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# China Report

RED FLAG

No. 24, 26 December 1983

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## CHINA REPORT

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No. 24, 26 Dec 1983

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

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FIVE LETTERS BY COMRADE MAO ZEDONG--IN COMMEMORATION OF THE 90TH ANNIVERSARY  
OF THE BIRTH OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 2-6

[Selected letters from the soon-to-be published "Selected Letters of Mao Zedong" edited by the Research Office of Party Literature under the CPC Central Committee]

[Text] To Fan Wenlan<sup>1</sup> (5 September 1940)

Dear Comrade Wenlan:

I am very happy to have read your outline.<sup>2</sup> It will be very helpful if you could write out the whole text. This is because this is the first time in history for the study of Confucian classics to be criticized with a Marxist view, and because at present the reaction and restoration of the old form of the big landlords and bourgeoisie are rampant. The first and foremost task of the current ideological struggle is to oppose such reaction. The continuance of your work on the study of history will have great effects on this struggle. I did not attend your third lecture because of illness. I wonder if you criticized the errors of Kang, Liang, Zhang, and Hu?<sup>3</sup> Did you touch upon Liao Ping, Wu Yu, Ye Dehui, and so on?<sup>4</sup> The more we criticize those people closer to our times, the more effect will it have on the academic circles.

I have not made any study on history, but if I could learn something from your study, it will be fortunate for me.

I salute you!

Mao Zedong  
5 September 1940

To the Central Research Group and the Senior Research Group<sup>5</sup> (29 September 1941)

Dear Comrades of the Central Research Group and Senior Research Group:

The principle of study in this research group is to aim at linking theory with practice. Concerning materials on practice, please refer to the documents since the Sixth CPC National Congress (see list of main articles on attached paper). Concerning theory, we will take the study on methodology as the key for the time being. Please study the following materials:

1. "Leftist Infantile Disorder"<sup>6</sup> (use the 1939 edition published by Jiefang Publishing House);
2. "The Process of Cognition," Chapter 8 of "A New Outline of Philosophy," translated by Ai<sup>7</sup> (namely, the fourth chapter of "Philosophical Logic");
3. "Dialectical Materialism and Formalistic Theoretical Study," Chapter 8 of "A Course in Dialectical Materialism," translated by Li<sup>8</sup>;
4. "Preface" to "An Outline of Economics" by Kawakami<sup>9</sup> (it has been mimeographed and issued).

Central Research Group

Group Leader Mao Zedong

Deputy Group Leader Wang Jiaqiang<sup>10</sup>  
29 September 1941

To He Kaifeng<sup>11</sup> (15 September 1942)

Dear Comrade Kaifeng:

I had a talk today with Bo Gu<sup>12</sup> for half a day. The newspaper office has achieved progress in its work and it is expected that the nonparty newspaper can be turned into a party newspaper. According to Su Qun,<sup>13</sup> he delivered a report to more than 200 people and exerted a fine influence. The discussions of the newspaper office personnel for improving their work are under progress. Concerning the matter of various departments making use of newspapers in doing their work, I think it is necessary to carry out another discussion, so as to draw the attention of the comrades of the departments concerned of the Central Committee. The local authorities of various base areas still have not regarded newspapers as their important weapon. I think I must draft a telegram (or it may be necessary to use the name of the Secretariat) to set forth this task. After the rectification, the Central Committee must set up a large translation and editing department and merge with the translation and editing bureau of the Military Commission. With some 20 to 30 people working, we can translate large numbers of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin's works and

Russian books. If possible, we can also translate some classical works of Britain, France, and Germany. As Liang Ping<sup>14</sup> has rendered meritorious services in translation work, I think he is the right man to direct the translation and editing bureau. What is your opinion? Is he willing to take up the work? If we have the interest of the party in mind, I suppose it is better to do translation work than to do local work. It will be of boundless beneficence to learn to be Tang Sanzang<sup>15</sup> and Lu Xun.<sup>16</sup>

After Luo Mai<sup>17</sup> leaves, you will be directly in charge of the Central Institute.<sup>18</sup>

The fourth page of JIEFANG<sup>19</sup> is short of contributions and it is laying stress merely on literary and artistic articles. I have already invited more than 10 people to help solicit articles for Shu Qun, including Ai, Fan, Sun Xuewei<sup>20</sup> and the committees of workers, women, and youths. The youth committee has invited Feng Wenbin.<sup>21</sup> I do not know whether or not he can solicit youth movement contributions of 6,000 to 10,000 characters every month.

The unpleasant events will be forgotten as time passes.

With best wishes,

Mao Zedong  
15 September 1942

To Wu Yuzhang<sup>22</sup> (15 August 1948)

Dear Comrade Wu Yuzhang:

I have read your 13 August telegram.<sup>23</sup> It is very improper to put it that way. At present, there is no Maoism, therefore we cannot speak of Maoism. The "chief task is not to study Maoism," but it is imperative to call on the students to study the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin and the experiences of the Chinese revolution. Here, "the experiences of the Chinese revolution" in question include the Chinese communists (among them Mao Zedong), and some of the pamphlets written in line with the theories of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin, and the various documents concerning the line and policies stipulated by the CPC Central Committee. Also, some comrades have put my name alongside those of Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin in newspapers and journals, making it something like "Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Mao," and this is also wrong. Neither way of putting it nor the latter way of putting it conform to actual conditions; they are not helpful but harmful, and should be resolutely opposed.

Mao Zedong  
15 August 1948

To Members of the CPC Committees at the Central, Provincial, Municipal, Autonomous Regional, Prefectural, and County Levels (9 November 1958)

Dear Comrades:

This letter is addressed to the member comrades of the CPC committees at the central, provincial, municipal, autonomous regional, prefectural, and county levels.

I am writing this for one purpose only: I am suggesting to you comrades that you study two books. One is Stalin's "Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR," and the other is "Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on Communist Society."<sup>24</sup> Everybody should study each book conscientiously three times, doing some thinking while studying, making some analysis as to which parts are correct (which I hold is fundamental), which are not correct or not exactly correct, or vague in impression, and as to which points you are not so clear about concerning what the authors wanted to explain. It is advisable to study in a group of three or five people, and to unfold discussions section by section, chapter by chapter. I believe, in about 2 or 3 months, we shall be able to grasp what we have studied. It is necessary to study these two books by linking with the Chinese socialist economic revolution and economic construction, so that we may acquire a cool head, and so that it may be helpful in guiding our great economic work. At present, many people are very much confused in their thinking, and the study of these two books will be able to help them clarify their thinking. Some comrades who are known as Marxist economists have been in such a condition in recent months. They are Marxists when they study Marxist political economics, but when they come to concrete problems in our present economic practice, their Marxism is somewhat shrunken. What is needed now is to study and to participate in debