developing movement by means of a somewhat subtle link or a somewhat inherent path. Whether he is defending a doctrine or promoting the development of the whole realm of art, he is invariably an indispensable part of a huge machine." ("On Artists," in "A Translated Collection of Classical Theories on Literature and Art," Vol 10, p 94) If we make judgments on the basis of the practice of creation, instead of on the basis of certain political declarations of the writer or the political factions to which he belongs organizationally, we should acknowledge the progressive nature of Balzac's thought, and should acknowledge that this master in realism, basing himself on the rich experiences of his own life and on careful observation of reality, had to a great extent assimilated the advanced ideologies of the epoch of bourgeois revolution. Lev Tolstoy said: "A writer without a clear and steadfast new world outlook, in particular a writer who thinks that it is even unnecessary to have a world outlook, will be unable to create artistic works. He may write well and write abundantly, but his are not artistic works." ("Collected Papers on Literary Studies," Vol 5, p 317) Probably no one will think that the world outlook mentioned here by Tolstoy refers merely to something pertaining to the writer alone, something unrelated to some particular social forces or social trends of thought. The Russia of the 19th century, which gave birth to many great masters in literature, provided the most convincing evidence that leadership of some sort is indispensable to literary and artistic creation. Let us leave aside for the moment the role of writers such as Nekrasov who were directly related to progressive social movements. We can say that all world renowned Russian writers since Gogol achieved tremendous success in literary activity directly or indirectly under the guidance of the aesthetic views and revolutionary democratic world outlook of Belinsky, Chernyshevski and Dobrolyubov. Gogol's contacts with Belinsky promoted his completion of "Dead Souls," but his alienation from Belinsky and the influences of a number of backward scholars on him directly caused Gogol to write "A Selection of Correspondence With Friends," which brought shame to his whole life. The situation in China was roughly similar. For example, Cao Xueqin was ideologically related to progressive thinkers of the late Ming and early Qing dynasties, such as Wang Fuzhi, Yang Yuan and Dai Zhen. After the decline of his family, he assimilated rich spiritual nutrients from the masses of people, which played a positive role when he wrote the "Hong Lou Meng." This is a well-known example.

In both contemporary and former times, the existence of some type of literature and art that is not subject to any leadership, in particular leadership by certain ideology, is or has been impossible. The question is merely that there are differences in the people who exercise leadership, the substance of leadership and the specific ways in which leadership is exercised.

The Question of Methodology in Analyzing Literary and Artistic Phenomena

Under party leadership, socialist literature and art has had a history of several decades. Why have not the Balzac, Tolstoy or Cao Xueqin of our times appeared? In history, these great writers attained a high degree of artistic perfection in reflecting the social lives of their own times. However, our socialist writers and artists have not attained such a high degree of perfection in reflecting the social life of our own times. In the final analysis, this is a historical phenomenon which can be explained only by historical reasons.

Here the question of methodology in analyzing literary and artistic phenomena is involved. In appraising the achievements of a writer or a number of writers, we must not sever the specific relationships between them and the particular conditions of their own times, or consider their achievements as the only criterion for appraising all literary and artistic phenomena of the times. The classical writers and our socialist writers and artists differ in the degree of artistic perfection attained in portraying the social lives of their own times. This is due to differences in historical conditions.

The classical writers' works were based on those societies governed by systems of private ownership that have existed for several thousand years. Various aspects and links in such systems, and various kinds of social contradictions inherent in such systems, have been repeatedly and fully exposed before people's eyes. People have attained a high degree of maturity in their perception and understanding of such systems and in their experience of artistically representing such systems, after long periods of argument, development, augmentation, and amendment as well as debates and discussions among different schools or different trends of thought. Socialism is a completely new cause in human history. Processes marked by gradual accumulation of experiences are involved in gradually consolidating, developing and perfecting the new social system while we are smashing the sabotage by domestic and foreign enemies and building this new system; in establishing new relationships among people; in forming a new spiritual world and new moral standards and customs; in understanding the new society and new personalities, ideologies, sentiments, and aesthetic requirements; and particularly in perfectly representing all these new things artistically. Socialist writers and artists differ greatly from their counterparts of former times in their inheritance and renewal of past literary and artistic experiences in matters of scope, extent and nature. The disposition, content and method of expression involved in the portrayal of such characters as Jia Baoyu and Lin Daiyu [characters in "Hong Lou Meng"] can be traced back to poetry and short stories of the Tang and Song dynasties and also poetic dramas of the Yuan and Ming dynasties, and clues to such characters may even be found in Qu Yuan's "Li Sao." Conversely, in portraying such characters as Qiao Guangpu and Bai Jie, although it is possible to inherit the artistic traditions of ancient

literature and art, such inheritance is much more indirect. In our literature and art, it is relatively easy to vividly portray those characters embodying old systems or interests of ruling classes, or the disposition and substance, which are stamped with the brand of the old times, of the characters. However, it is relatively difficult to comprehensively grasp, or accurately represent in depth, the mental characteristics of those characters who are the builders of the completely new socialist cause. Here lie the reasons.

It will be incompatible with historical facts to rashly criticize our writers and artists as incapable, or to attribute the problem merely to the party's mistakes in leadership, without specifically studying the problem in some particular historical context.

Party Leadership Is a Decisive Factor Affecting the Development of Socialist Literature and Art

Our literature and art are socialist in nature. This inevitably follows from the progress of China's social development and the general demands of the masses of people. Our literature and art constitute part of the whole cause of socialism. It is essentially new and is amalgamated with the struggle of the Chinese people for building socialism, subject to the guidance of general Marxist principles, the Marxist world outlook and Marxist aesthetic viewpoints. Its birth, development and destiny are closely related to party leadership, as blood is to flesh. Party leadership is indispensable to socialist literature and art, as to the entire socialist cause. This does not arise from, and cannot be altered by, a certain person's subjective will. This is an objective property which socialist literature and art must possess because of the inseparable and inevitable link between party leadership and socialism. Literature and art may exist without party leadership, but then they will certainly not be socialist in nature. If one wants to radically put an end to the socialist nature of literature and art, one must naturally do away with communist leadership. However, in China, this is not permitted by history, the people or the vast numbers of writers and artists.

The extent to which the literature and art of a certain era and a certain society thrive is basically determined by the extent to which they satisfy the needs of that era and that society, or in other words, by the closeness of their relationship with the majority of the masses of people in that society in that era. This point generally applies to the destiny of any trend of thought in literature or art, any literary or artistic school, or any individual writer or artist. One who bases oneself on reality and historical development, and stands on the side of the people, will have tremendous vitality and broad prospects. Declining and reactionary exploiting classes have corrupted, suppressed and persecuted progressive writers and artists in various ways, and they have never promoted, consciously and in an organized way, the establishment of close links between the writers, artists and the people. They even intentionally formulate and implement policies and measures which alienate or even isolate writers and artists from real life and from the people. Outstanding works of the old times were very often products of those progressive writers and artists who experienced straitened circumstances or misfortunes. Qu Yuan wrote "Li Sao" after he had been

attacked by the royal court; Li Bai wrote a great deal of outstanding poetry after he had been rejected by influential officials; Cao Xueqin wrote "Hong Lou Meng" when he was living in such straitened circumstances that "the whole family had to subsist on gruel and he often had to purchase liquor on credit." The saying, "literary works are antipathetic to success or fortunes in life," represents a phenomenon, of the nature of a law, governing literary and artistic development in the old times. Generally speaking, the establishment of the socialist system has signified that such old times have gone for good.

The Communist Party represents the interests of the overwhelming majority of people. In essence and in historical orientation, it is consistent with the ideology and sentiments of the majority of writers and artists. The party continuously enriches socialist literary and artistic theory, and educates and trains generations of socialist writers and artists and other writers and artists whose inclination is, in various degrees, in favor of socialism. For the first time in Chinese history, our party has linked socialist ideals and reality with the ideology, emotions and aesthetic requirements of the overwhelming majority of the masses of people. Our party leads and supports writers and artists to take deep root in the people's life, labor and struggle. It encourages them to more satisfactorily assimilate all outstanding literary and artistic experiences of our nation and other countries. With this in mind, it has formulated a series of correct principles and policies. Our party arms the writers and artists with Marxism, the most revolutionary and correct ideology in the history of mankind, and thus helps them to understand the real nature of society and to master the orientation of history amid the complicated phenomena of life. If we do not realize all this, and require our party to "govern by doing nothing that goes against nature" and to do nothing about literature and art, then the consequences will be dreadful to contemplate.

In many aspects, such as the scale and scope of development, the subject matter, themes, characters and forms of artistic expression, socialist literature and art has made marked advances compared with the progressive and revolutionary literature and art of the 18th and 19th centuries, thanks to the availability of numerous new things. It is well known that the great Lenin helped Gorky grow and mature. In our country, under our party's Marxist banner, writers of global influence, such as Lux Xun, Guo Moruo, Mao Dun, Ba Jin and so on have emerged. In China's literary and artistic history, never has there been, as we have today, such a large and well-organized contingent of writers and artists who include outstanding talented persons from all quarters. We now have several thousand newspapers, magazines and publishing houses to provide opportunities for the publication of literary and artistic works. We now have various kinds of sites and theaters all over the country for the performance of literary and artistic shows. We now have several hundred million people who are readers or audiences. As many as several hundred thousand to several million copies of a book may be printed. These are the fruits of the whole nation's joint efforts, of the writers and artists' arduous labor, and also of leadership by our party.

In a certain historical period, there were mistakes, some of them serious ones, in our party's guiding policies concerning literature and art, so that the healthy development of socialist literature and art was hampered. These mistakes

were mainly leftist ones. Some comrades who were responsible for leadership over literature and art did not adequately understand literature and art as a kind of mental labor, and attempted to establish a rigid relationship between literature and art and politics. In the exercise of leadership over our country's socialist literary and artistic undertakings, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has been, is, and will continue to be the guide to our action, but it does not, and is unable to, provide readymade solutions to various problems, theoretical ones or those related to policies, in our country's socialist literary and artistic work. We did not adequately carry out in-depth and systematic investigation and study of many new circumstances and new problems, in particular those in the realm of ideology, after the basic accomplishment of our socialist transformation. We basically employed old methods in exercising leadership over literature and art, so that some intrinsically avoidable shortcomings and mistakes have occurred. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, our party has resolutely corrected leftist mistakes in guiding policies. For example, it has ceased to use the slogan of "taking class struggle as the key link"; seriously criticized the erroneous principle of the "two whatevers"; conscientiously eliminated the harmful effects of the personality cult; corrected the verdicts on the 1957 case of wrongly labeling some people as rightists; emphasized that intellectuals constitute part of the working class and constitute a force, like the workers and peasants, on which the socialist cause relies; resolutely implemented the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend"; and so on. These have brought about unprecedented vigor and vitality in our country's socialist literary and artistic undertakings.

It is impossible for any political party of an advanced class to be free from all sorts of mistakes in waging great struggles in revolution and construction under extremely complicated circumstances. The question is that only a serious proletarian party, armed with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, can solemnly and conscientiously look squarely at and correct its own mistakes. Once the mistakes have been corrected, the party's leadership ability, standard and methods will be improved and become more mature. Therefore, the view that our party cannot exercise leadership over literature and art because it has committed mistakes is untenable.

Our Party's Leadership Over Literature and Art Is Mainly Political and Ideological Leadership

Our party's leadership over literature and art must in the first place ensure that literature and art develop along the correct political orientation. To achieve this goal, the party must perform various categories of meticulous and specific ideological work to help writers and artists establish the Marxist world outlook and aesthetic viewpoint, establish lofty communist ideals and firm conviction in struggling for such ideals, and establish the ideology of serving the people wholeheartedly. Our party must help the writers and artists deeply understand its tasks in a particular period as well as various principles and policies it formulates to fulfill these tasks. It must help them go deep into real life, understand the people, and gather and select various categories of subject matter necessary to the revolutionary cause and the people's interests. It must promote and encourage those literary and artistic trends which are conducive to social

progress and satisfy the people's spiritual needs, and also criticize or even put an end to those trends which hinder social progress or poison people's minds. It must fully bring into play the writers' and artists' enthusiasm in staying faithful to the people's cause and dedicating themselves to effecting the victory of socialism. It must respect and safeguard the writers' and artists' rights in literary and artistic practice and creation. These constitute the main substance of party leadership over literature and art. All these do not imply in the slightest degree, but actually help rectify, any flagrant interference in literary and artistic creation.

Our party leadership over literature and art is political and ideological in nature, instead of being leadership over routine work or technical matters. This point embodies three key implications. First, our party's sole aim is to work in the interests of the overwhelming majority of the masses of people. In the realm of leadership over literature and art, this aim implies that our party must vigorously enable all kinds of literary and artistic activities to promote the people's progress and unity, and to be consistent with the people's interests, sentiments and aesthetic requirements. Second, because there are different trends of thought among the people, writers and artists should consciously stand on the side of those social forces that represent the orientation of the advance of the times, so that their works will become the clarion call of advance of the times. What we call keeping abreast of the times here must not be summed up as complying with some particular short-lived trends, our subordinating literature and art to some specific tasks or work, or going after some fantastic or illusory things. Writers and artists must base themselves on their own social life in a down-to-earth manner, prevent themselves from being misled by superficial phenomena or minor matters, and vigorously get to understand and master those historical trends which Engels called the "resultant" of social movements. Only thus will they be able to scale the heights of literary and artistic creation. The two implications mentioned above mean that our party must lead the writers and artists to genuinely integrate themselves with the people and the times amid the progress of history. Third, our party must set more stringent demands on writers and artists who are party members than on those who are not. Of course, this does not mean that the party can wantonly interfere with their specific activities of creation. Instead, it means that the party has the right to require them to rigorously observe the party regulations and constitution and to fulfill party members' obligations. The party can require them to remain politically consistent with the party through their own highly effective practice of creation, and to draw the vast numbers of writers and artists to rally around the party through their exemplary ideological, political and artistic practice or behavior. If a comrade has voluntarily applied for admission into the party and has thus been admitted, then he must more thoroughly understand, and more resolutely implement, the party's principles and policies. He must not wrongly regard his personal inclinations or those of a minority of people as something representative of the people or the times, or even take a stand that is opposite to the party's stand.

The question lies not only in the necessity of the correct party leadership over literature and art, but also in the writers and artists' correct understanding of, and their acceptance of such leadership. The crucial point is that the

writers and artists must, in the course of going deep into life and among the masses, make use of the Marxist world outlook and aesthetic viewpoint to observe and understand various economic, political, and ideological relations and the sum total of various social relations, and to observe and understand man as a member of society and all relevant things. It is precisely in this sense that literature has always been regarded as a study of man, and writers and artists have also been respectfully called engineers of man's soul. It is also precisely in this sense that socialist literature and art, as part of the entire cause of socialism, is charged with the noble mission of encouraging, educating and uniting the people, and with the serious duties of employing literary and artistic weapons to effectively struggle against all hideous phenomena which may infringe on the people's interests or cause disruption to the cause of socialism.

In adhering to party leadership over literature and art, aside from opposing the mistake of viewing party leadership as wanton interference in specific activities of creation, we must also oppose the mistake of viewing party leadership as using literary and artistic means to depict certain political concepts and turning literature and art into a direct teaching aid used in connection with some particular policy or political movement. Over a long period of time, this mistake led to tendencies of turning literature and art into formulas, so that party leadership over literature and art was weakened and distorted, instead of being strengthened. Marxism is not a dogma. It actually is not, and cannot possibly become, a collection of detailed rules and regulations which specifically stipulate how writers and artists should portray characters, develop a plot, plan for the organization, or select colors or sound effects. If a writer or artist does not create works according to life experiences and the laws governing literature and art, he will never be able to create fine works. This truth has been affirmed thousands of times by the whole literature and art of mankind, including socialist literature and art. Marxism can only enhance the writers' and artists' respect for life and for laws governing literature and art. In other words, because the Marxist stand, viewpoints and methods guide the socialist writers and artists in observing, understanding and reflecting life as well as analyzing literary and artistic phenomena, Marxism runs through the whole process of creation, including the preliminary formation of ideas and the working out of the plot. The writers and artists must understand the objective processes of social life, which is the object of their depiction and the source of their creation. They must understand the essential relations among people and trends of historical movements. They must always stand on the side of the masses of people to perceive all these, and must make use of their own special artistic temperaments. They must thus prevent Marxism from becoming only political concepts and theoretical jargon which serve as externally used tags, which are unnaturally crammed into the works, and which are not necessarily related to the characters' dispositions or to the development of the plot. They must cause Marxism to merge into the works, as blood vessels and nerves merge into flesh. Marxism can acquire literary and artistic life only when it has become the writers' and artists' own thinking and emotion in the process of creation. By the same token, socialist literary and artistic creation can develop continuously only when it is guided in this way by Marxism. In this sense, the entirety of literary and artistic creation, and also the specific process of

creating literary or artistic works, must not be divorced from Marxism or the party's ideological and political leadership.

Establishing the Marxist world outlook and aesthetic viewpoint is particularly important for contemporary socialist writers and artists. Generally speaking, great literary and artistic works and great writers and artists in human history have invariably been born in times of great social change. Profound changes in social life and relations among people, vigorous emotions and trends of thought taking shape in turbulent historical movements, as well as reappraisals of various traditional social, political, philosophical, moral and aesthetic ideas of old times, continuously emerge on a solid and realistic basis, continuously renew people's ideals and pursuits and constitute a suitable hotbed for the historical development of literature and art. However, to sow seeds in this hotbed and subsequently have a good harvest of fruit, it is necessary for the writers and artists to use the advanced thoughts of the times to guide their own creation. Great writers and artists of the past, including those mentioned in this article, such as Balzac, Tolstoy and Cao Xueqin, all thoroughly understood the social life and advanced thoughts of their times. Without great times, or similarly, without advanced thoughts, there will not be any great literature and art. Carrying out our cause of socialist modernization on a full scale will inevitably bring about a series of profound changes in various realms of our country's social life, including the realm of people's spiritual life. In view of incessant changes in new circumstances and new problems, one will be unable to create any works that genuinely embody substantial ideological content or artistic value if one deviates even slightly from the Marxist path, for example, if one simplistically uses available book knowledge to adjudicate practice, which is much richer in content than book knowledge, instead of testing and developing Marxism in practice; or if one abandons basic Marxist principles.

Aside from formulating relevant principles and policies, the basic methods of exercising party leadership over literature and art are: first, through the cadres; and second, through literary and artistic criticism. Cadres in charge of leadership over work in the literary and artistic field shoulder heavy responsibility in implementing the party's principles and policies concerning literature and art. They should exchange views with writers and artists on an equal basis, as comrades do, and become their comrades and close friends. Of course, these comrades may themselves be writers or artists, or may have certain literary or artistic accomplishments, so that they understand to a relatively great extent the specific laws governing literature and art. However, some comrades may understand little about such laws. In this their lack of knowledge will inevitably be unfavorable to exercising leadership over literature and art, and the party will definitely require them to learn to master, as quickly as possible, the characteristics of literature and art as a realm of spiritual production. The party will require them to learn with an open mind from the writers and artists, and thus to change from laymen into experts. In handling differences in schools or styles of literature or art, and differences in artistic views or other views concerning cognition, and in handling relevant debates on matters of right and wrong, our party will persistently adopt the policy of "letting a hundred flowers blossom and a hundred schools of thought contend," and will support and safeguard discussions on an equal basis among writers and

artists, and painstaking exploration by them, in the course of their practice in artistic creation.

In this sense, literary and artistic criticism, as an important channel through which writers and artists listen to the people's opinions, accept the people's supervision and assimilate useful things from among the people, must also play an important role in the exercise of leadership by the party over literature and art.

It is precisely because of party leadership that a wide field of activity is available to the writers and artists, in which they can freely practice their own artistic expression and creation. Socialist literature and art exists and continues to develop under party leadership. Our party's leadership over literature and art also continues to improve. This is a picture of the history, present situation, future prospects and hope of our country's socialist literature and art.

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EXPLORING THE ROAD OF OUR COUNTRY'S SOCIALIST CONSTRUCTION

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[Article by Wang Menggui [3769 1125 1145]]

[Text] Synopsis: [During the 10 years from 1956 to 1966, the party led the whole people in starting all-round and large-scale economic construction and actively exploring the road of our country's socialist construction. We made major achievements during this period, but at the same time the party made leftist mistakes in guiding ideology and such mistakes were mainly revealed in the hasty transition of the means of production and in the impatience for success in economic construction. Resolute measures were then taken, under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, to correct these mistakes and consequently we were able to rehabilitate the national economy in a fairly short period and to make it again develop healthily. This situation demonstrated the vitality and superiority of the socialist system. The experiences and lessons gained in these 10 years in the course of socialist economic construction are of practical significance for us today in carrying out socialist modernization construction.]

The people throughout the country began massive socialist construction in 1956 and continued it, under the party's leadership, until the eve of the "Great Cultural Revolution" in 1966. These were the 10 years during which we were exploring the road of our country's socialist construction. To historically recall the economic development during these 10 years will help us understand even more deeply the spirit of the "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China," correctly learn from the experiences and lessons and carry out smoothly the construction of modernization.

I

The socialist transformation of the means of production based on private ownership was basically completed in 1956. Such a great change in the socioeconomic system pushed our economic construction to a new stage. Consequently, it became

a task for the whole party and people to explore the road for our socialist construction.

The revolution and construction of any country should be carried out according to the specific conditions of that country. In no way can it completely follow the experiences of other countries or the set results found in books. For a vast country with such a huge population and a backward economy and culture as ours, it is even more necessary to proceed from the situation of our country and explore the road for carrying out socialist construction under the specific conditions of our country. In carrying out democratic revolution, we once suffered from dogmatism and it was only after we overcame this mistake that the Chinese revolution was able to achieve victory in its own particular way. Following the founding of new China, our party succeeded in creatively transforming the means of production based on private ownership in carrying out economic construction in the new situation. It is also necessary for us to explore our own road of advance.

Will it do for us to carry out our construction in the future by completely following the experience of the first 5-year plan because that plan was successful? No. First, our socialist economy has experienced great changes since the victory in the transformation of the private means of production. Second, there were mistakes during the first 5-year plan. For example, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that paying attention to the "bones" and neglecting the "flesh" in construction would give rise to many problems. Comrade Zhou Enlai also pointed out that some years were characterized by shortcomings such as excessive construction, publicity of efforts by various departments, impatience for success, blindness and rash advance. Comrade Chen Yun particularly studied the problems arising after the upsurge of the socialist transformation, analyzed the shortcomings of the economic system and made suggestions for solving these problems.

Because we lacked experience and because there were no other completed projects for us to learn from during the first 5-year plan, our industrial capital construction, and in particular heavy industry, could not but follow the pattern of the Soviet Union. Our own initiatives were few. This was inevitable at that time and yet it was not a permanent solution. In particular, when our country entered the new period of socialist construction, the problems of the Soviet Union in economic construction had already fully revealed themselves. Some East European countries followed the Soviet experience by lopsidedly developing heavy industry, and consequently such measures ended in serious economic problems. This situation made people seriously consider and explore the road for socialist construction that accords with the situation of their own countries. This is precisely what our party did. Not being satisfied with past achievements, looking at the inadequate aspects of successful experiences, and boldly continuing to explore the road of advance--all this showed our party's revolutionary spirit of constantly making progress.

Comrade Mao Zedong was an advocate and tireless practitioner of exploring the road to development. On the basis of wide studies and investigations, Comrade Mao Zedong made the famous report "The 10 Major Relationships" in April 1956. In this report he initially summed up the basic experiences of our socialist

construction during that period and put forward the task of exploring a road for building socialism that accords with the situation of our country. He said: "What merits our particular attention is that the Soviet Union has recently exposed its shortcomings and mistakes in the course of building socialism. Do you want to take the tortuous path it has traversed? In the past, because we learned from their experiences and lessons we were able to take the road with fewer curves. But now it is more necessary for us to be cautious." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 5, p 267) The various relationships mentioned in this report, particularly the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture, the relationship between industry in coastal areas and the hinterland, the relationship between economic construction and national defense construction, the relationship between the state, production units and individual producers, and the relationship between the capital and provinces are invaluable insights for use on the road of our economic construction.

The eighth party congress, which opened in September of the same year, was an important milestone in exploring the road of our socialist economic construction. Proceeding from facts, the congress summed up the successful experiences, shortcomings and mistakes of the socialist transformation and the first 5-year plan. In addition, according to new changes in class relations, the congress concluded in due time that the principal contradiction at home was the contradiction between the needs of the people for rapid economic and cultural development and the situation in which our economy and culture had failed to meet the needs of the people, and that the main task of the party and the people was to concentrate their efforts on developing social productivity.

In the spring of 1957, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that it was imperative to correctly differentiate and handle the two contradictions of different natures in socialist society and to regard the correct handling of the contradiction among the people as the main object of state political life, so as to unite the people of various nationalities across the country in launching a war against nature and also to develop our economy and culture. In early 1958, he again suggested diverting the key work of the party and the state to technical revolution and socialist construction. This suggestion was a continuation of the recommendations of the eighth party congress.

If we regard the 10 years from 1956 to 1966 as the first stage in historical development since the founding of new China, then taken as a whole, we made great achievements in economic construction during this stage. Compared with 1956 and calculated on the basis of the original prices, the national industrial fixed assets had increased by 300 percent by 1966; according to the prices in the same year, the national revenue had increased by 58 percent, and this meant a 34 percent average per capita increase. For major industrial products, cotton yarn increased by 64 percent, steel 24 percent, coal 130 percent, power-generating capacity 400 percent, metal-cutting machine tools 110 percent and oil 1,150 percent. We became self-sufficient in these respects in 1965. A number of new industrial departments such as electronics and petrochemicals were set up. We also began to produce chemical fibers, synthetic detergent and television sets during this period. Vehicle and tractor industries were also set up on a basic scale and began production during this period. The location of industry

was improved. Large-scale farm capital construction and technical transformation were launched with initial achievements. The use of tractors and the volume of the application of chemical fertilizer increased by more than 600 percent, the volume of electricity consumed by rural areas increased by 7,000 percent and the number of power machines for irrigation increased by over 2,000 percent. Railway mileage increased by 32 percent and road mileage increased by 140 percent. Considerable achievements were made in scientific technology during this period, which also witnessed the successful testing of nuclear weapons. The "resolution" pointed out that "most of the material foundation for the current modernization construction was set up during this period and most of the backbone force for the national economic and cultural construction was also trained and accumulated experience during this period." Such conclusions accord with reality.

II

The road of exploration is uneven. In the course of our socialist construction during these 10 years, serious mistakes were made that caused our economy to develop tortuously. The main mistakes included those of the leftists such as high goals, arbitrary and impractical orders, proneness to boasting and exaggerating, and the tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely. To sum up, these leftist mistakes were mainly in the following two aspects:

First, there was a hasty transition of the ownership of means of production. Following basic accomplishments in the transformation of the private means of production, our basic task changed from liberating productivity to protecting and developing it under the new relations of production. Therefore, it was imperative to stabilize the newly formed socialist relations of production so that these relations would become more perfect and the errors and shortcomings that might occur in the course of transformation could be overcome. But it was a pity that we did not do so, and only developed these shortcomings and errors later. At a time when the advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives in rural areas were yet to be consolidated, it was alleged that such cooperative organizations no longer accorded with the needs of the developing situation. Consequently, the campaign for establishing the people's communes was launched in 1958, and more than 740,000 agricultural producers' cooperatives across the country were merged and upgraded into over 23,000 people's communes. It was considered that the transition from collective ownership to ownership by the whole people would soon be completed; even communism was not considered far away for our country. Such views were followed by some economic measures that confused the dividing line between socialist society and communist society and between different stages in the development of socialist society, and there also occurred a serious expropriation of peasants' property. Egalitarianism developed to a serious extent in and between production teams as well as between people's communes. The principle of distribution according to work was spoiled. It was also said that exchange of commodities and the law of value had already completed their historical mission and they must withdraw from the arena of socio-economic life. All this spoiled the normal order of social economy, pushed various production links into chaotic situations and hampered the production initiative of the hundreds of millions of peasants. In urban areas, individual

households and industrial handicraft households were prematurely turned into state enterprises and cooperatives and made too large in scope. As a result, social and economic life was adversely affected.

Second, there was impatience for success in economic construction. As early as during the upsurge of the agricultural cooperation at the end of 1955, we overestimated the pace of economic development, and consequently in 1956 we committed the mistake of making a hasty advance. It was fortunate that this mistake was corrected in time to prevent a nationwide mistake. But from early 1958, opposition to hasty advance was criticized as wrong, while correct ideas and methods for opposing and correcting impatience for success and hasty advance were criticized as conservatism. As a result, the leftist mistakes in economic work continued to develop and soon developed into the nationwide campaign of the "Great Leap Forward." In the sector of industrial production, it was required that steel output be doubled in 1 to 2 years; other departments followed and, as a result, there generally appeared inflated goals. It was also alleged that agricultural production had increased several to dozens of times. Proceeding from such unrealistic estimations, the investment in capital construction was increased by about 100 percent and the number of workers drastically increased by more than 20 million, which surpassed the capability of our country. Hundreds of thousands of peasants took part in making steel and thus seriously weakened the frontline of agricultural production. Consequently, the whole national economy was tense following the appearance of these serious imbalances.

Our national economy was in a very difficult situation in the period of 1959 to 1961 mainly because of leftist mistakes in the guiding ideology of economic work; this was also the result of natural disasters and the perfidious act of the Soviet Union in tearing up hundreds of agreements and contracts. Agricultural production continued to drop for 3 successive years starting in 1959; light industrial production also dropped for 3 successive years beginning in 1960. Heavy industry was able to hold its production level until 1960, but it dropped drastically in the following 2 years. The state and the people suffered seriously.]

What were the reasons for such serious mistakes?

[The history of mankind shows that any new socioeconomic system is formed and consolidated through various difficulties.] Take the capitalist system for example. The bourgeois revolution in Britain began in 1640 and the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie was consolidated following half a century of chaos and turmoil. The bourgeoisie were able to gradually form their own material and technical foundation another half century later in 1769 after the invention of the steam engine. The capitalist management system also gradually became perfected and mature after much turmoil, chaos and sabotage. But by then the death knell of the bourgeoisie had already tolled. In the course of the development of the capitalist economy, the serious changes caused by cyclical economic crises are well known. Capitalist enterprise management had been in existence for 200 years. But it was not until early in this century, when the Taylor system was introduced, that it embarked on the road of so-called scientific management. From the standpoint of the whole world, the socialist economic system, begun during the October

Revolution in the Soviet Union, had a history of no more than 40 years. [The PRC had been founded only less than 10 years before, and the transformation of the private ownership of the means of production had only been basically completed 2 years before. Therefore, the various links in the relationships of socialist production were yet to be perfected. To a greater extent, people did not really understand the objective law of the development of socialist economy; nor did they really understand the situation in the Chinese economy. Therefore, they just began to explore how to carry out socialist construction according to the situations of our country without any experience. Under such conditions it was inevitable that various problems and mistakes cropped up.]

It requires a process of accumulating experiences. The responsibility of leaders is to try their best to make as few mistakes as possible and to learn from individual, partial and temporary mistakes so as to avoid nationwide mistakes and those with long-term effects. Therefore, they must be modest and prudent. It can be said that during the first 5-year plan we had no experience at all, but why did we not commit such serious mistakes as we did in 1958? An important reason was that the whole party was modest and prudent and worked wholeheartedly for revolution and construction. During these years, various undertakings were unexpectedly carried out smoothly. The achievements we made during this period are known to all. The party enjoyed much higher prestige. The prestige of Comrade Mao Zedong reached its peak. Unluckily, with this series of victories and consequent praise, Comrade Mao Zedong and other leading comrades of the party Central Committee and the localities gradually become conceited. [They exaggerated the role of subjective will and of subjective efforts, neglected objective economic law and failed to calmly judge things objectively. They wanted to solve at once all of the problems arising in the course of socialist construction, and consequently they made the mistake of blindly pursuing rash advance.]

Another important reason for such mistakes was that the good tradition of the party was spoiled. [Exaggerating the role of subjective will eventually depart from the ideological line of seeking truth from facts and proceeding from reality, and will eventually cause one to fall into subjectivism. For example, the campaigns for major events that were related to the whole country, such as the launching of the "Great Leap Forward" and the setting up of the people's communes, were carried out across the country without conscientious study, investigations and trials. Many important measures were taken without first soliciting the opinions of cadres, experts in various sectors and the masses and were not based on strictly scientific grounds. All this could not but result in arbitrary orders, proneness to boasting and exaggerating, and forcible orders. It was true that the mass line was time and again stressed during this period, but under such circumstances work was often carried out with undue regard to formalism rather than in a down-to-earth way and it ran counter to the mass line. Endless political movements and the broadening in scope of class struggle weakened and spoiled the principle of collective leadership in the political life of the party and the state, stifled criticisms and suggestions, and hampered the efforts to prevent and correct mistakes by relying on the wisdom of the collective. As China is a vast country with a backward economy and culture, once the hundreds of millions of people take part in social movements, those movements are difficult to control and it is difficult to correct mistakes.]

III

There are no political parties and individuals that never make mistakes, even if they are great parties and individuals. One becomes a great leader not because he never makes mistakes but because he conscientiously corrects his mistakes. Lenin said: "The attitude taken by a political party toward its mistakes is the most important and reliable yardstick to measure whether this party is serious and conscientious and whether it is truly carrying out its obligation toward its own class and the laboring people. [To openly acknowledge its mistakes, expose the reasons for these mistakes, analyze the environment of these mistakes and meticulously discuss the method for correcting them--all these constitute criteria for a serious and conscientious political party.] By such measures this party is carrying out its obligation, educating and training its own class and even educating and training the masses of people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 31, p 39) Our party is a party that is responsible to the people and respects Marxism.

Shortly after the campaign for the "Great Leap Forward" and the commencement of people's communes, the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong began to sense that mistakes were being made in the work in rural areas as well as in economic work and they led the whole party to correct these mistakes. Comrade Mao Zedong made extensive studies and investigations. At the Zhengzhou meeting in November 1958, he stressed the role of commodity production and the law of value and called on the broad masses of cadres to read the book "The Economic Problems of the Soviet Socialist Economy" written by Stalin from the point of view of our economic construction so that "we will become clearheaded in the interest of guiding our great economic work." The 8th Plenary Session of the 6th CCP Central Committee, which was held in December of the same year, passed the "Resolution on Some Questions Concerning the People's Communes" and pointed out that we could in no way confuse the dividing line between socialism and communism and between collective ownership and ownership by the whole people. It pointed out that the principles of developing commodity production and of maintaining distribution according to work were two important principles for developing the socialist economy, and therefore the whole party must understand these principles. It also pointed out that, in carrying out any movement, the party must adhere to the principle of combining revolutionary zeal with the scientific approach. The second Zhengzhou meeting, which was held by the party Central Committee in February 1959, defined the three-level ownership by the people's communes. At this meeting Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that expropriating the peasants was forbidden; he also opposed the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" characterized by "egalitarianism, indiscriminate transfer of resources and indiscriminate collecting of remittances."

Such measures to correct leftist mistakes in economic work were cut off by the "antirightist" campaign that was erroneously launched throughout the party following the Lushan meeting. Practice educated people. In the winter of 1960, the party Central Committee decided to carry out the national economic principle of "readjusting, consolidating, enriching and improving" by working and carrying out a series of correct policies and decisive measures to correct leftist mistakes, to improve economic situations and consequently to make an important turning point in this historical stage.

With regard to rural policies, the party Central Committee issued an emergency letter of instruction in November 1960 that required various places to resolutely oppose and thoroughly correct the "tendency to effect the transition to communism prematurely" and formulated a series of policies and regulations. The "Draft Regulations on the Work in Rural People's Communes," or the "Sixty Regulations for Agriculture," were formulated in March 1961. Following a period of practice and constant improvement, the "Sixty Draft Regulations" were formulated in September 1962. These regulations explicitly defined the nature, organization and size of the rural people's communes at that stage; the management of the people's communes, production brigades and production teams; and the sideline production by peasant households, commune members, cadres, supervisory organizations and party organizations in order to ensure the implementation of various rural policies. They have played an important role in consolidating the people's communes and developing agricultural production.

In order to systematically sum up the experiences in guiding industrial enterprises and to explore the regulations and systems for the management of enterprises that are in line with the specific conditions of our country, we formulated the "Working Regulations for State Industrial Enterprises," or the "Seventy Regulations for Industry." These regulations properly defined the basic principles of industrial management, planning management, technical management, labor management, coordination, responsibility systems, the factory directors' responsibility system under the leadership of the party committee, workers' unions, and congresses and party work.

In the commercial sector, there were the "Regulations for Improving Commercial Work," or the "Forty Regulations for Commerce." These regulations also properly defined the principles of commercial work, such as exchanging at equal value, the system for promoting contracts on the purchase of agricultural products, improving the work of state commerce, rehabilitating supply and sales cooperatives, cooperative shops and cooperative teams, opening free markets in rural areas, restoring the processing of agricultural products related to commerce in rural areas and improving the management of commercial enterprises.

Draft regulations on work in the sectors of scientific technology, culture and education were also formulated. Like the above-mentioned working regulations for agriculture, industry and commerce, the commercial regulations systematically summed up experiences and defined various policies that accorded with the situation at that time.

Measures were also taken to conscientiously readjust economic construction. They included simplifying administrative structure and reducing the number of workers; curtailing capital construction; decreasing the output of such heavy industrial products as steel, while some of the enterprises that were built during the "Great Leap Forward" and had low efficiency, high consumption and low quality were closed down, suspended, merged or shifted to other production; increasing the sales prices of agricultural and sideline products in order to lighten the burden on peasants and enable them to recuperate and to strengthen the support given to agriculture by various trades; rectifying the production order, improving economic management and stepping up unified leadership;

stabilizing markets, withdrawing currency from circulation and getting rid of the financial deficit; and lowering the accumulation rate and taking all possible measures to guarantee people's daily necessities.

An enlarged meeting on the work of the party Central Committee was convened in January 1962 in order to initially sum up the experiences and lessons of the "Great Leap Forward" and launch criticism and self-criticism. At the meeting, the cases of most comrades who were mistakenly criticized during the campaign "against right deviation" were reexamined and redressed. In addition, most of those who were labeled as "rightists" had their labels removed. Thanks to such political and economical measures, we were able to rehabilitate and develop our national economy in a fairly short period of time. Agricultural production began to recover in 1962. Gross agricultural output value in 1962 was 6.2 percent higher than in 1961, the figure for 1963 was 11.6 percent higher than in 1962, and for 1964 it was 13.5 percent higher than in 1963. The output of major agricultural and animal husbandry products, such as cotton, cured tobacco, sugarcane, hogs and sheep, surpassed the 1957 level, which was the last year of the first 5-year plan. Industrial production recovered in 1963. Gross industrial output value in 1963 was 8.5 percent higher than in 1962, and the figure for 1964 was 19.6 percent higher than in 1963. From 1961 to 1964, the varieties of major industrial products increased by about 24,000. Quality was generally improved. The economic results of many departments and enterprises reached an all-time high in that period. The urgently needed industrial departments such as oil and chemical fibers were improved. Following the recovery and development of agricultural and industrial production, market supplies improved and prices tended to stabilize. Financial revenue and expenditure were balanced and credits improved. The volume of foreign trade increased considerably. The culture, education, sports and health sectors also experienced a new development. The life of the people across the country gradually improved.

With the above-mentioned facts in mind, the late Premier Zhou Enlai declared at the first meeting of the third national people's congress in December 1964: "Now that the tasks of readjusting the national economy have been basically completed, an all-round upsurge has occurred in industrial and agricultural production, and the entire national economy has improved and will enter a new period of development."

Our socialist economic system met with serious tests soon after it was formed. But it withstood the tests and became firmer and stronger. Under the leadership of the party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Zedong, the whole party and the whole people united as one, relied on their own efforts, worked unremittingly, and soon overcame the difficulties with strong will and strict discipline. All this demonstrates the vitality and superiority of the socialist system and shows that our party and people are a great party and people.

IV

What lessons should we learn from the successes and failures and developments and setbacks in exploring the road of socialist construction in our country from 1956 to 1966?

First, economic construction must comply with objective law. The establishment of the socialist system has provided us with objective possibilities for carrying out economic construction in a planned way, rapidly developing social productivity and meeting the increasing needs of people's material and cultural life. But it is impossible to turn these possibilities into reality by relying mainly on subjective desires and zeal in construction. We must uphold the principle of seeking truth from facts, proceed from reality, and correctly understand and strictly follow objective economic law. People will understand objective economic law in the course of economic construction and this understanding requires time; it will gradually deepen in the course of practice. Such an understanding cannot be attained at one stroke. We deepened our understanding of the laws of socialist construction, and accumulated important experiences in guiding socialist construction through our own experiences and lessons in exploring the road for socialist economic construction, during these 10 years. Through this practice our party and people have become more mature.

In summing up these experiences, the "resolution" pointed out: "In guiding the work of correcting the mistakes during the 'Great Leap Forward' and the campaign for establishing the people's communes, Comrade Mao Zedong advised the people not to expropriate the peasants, not to bypass steps in development, and to oppose egalitarianism, stressed the importance of developing commodity production, observing the law of value and realizing comprehensive balances, and suggested that national economic planning be arranged in the order of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry. Comrade Liu Shaoqi said that many of the means of production could be used as exchangeable commodities and that a socialist society might have two labor systems and two educational systems. Comrade Zhou Enlai pointed out that the majority of the intellectuals in our country have become laboring intellectuals and that scientific technology would play a key role in the modernization of our country. Comrade Chen Yun pointed out that a planned goal must accord with reality, the scale of construction must accord with the capability of the country, consideration must be given to both the people's life and state construction and that in working out a plan, goods and materials, finances and credit must be balanced. Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth views about rectifying industrial enterprises, improving and stepping up the management of enterprises and setting up the system of workers' congresses. Comrade Zhu De pointed out the necessity of developing handicraft industries and diversified agricultural management, and Comrade Deng Zihui pointed out that it was necessary to introduce production responsibility systems in agriculture. All these were and are of a great significance. In the course of readjusting the national economy, the party Central Committee formulated the draft regulations on the work of rural people's communes, industry, commerce, education, sciences, literature and art in order to systematically sum up the experiences of socialist construction. These regulations defined various policies that were in line with the situations at that time, and they are still very important for us to learn from today."

All these are the fruit of the experiences gained in practice during the 10 years; they represent important achievements in exploring the road of socialist construction and are of great significance for the current situation of modernization. But all these do not and cannot represent a complete understanding of the

law of the development of socialist economy. Practice itself is development. The current situation of our country not only fundamentally differs from that of the 10 years of the "Great Cultural Revolution" but also basically differs from the 17 years prior to this "revolution." Therefore in studying and learning from historical experiences we must also pay attention to studying new situations and solving new problems. In January 1962, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out at an enlarged work conference of the party Central Committee: "To a great extent we are building socialism blindly. For us, many aspects of a socialist economy exist in the realms of necessity that are yet to be understood." It is true that our understanding of the laws of the development of socialist economy now has surpassed the level of any period after the founding of the PRC, but, taken as a whole, this understanding is far from adequate. We are still facing many areas of necessity which are yet to be understood. We will be able to avoid tortuous paths and achieve desired results only when we are able to combine the general principles of Marxism with the practice of our socialist construction, stand closely with the masses of the people and continue to explore the laws of our socialist construction.

Second, the changes in the relations of production must accord with the situation in productivity. The 6th Plenary Session of the 8th CCP Central Committee pointed out in December 1958: "The relations of production must accord with the nature of productivity. Productivity itself gives rise to certain changes in the relations of production only when this productivity has developed to a certain extent. This is a basic principle of Marxism." This is a perfect historical summing up of the experiences and lessons of the campaign for setting up the rural people's communes in 1958. At that time, the "transition" was carried out beyond the development of productivity, and the scope and degree of public ownership surpassed the objective needs in the development of productivity, and consequently the development of productivity was spoiled. Measures were taken to readjust not only the relations between the growth and proportion of the economy but also to readjust the relations of production. The nature of this readjustment was to base the relations of production on reality. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, measures have been taken to restructure economic management systems, introduce various forms of the responsibility system of linking remuneration to output, rehabilitate and properly expand private plots, rehabilitate free markets in rural areas, and rehabilitate and develop individual economies in cities and towns. In short, the relations of production have been readjusted so that they accord with the needs of the development of productivity. Practice over the past few years initially proved the correctness of this readjustment.

Third, the growth of the economy must be stable. Our country was long subject to poverty, and therefore it is only natural that, following the establishment of a socialist system, people across the country are eager to develop the national economy at a high speed. Also, without doubt, we must work actively and unremittingly so that our economy will be able to grow at a high speed. But we must understand that, basically speaking, the rate of growth of the economy does not depend on subjective desire; it depends on the objective needs and possibilities of the development of social production. It is undeniably true that during a certain period the economy might grow faster than in ordinary periods, but such

a "leap" happens only under objective conditions such as a great improvement of labor productivity following a scientific technical revolution and favorable internal and external situations during a certain period. But such a growth is conditioned by various situations and is independent of people's will. We are carrying out socialist construction in a country with hundreds of millions of peasants. For a country as big as ours with a huge population and weak foundation coupled with a backward economy and culture, it is impossible to complete a basic technical transformation at one stroke. We must clearly estimate the difficulties, and with these estimations, plan the development of our economy so that we will be able to gradually realize our economic goal stage by stage. It is true that during the years of the "Great Leap Forward," it was often mentioned that our country was poor and blank. We stressed the ideology that with poverty people will work hard to change such a situation (of course this was correct). On the other hand, we underestimated the difficulties caused by poverty and backwardness in carrying out socialist construction. As a result, we were impatient for success and made haste blindly in our work and this led to leftist mistakes. Readjustment measures were then taken to lower the speed, and owing to these measures the damaged national economy was later revived. But this does not mean that the lower the speed the better the result. We must understand that the masses of people are highly enthusiastic to change poverty and backwardness. Therefore, under the leadership of the party and by making full use of the national foundation that has been built over the past 3 decades and more, in the long run our economy will be able to grow rapidly as long as we are able to stabilize growth and avoid big fluctuations. There are no grounds for being pessimistic.

Fourth, we must be good at summing up experiences. Socialist construction is a great cause never before carried out by mankind. And since it is necessary to explore a road in the course of practice, we must therefore constantly sum up our experiences so that we will be able to make progress rather smoothly. Practice proved that to sum up experiences and digest them is not an easy job. The eighth party congress summed up the experiences and lessons of the first 5-year plan. But the serious mistakes made during the "Great Leap Forward" and during the campaign for setting up the people's communes showed that these experiences and lessons were neither digested nor absorbed. As a result, we failed to utilize the successful experiences; on the contrary, we developed shortcomings and mistakes. Through such serious mistakes, the people were able in the early 1960's to sum up the experiences and lessons of this economic construction and to understand the laws of socialist construction in a way that was much deeper than the understanding during the eighth party congress. But, as we did not completely correct the leftist mistakes from the point of view of guiding ideology, with the improvement of the economic situation we went in the opposite direction and regarded the effective policies and measures during the economic readjustment period as rightist mistakes and criticized them. As a result, we could not help but again make leftist mistakes. The situation was worse during the "Great Cultural Revolution," when the economic readjustment and the summing up of the experiences during the early 1960's were criticized as the "restoration of capitalism," only to make leftist mistakes even more rampant. [This showed that the whole party had not been able to digest and absorb the experiences and lessons during the 17 years following the founding of new China.]

The positive and negative experiences in our economic construction since the founding of new China have educated the party and people. The whole party and the whole nation ardently hope to constantly sum up our experiences so that our economy will be able to develop more smoothly. The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the People's Republic of China" was formulated to meet the needs of this development. The "resolution" has properly summed up the experiences and lessons of our socialist construction since the founding of the PRC, and pointed out that our party has gradually built up a road for the construction of modernization that is in line with our specific conditions. This resolution is the fruitful result of the endless exploration and repeated practice over many years by the whole party and people. Of course, this road has to be enriched and developed in the course of practice. New problems will certainly crop up in the construction of modernization. The exploration of the road for our socialist construction has not ended. As long as the whole party closely unites as one and joins together with the whole people in their advance in the direction pointed by the "resolution," it will make fewer mistakes in the course of exploration and avoid serious setbacks in order to guarantee that the construction of the socialist modernization is carried out smoothly.

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UPHOLD MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT, DEVELOP MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT--STUDYING THE 'RESOLUTION ON CERTAIN QUESTIONS IN THE HISTORY OF OUR PARTY SINCE THE FOUNDING OF THE PRC'

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[Article by Yuan Mu [5913 2606]]

[Text] Synopsis: This article focuses on the discussion of how, by studying the "resolution," to correctly treat the question of Mao Zedong Thought. The author holds that the emergence of Mao Zedong Thought occurred under the specific historical conditions of the Chinese revolution and also under the specific historical conditions of the international communist movement, Mao Zedong Thought has been proven in practice to be the correct theoretical principles and summation of experiences. In the past, it was, at present it is, and in the future it will still be our party's guiding thought. We must distinguish Mao Zedong Thought, which was formed into a scientific theory through a long period of historical tests, from the mistakes made by Comrade Mao Zedong in his later years, and must oppose the two mistaken tendencies to negate the guiding role of Mao Zedong Thought and to take a dogmatic attitude toward Comrade Mao Zedong's expression of his political views. We must unwaveringly uphold Mao Zedong Thought and further enrich and develop Mao Zedong Thought.

The "Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC" adopted at the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee resolutely rejected the existing erroneous attitudes of total affirmation or total negation in evaluating great historic figures with shortcomings and mistakes in the international communist movement and evaluated in a manner of seeking truth from facts Comrade Mao Zedong's historical position in the Chinese revolution and the great role played by Mao Zedong Thought. The resolution gave an appropriate criticism of Comrade Mao Zedong's serious mistakes in his later years and at the same time fully affirmed his meritorious service, stating that his contributions far outweighed his mistakes and that his merits were primary and his errors secondary. It also stated that Mao Zedong Thought, which was the product of the collective struggle of the party and the people and with Comrade Mao Zedong as the chief representative, remains the guiding

ideology of our party. This correct stand and scientific attitude of dialectical and historical materialism taken by the resolution fully shows that our party is a mature and solemn party with a high level of Marxism and is a party loyal to history, loyal to truth and loyal to the people. After the resolution was made public, some people among the masses commented: "The party Central Committee has sufficiently and thoroughly enumerated the merits of Chairman Mao. It seems as if he has been invited from the sky back to earth again and has been changed from a god back to a man again. He is now much closer to us and is now much dearer to us." Others said, "Mao Zedong Thought is our national treasure and is a banner of victory of the Chinese people. It should never be abandoned! With it, we have a mainstay!" These words expressed in a simple way the feelings of millions of people. How well they put it!

At present, the whole party, the whole army and the people of all nationalities are seriously studying, publicizing and implementing this brilliant Marxist historical document of the party. In the course of this, all communists and revolutionary comrades should enthusiastically and voluntarily explain the basic viewpoints of the resolution in an extensive way among the masses in order to further unify the people's thinking on the basis of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. In this way, the ideological and political unity of our party and the people will be greatly strengthened and the victory of our socialist modernization will be more reliably guaranteed.

This article mainly puts forth some tentative ideas about how to correctly understand and look upon Mao Zedong Thought through studying the resolution.

1. It Was Historically Inevitable That Mao Zedong Thought Was Established as the Party's Guiding Ideology

The history of the CCP in the past 60 years' heroic struggle of advancing wave upon wave for the Chinese people's liberation and the socialist cause was also a history of traversing a difficult and tortuous path and gradually integrating the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution. It was in the process of this integration that the great Mao Zedong Thought gradually came into being, took shape and developed. The establishment and recognition of Mao Zedong Thought as the guiding ideology of our party as well as of the whole country and the people was an inevitable outcome of the development of the Chinese revolution. This was determined by its historical position in the Chinese revolution and the great objective role played by it and it was not at all artificially set up by anyone. Artificially "putting Mao Zedong Thought in ascendance" was a scheme of Lin Biao, Jiang Qing and their ilk "to put themselves in ascendance under the disguise of putting others in ascendance." It was extremely absurd. It is also wrong and intolerable to adopt an attitude of belittling and even negating Mao Zedong Thought, ignoring and even obliterating the fact that it was a historical product.

The review by the "resolution" of the 28 years' history since the founding of the PRC and its exposition of the process of the formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought fully showed that Mao Zedong Thought was the product of the specific historical conditions of the Chinese revolution and the specific

historical conditions of the international communist movement. It was not at all an accidental phenomenon. Without Mao Zedong, there could not have been the victory of the Chinese revolution.

Although there were only 50 or so party members when the CCP was first set up, it soon developed in the struggle into an unprecedented leading force because, starting from the date of its birth, it had held high the great banner of Marxism-Leninism and plunged heroically and defying all dangers into the mighty working class movement and other anti-imperialist and antifeudal struggles. However, at the moment when the revolution was forging vigorously ahead, the Kuomintang controlled by Chiang Kai-shek and Wang Jingwei betrayed the revolution, colluded with imperialism and internal reactionary forces, and turned against the communists and the revolutionary people. But at this time, our party was under the erroneous leadership of Chen Duxiu's right deviationist capitulationism. That was the cause of the bitter failure of the surging great revolution in 1927. If at that time Comrade Mao Zedong and other outstanding leaders of the party had not resolutely carried out armed resistance against the Kuomintang reactionaries, shifted the focus of the revolution from town to countryside, preserved, restored and developed the revolutionary forces in the countryside and set up in succession the worker-peasant Red Army and a series of revolutionary base areas in Jinggang Mountains and other places, the Chinese revolution would have been unable to find a foothold and there would have been the distinct possibility of its meeting a premature end. This period, the latter part of the first revolutionary civil war, can be said to be the period in which Mao Zedong Thought began to take shape.

The failure of the great revolution in 1927 made some inner-party people with advanced thinking begin to understand better that in making revolution in a large Eastern semicolonial, semifeudal and backward country like China, we were bound to meet with many special, complicated problems and it was impossible to win victory if we simply relied on reciting the general principles of Marxism-Leninism or by copying foreign experience in every detail. However, this truth was not understood by most people. The erroneous tendency of making Marxism a dogma and deifying Comintern resolutions and the experience of the Soviet Union prevailed in the international communist movement and in our party mainly in the late 1920's and early 1930's, and this tendency pushed the Chinese revolution to the brink of total failure. It was under these circumstances that the Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their outstanding representative, opposed "book worship" in theory and in practice with unusual theoretical courage and dauntless revolutionary courage and resourcefulness and investigated and studied various aspects of China's national conditions, including our side and the enemy's side. So more and more people were able to shatter the fetters of dogmatism, the Chinese revolution, which was nearly in a hopeless predicament, was unexpectedly rescued, and the agrarian revolutionary war being carried out at that time and the building of the Red Army and the revolutionary base areas were able to develop. Consequently, the entire revolution again manifested tremendous and stubborn vitality. This period, the period of the agrarian revolutionary war, can be said to be the period of further formation and development of Mao Zedong Thought.

However, in 1934, Wang Ming's leftist adventurist mistakes mainly characterized by dogmatism also reached a peak. His leftist erroneous leadership caused the utter failure of the Red Army in the fifth counter "encirclement and suppression" campaign and resulted in losses that almost destroyed the party organizations and revolutionary forces in the revolutionary base areas and in the White areas. At this critical moment, if Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades-in-arms had not overcome Wang Ming's leftist mistakes and established Comrade Mao Zedong's leading position in the Red Army and the party Central Committee, our Red Army and the party Central Committee would not have been able to complete the Long March and triumphantly reach northern Shaanxi but would have encountered the danger of total annihilation. It was a critical moment of life and death! Not long after this, during the period when our party led the people of the whole country in the sacred war of resistance against Japanese aggression, Mao Zedong Thought was extended in various aspects and was systematically summed up and it entered a period of maturity. During this period, Comrade Mao Zedong pooled the wisdom of other party leaders and the wisdom of the whole party, systematically summed up the experience of the Chinese revolution, gradually put forth a complete theory of the new democratic revolution and put forth a complete series of lines, principles and policies for armed struggle, the united front and the building of the party which formed the unique correct path of the Chinese revolution of encircling the cities from the rural areas and then capturing them. We can say without the least exaggeration that without this, that is, without enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism with Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese people would not have been able to persist in the war of resistance against Japanese aggression for 8 years and finally to win victory. Much less would we have been able to annihilate Chiang Kai-shek's 8 million troops in less than 4 years' war of liberation, overthrow the Kuomintang reactionary government and set up the great People's Republic of China. Have not all these things been proved by history?

This was what happened in the 28 years of the new democratic revolution. What happened after our country entered the period of the socialist revolution and socialist construction? Some people hold that Mao Zedong Thought was effective in the democratic revolution but it was not so effective in the socialist revolution and socialist construction or at least it had come to a standstill. Was it true? No! We cannot and should not think in this way. The fact was that after the founding of new China, Comrade Mao Zedong and other outstanding party leaders continued to promote Mao Zedong Thought in accordance with the principle of integrating theory with practice so that it was able to have new and important development. As a result, it guided us in realizing the transition from new democracy to socialism and scored great victories in the socialist revolution and socialist construction. During this process, Mao Zedong Thought continued to enrich and develop Marxism-Leninism in theory and practice at least in six major aspects listed below.

First, Mao Zedong Thought's theory of the people's democratic dictatorship, that is, the integration of the aspect of democracy among the people with the aspect of dictatorship over reactionaries, enriched the Marxist-Leninist thesis on the dictatorship of the proletariat. That was our theoretical basis for establishing, consolidating and strengthening the people's democratic dictatorship in order to safeguard the socialist revolution and socialist construction in the 32 years after the founding of our country.

Second, Mao Zedong Thought's theory on adopting different transitional forms of state capitalism for the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce guided us in smoothly realizing the peaceful redemption of the bourgeoisie. This had been envisaged by Marx and Lenin but was unprecedented in human history.

Third, Mao Zedong Thought's theory on adopting the principle of voluntariness and mutual benefit, demonstration through advanced models, and extension of state help and of adopting different transitional forms from elementary ones to advanced ones for transforming individual agriculture and individual handicraft industries into the socialist collective economy enriched and developed the Marxist-Leninist thesis on transforming the small production system.

Fourth, Mao Zedong Thought's theory on proceeding from China's national conditions, taking agriculture as the foundation, giving priority in the sequence of agriculture, light industry and heavy industry and adopting a complete series of policies of "walking on two legs" in order to gradually realize the industrialization of our country promulgated for the first time in the history of the development of Marxism an important theoretical proposition that in a big and economically backward country, it is necessary to strive for a path of socialist construction befitting its characteristics.

Fifth, Mao Zedong Thought's theory that in socialist society, there are two types of contradictions that are different in nature--those among the people themselves and those between ourselves and the enemy--that solving contradictions among the people is the theme of the party and the state's life in socialist society and that we should adopt a series of correct political, economic and cultural policies different from those for class struggle to handle contradictions among the people and the theory that under socialism, it is still necessary to continue to expand and consolidate the people's united front, and creatively develop the Marxist-Leninism thesis on scientific socialism.

Sixth, Mao Zedong Thought's principles that socialist countries must uphold the integration of patriotism and internationalism, support the just struggle of all oppressed nations and peoples, expand the international united front against imperialism and hegemonism, never seek hegemony themselves and persist in developing relations with all countries on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence have formed the theoretical basis for a complete series of independent and initiative foreign policies for socialist countries.

What has been mentioned above may be quite incomplete and quite inaccurate but it is already enough to show that all achievements scored after the founding of the country could not be separated from Mao Zedong Thought, which has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism. Therefore, in studying the resolution, let us first fully understand that Mao Zedong Thought is the ever-developing, objective historical product of the history of the Chinese revolution so that we will not rashly adopt an attitude of belittling it or negating it. This can be said to be the fundamental prerequisite for our correct understanding of and attitude toward Mao Zedong Thought.

2. Mao Zedong Thought Was, Is and Always Will Be Our Party's Guiding Ideology

Undoubtedly, the reason why since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee our party has repeatedly stressed that we should continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought is not only because it occupied an important position and played a tremendous role in the history of the Chinese revolution but also because it will continue to play a far-reaching guiding role in our present and future struggle. The latter is even more important. As pointed out in Comrade Hu Yaobang's speech given at the meeting to celebrate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CCP, "as a theory and as the summing-up of experiences verified in practice, as the application and development of Marxism in China, Mao Zedong Thought has been and will remain the guiding ideology of our party." The reason why the resolution used such long and systematic exposition and scientific elaboration of the theoretical contents of Mao Zedong Thought, in particular, the exposition on the stand, viewpoints and methods which permeate these theories, was also to clearly explain this point. For over 30 years since the seventh national party congress established Mao Zedong Thought as the party's guiding ideology in 1945, this is the first time that such a systematic and comprehensive theoretical exposition on it has been made in the form of a party resolution. Compared with past expositions on Mao Zedong Thought, this is also most scientific and most complete. Obviously, the "resolution" has made a tremendous theoretical contribution to the party and the people and has provided excellent material for us to study Mao Zedong Thought.

How should we then understand the far-reaching guiding role played by Mao Zedong Thought when we study expositions of the "resolution" in this aspect?

First, Mao Zedong Thought's living soul, that is, the stand, viewpoints and methods which permeate all its theoretical contents and which are based on seeking truth from facts, the mass line and independence and initiative, is the most unique creation of the Chinese communists represented by Comrade Mao Zedong. It has successfully applied Marxist dialectical and historical materialism to all the work of the party, has become an ideological weapon grasped by the broad masses of cadres and people and has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism in theory and in practice, especially in philosophical thinking. It is manifested in Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works, runs through the party's revolutionary activities and is an ideological line of universal and far-reaching significance to us. Whenever this line is properly adhered to, the party's work will be smooth, make headway and develop; whenever it is not properly adhered to, mistakes and setbacks will certainly occur in the party's work. It is because we have adhered to and developed this line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee that we have really shattered the spiritual fetters of dogmatism, grasped the initiative in bringing order out of chaos and scored one victory after another like pouring water off a steep roof and splitting a bamboo. In future, we will continue to adhere to this line, forever adhere to this line and the victory of our revolution and construction will be fundamentally guaranteed.

Second, what Mao Zedong Thought's theories on socialist revolution and socialist construction expound is the undertaking we are carrying out at present and it has

enriched and developed Marxist theory on scientific socialism. It certainly is of direct guiding significance to us and should be seriously studied and utilized by us. In order to ensure and promote the cause of socialist modernization, we should continue to follow Mao Zedong Thought's theory on the people's democratic dictatorship, fully develop democracy among the people, gradually establish and strengthen a socialist system with a high level of democracy, and at the same time, strengthen the effective struggle against the enemy and resolutely crack down on various kinds of antagonistic elements who try to sabotage socialism, so that our people's democratic dictatorship can be consolidated and strengthened. In order to maintain long-term stability and unity of the whole country, we should continue to follow Mao Zedong Thought's theory on correctly understanding, distinguishing and handling different kinds of social contradictions in socialist society, pay special attention to adopting ways and means different from those adopted for class struggle and adopt a series of correct principles and policies in politics, economics, science and culture to handle contradictions among the people which exist in large quantity so that a vigorous political situation in which we "have both centralism and democracy, both discipline and freedom, both unity of will and personal ease of mind and liveliness" can be further promoted. In handling the relations between the production relations and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base, we must continue to follow Mao Zedong Thought's theory that under the socialist system, the production relations and the productive forces and the superstructure and economic base are basically suited to each other but that situations whereby they are suited to each other while contradictory to each other also exist, in accordance with the development and demands of the productive forces and the economic base, and steadily and appropriately reform those parts which are not suited to the production relations and the superstructure so that our socialist system can be further improved day by day. In economic construction, we must continue to follow Mao Zedong Thought's analysis that in our country's economic construction, we must proceed from the basic fact that China has 800 million peasants and its economy and culture are still very backward, attach great importance to developing agriculture and light industry and stress that the development of heavy industry must be suited to their development and must serve them and correctly handle the relations of proportion in all aspects so that we can further map out the correct path for socialist modernization suited to China's conditions. The strategic thinking of uniting with all those forces that can be united with and bringing into play all positive factors and turning negative factors into positive factors so that we can build our motherland together, that Comrade Mao Zedong repeatedly stressed during his lifetime, remains the objective of struggle and the guiding principle that must be realized and is being realized in our modernization program. In short, Mao Zedong Thought's theory on socialist revolution and socialist construction is not, as some people think, not too useful for us today. On the contrary, it still has many important ideas that must be seriously upheld and developed in our new practice today.

Third, many theoretical contents of Mao Zedong Thought were put forth during the period of the new democratic revolution or the period of socialist transformation. Many important works of Comrade Mao Zedong were also written during these two periods. Then, with the passage of time and the changes of the revolutionary

tasks, will these theories, as some people think, also lose their brilliance and have to be put aside or will they only retain the value for "academic study" and lose the guiding role that they used to play? This way of thinking is of course wrong. In the first place, as stated in the "resolution," the historical context cannot be severed. If we do not understand the past, we cannot achieve a better understanding of problems which we are faced with at present. This does not need any explanation. What is more important is that many tenets, principles and basic viewpoints put forth in the theories of Mao Zedong Thought are still very useful to us today and in the future. For example, the general strategic thinking that the newly emerging revolutionary force will eventually defeat the powerful reactionary force with the changes of the subjective and objective conditions, and that strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously is a basic viewpoint which we must firmly foster in carrying out any revolutionary struggle. It is also applicable to treating the bright side and the dark side of our cause and treating difficulties in our work. Again, let us take as an example the whole series of principles and policies for building a people's army and the whole series of strategy and tactics for carrying out a people's war. Although the construction of today's modern national defense and conditions of future modern wars differ greatly from the past, we must still grasp and make use of their basic tenets and principles in accordance with today's reality. In case a large-scale foreign invasion breaks out, we still have to rely on a people's war to annihilate it. Again, let us take as an example the thinking of equality for all nationalities, persisting in carrying out minority nationality regional autonomy, earnestly assisting minority nationality regions to develop their economy and culture and to train minority nationality cadres, and uniting all nationalities to build our socialist motherland together. Today, when we continue to eliminate the evil consequences caused by the great damage done to the nationality relations during the time when Lin Biao and the "gang of four" ran amuck, this thinking has become even dearer and more important to us. Again, let us take as an example the thinking of developing a national, scientific and popular culture, literature and art serving the people and serving the workers, peasants and soldiers, attaching great importance to the important role played by the intellectuals in revolution and construction and to integrating intellectuals with the workers and peasants. It is still an important policy guiding scientific and cultural work and intellectual work. Again, let us take as an example the thinking that the party, the people's army and all our cadres should serve the people heart and soul and should always keep the style of being modest and prudent, the style of arduous struggle and the revolutionary spirit of daring to sacrifice. We must continue to adhere to and develop this style and spirit when we are carrying out the modernization program, especially when we are building a socialist spiritual civilization. Again, let us take as an example the three great work styles in building the party of linking theory with practice, maintaining close contact with the masses and criticism and self-criticism and important policies such as stressing strengthening the party mainly in ideology, striving to overcome the influence of nonproletarian ideas and the principle of "curing the sickness to save the patient" in treating comrades who have committed mistakes. We must follow these work styles and strive hard to realize them when we strengthen the building of our party today. Of course, it is impossible and unnecessary to enumerate all the tenets, principles and basic viewpoints which are of important and far-reaching guiding significance to us today and in the future.

Fourth, expositions of the resolution on Mao Zedong Thought's theoretical contents have opposed both the view of exaggerating Mao Zedong Thought as a "comprehensive" development of Marxism-Leninism and saying that it is a new stage of Marxism-Leninism and the view of underestimating the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought. They have evaluated its position in the history of the development of Marxism. Mao Zedong Thought originated from basic Marxist principles and is the application and development of Marxism in China. Evidently it cannot replace Marxism, but Mao Zedong Thought has enriched and developed Marxism-Leninism with its original and creative theories in many aspects. It is characterized by the Chinese revolution and can be said to be "Chinese-style" Marxism-Leninism. It has struck deep roots among the Chinese communists and the Chinese people. Therefore, we should never mention only upholding Marxism-Leninism without mentioning upholding Mao Zedong Thought, as some people have suggested. The very act of doing what they suggest itself would be divorced from the reality of the Chinese revolution and would mean abandoning the fundamental principle--integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with concrete reality--that ensured the victory of the Chinese revolution. Therefore, we must unify upholding Marxism-Leninism and upholding Mao Zedong Thought and integrate properly serious study of Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works with the study of Marxist-Leninist works.

The above superficial understanding is of course not sound and not deep. But from this we can see that evidently it is of special importance for us to deepen our understanding of the far-reaching role played by Mao Zedong Thought in order to raise our consciousness in studying and upholding Mao Zedong Thought through studying the resolution.

3. Enrich and Develop Mao Zedong Thought in the Process of Upholding Mao Zedong Thought

In order to uphold Mao Zedong Thought, we must act according to the instructions of the resolution and be opposed to the following two erroneous attitudes. The first erroneous attitude is denying the scientific value of Mao Zedong Thought, denying the role played by Mao Zedong Thought as a guide to China's revolution and construction, and suggesting that Mao Zedong Thought should no longer be regarded as our party's guiding principle. People adopt this attitude simply because Comrade Mao Zedong made some mistakes in his later years. The other erroneous attitude is treating Mao Zedong's words as dogma and taking all his works as truth that should be applied mechanically. People adopting this attitude refuse to admit that Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his later years. They want to continue with his mistakes in new practice. There is a common characteristic in these two attitudes: some people fail to differentiate Mao Zedong Thought, which has become a scientific theory after protracted tests in history, from the mistakes which Comrade Mao Zedong made during his declining years. Only when we make a distinction between these two things can we consciously prevent and overcome the two above-mentioned erroneous attitudes.

On the whole, be it during the period of democratic revolution or the period of socialist revolution and socialist construction, our party made great achievements and Comrade Mao Zedong made indelible contributions to the people of various

nationalities in China. Moreover, there have been serious mistakes and setbacks in our party's work. However, these mistakes and setbacks have not been caused by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. On the contrary, they have been caused, to a certain extent, by the violation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. During the period of democratic revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong's revolutionary activities and leadership were correct. It was other people who made various kinds of mistakes. Thus, it is easy to understand and accept the above-mentioned view. During the period of socialist revolution and construction, Comrade Mao Zedong made some mistakes in his later years. In particular, when he started the turmoil of the "Great Cultural Revolution," he made gross mistakes. This not only brought about mishaps to the people, but also hindered and damaged the correct theoretical development of Mao Zedong Thought. This, of course, was different from the situation in the period of democratic revolution. It is true that as a chief founder of our party's scientific theory--Mao Zedong Thought--Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes himself. However, we must differentiate Mao Zedong Thought from his mistakes and must continue to uphold Mao Zedong Thought. Some comrades find this difficult to understand. Thus, they are not so ready to uphold Mao Zedong Thought. This state of mind is natural and understandable. But it poses a problem which should be correctly solved. By studying the resolution we must further understand the reasonableness, necessity and significance of making a distinction between Mao Zedong Thought and the mistakes he made in his remaining years. By giving extensive explanations, we must merge people's thinking into an understanding of this: This is of great significance to unservingly upholding Mao Zedong Thought.

On the basis of giving a full account of the formation, development and theoretical contents of Mao Zedong Thought, the "resolution" gave a relatively scientific explanation for the definition of Mao Zedong Thought. The "resolution" pointed out: "The Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as their chief representative, made a theoretical synthesis of China's unique experience in its protracted revolution in accordance with the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. This synthesis constituted a scientific system of guidelines befitting China's conditions, and it is this synthesis which is Mao Zedong Thought, the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution." It also pointed out: "Mao Zedong Thought is Marxism-Leninism applied and developed in China; it constitutes a correct theory, a body of correct principles and a summary of the experiences that have been confirmed in the practice of the Chinese revolution, a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP."

This explanation for the definition of Mao Zedong Thought is a summary of the formation, development and theoretical contents of Mao Zedong Thought, it tallies with the historical situation. It is scientific and, therefore, completely correct. When the "resolution" said Mao Zedong Thought is "the product of the integration of the universal principles of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution," it adopted the traditional view of the party. At the same time, it stressed two points: 1) Mao Zedong Thought is "a summary of the experiences that have been confirmed in the practice of the Chinese revolutions"; 2) it is "a crystallization of the collective wisdom of the CCP." However, Comrade Mao Zedong made mistakes in his remaining years. In

particular, he held erroneous views while starting the "Great Cultural Revolution," including the theories of "continuing to make revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat." These views neither tally with Marxism-Leninism nor with China's actual conditions. Of course, they do not constitute "a body of correct principles and a summary of experiences." Comrade Mao Zedong made these mistakes because he gradually became divorced from the masses and from reality and because he gradually put himself above the collective of the party Central Committee. These are his "personal mistakes." They have nothing to do with the "collective wisdom." Therefore, it is completely reasonable to distinguish between his personal mistakes and Mao Zedong Thought--a scientific theory and a crystallization of collective wisdom. This is a prerequisite for recovering the original features of Mao Zedong Thought and for continuing to correctly uphold Mao Zedong Thought.

In short, with such distinctions, we can better prevent and overcome the two above-mentioned erroneous attitudes, thereby giving impetus to the correct upholding of Mao Zedong Thought in thought and deed.

Marxism has always maintained that its theory is a guide to action rather than an ossified dogma. Lenin also once emphatically pointed out: "Only when the party is under the guide of an advanced ideology can it play the role of an advanced fighter." In order to become a correct guide to action, the ideology must be continuously enriched and developed in practice. During the past century, had Marxism not developed in accordance with the development of practice, there would be no socialist movements today. During the past 50 years, had Mao Zedong Thought not developed in accordance with the development of practice, it would not have directed us to victory in the Chinese revolution and construction. Therefore, while stressing the upholding of Mao Zedong Thought, we must also stress the development of Mao Zedong Thought. On the one hand, without upholding Mao Zedong Thought, we cannot develop it. On the other, without developing it, we cannot uphold it for long. We must uphold it while developing it and develop it while upholding it. We must put into practice this dialectical unity.

In order to uphold and develop Mao Zedong Thought, of course we must seriously study it. Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works constitute the synthesis of Mao Zedong Thought. To study Mao Zedong Thought, we must primarily study Comrade Mao Zedong's scientific works. Moreover, we must be opposed to two erroneous attitudes of study. One erroneous attitude is mechanically applying some specific conclusions or quotations in Mao Zedong's works, instead of getting a good grasp of the basic theories and principles, taking into account the actual conditions or seriously studying them in order to adopt the correct stand, viewpoint and method to arrive at correct conclusions. This erroneous dogmatic attitude has consistently been opposed by our party. Another incorrect attitude is coming to some specific conclusions or extracting quotations from Comrade Mao Zedong's works, paying no attention to the historical situation, specific time, place or conditions, and refuting these conclusions or quotations in the context of the present situation. When discussing the six aspects of the theories and contents of Mao Zedong Thought, the "resolution" gave a list of some important typical works of Comrade Mao Zedong. This will not only greatly help our study but will also effectively rectify our incorrect style of study.

As far as study is concerned, we must act according to what Comrade Mao Zedong said in his article "Reform Our Study." We must not only conscientiously study Marxist theory and make an effort to master and apply it, but must also conscientiously study the history of China and foreign countries, revolutionary experiences throughout the world as well as the actual conditions inside and outside the country, the province, county or district. If we know little, or even nothing, about this, we will have difficulty in integrating theory with practice and in deriving the laws inherent in the actual situation and using them as our guide to action. Then, we will only be able to act according to instructions in books and instructions issued by the higher authorities. We will not be able to act according to actual conditions. Under these circumstances, the dark shadow of dogmatism will be quite imminent.

There is no doubt that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought is our general guiding principle. However, it would be a ridiculous prejudice to think that Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought can apply to everything and that we can dispense with all fields of knowledge except for Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in achieving revolution and construction. While seriously studying Marxist theory, we must also seriously study and master modern science and technology which have developed rapidly. This is essential not only to achieving our modernization program but also to enriching and developing Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. Only when Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought has assimilated all fruits scored by various sciences and all ideological fruits achieved by mankind, instead of belittling or rejecting them, can it be better developed.

Practice is the sole criterion for testing truth. Truth is something eternal. Only through practice can truth be developed. We must try to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought while seriously studying the new situation and solving new problems. We must also try to uphold and develop them in new practice. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CCP Central Committee, we have made gratifying achievements in this area. Our present level of understanding of socialist revolution and socialist construction is obviously higher than at any other period since the founding of the country. Our present understanding of class struggle in socialist society and our understanding of the new political, economic and cultural problems in socialist society have also obviously developed Mao Zedong Thought. With regard to this, we should not be conceited. Nor should we feel inferior. Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Man has constantly to sum up experience and go on discovering, inventing, creating and advancing. Ideas of stagnation, pessimism, inertia and complacency are all wrong." We firmly believe this. Let us march forward bravely, give impetus to the great struggle of the modernization program, uphold and develop Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and achieve our new historical tasks!

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THE RESTORATION OF TECHNICAL AND ECONOMIC RESPONSIBILITY SYSTEMS IN PRODUCTION
IS IMPERATIVE

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 15, 1 Aug 81 inside back cover

[Letter to editor from Li Yanchun [2621 1693 2504]]

[Text] 1. Letter to Editor

The No 7, 1981, issue of your magazine carried Comrade Zhou Chuandian's [0719 0278 0368] article entitled "On the Question of Reforming the Management System in Grassroots Industrial Enterprises." I have rarely come across such a good article. It pinpoints the weakest link in our enterprise management work and analyzes the existing problems on reasonable grounds. It is highly enlightening.

At present, one important reason why enterprise management work is so backward is that there are no technical or economic responsibility systems in production. The key problem is the lack of "specialization." Therefore, the cadres have a poor sense of responsibility and low efficiency. In every unit, large or small, there must be a head and several assistants. All matters, important or trivial, must be "studied and investigated." However, discussions often do not give rise to resolutions, or resolutions are not implemented. The masses say that now there are many heads but few "shoulders"; there are too many investigations and too few solutions.

To a great extent, this problem has been caused by certain shortcomings in the present cadre system. I believe that to vitalize China and achieve economic prosperity, it is imperative to reform the cadre system and to restore the technical and economic responsibility systems in production.

2. Letter to Comrade Zhou Chuandian

I work at the Shanghai measuring instruments and cutting tools factory. Several years ago, I was a deputy head of a workshop in which more than 200 persons worked. According to the system of personal responsibility, I was in charge of production work. In addition to the workshop head, there was a deputy head in charge of technical affairs and a deputy head in charge of equipment. When the number of cadres was at a peak, there were one principal and four deputy heads, in addition to four secretaries of the party branch. It seems that with so many heads, our work should have been done satisfactorily. Surprisingly however, our work was

always poorly done. The most prominent problem was low efficiency. For example, when technical problems in production arose, even though I could certainly tackle the problems myself, it was not very desirable for me to have a hand in the matter, because it was clearly stipulated by the system of personal responsibility that such problems were within the jurisdiction of the deputy head in charge of technical affairs and should be tackled by him. When equipment broke down, we had to approach the deputy head in charge of equipment. If a redeployment of personnel was necessary in view of the circumstances of production, we had to report to the workshop head, so that he could convene a meeting to study the matter and we could make decisions collectively. Everyone was very busy, and it was difficult for all the people to attend a meeting. Problems could not be solved as promptly as they should have been. Normal production order was frequently disrupted. The fulfillment of production tasks might even be affected. When problems arose, it was very difficult to clearly know who was to blame. I remember that in a certain month production had not been fulfilled. According to regulations, a part of the responsible leaders' bonus should be deducted. I said that a part of my bonus should be deducted because I was in charge of production. The deputy head in charge of technical affairs said that a part of his bonus should be deducted, mainly because the product quality was unsatisfactory. The deputy head in charge of equipment said that a part of his should be deducted because the problem of equipment was a hindrance to production. The dispute continued. Finally, the secretary of the party branch decided that each of the six leading cadres at their posts had to have part of their bonus deducted. The problem was thus considered to be "solved."

There was a period of time in which the workshop head was on sick leave. According to regulations, I became the acting workshop head. I thought that this time I would be able to make an all-out effort in the absence of hindrance. I decided to reform certain aspects of the management system for the workshop according to instructions from higher authorities. However, when I presented my ideas for discussion at a meeting of cadres of the workshop, there was no agreement on my proposals, and so my proposals had to be shelved. At that time I thought things would be better if the workshop were managed by me alone. If I did not manage it well, I would have been willing to be penalized. I talked to the factory director and the chief of the organization section about my ideas. Although I felt that my ideas were reasonable, my talks with them were futile. I was extremely glad to read your article. I read it several times, and the more I read it the more intensely I felt that it was completely reasonable. We must institute technical and economic responsibility systems in production in industrial enterprises. Otherwise, work efficiency will be greatly affected, the prevailing practices of depending on others and shifting responsibility onto others will continue to develop, and it will be impossible for a large, full-fledged contingent of qualified management personnel to develop rapidly.

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END



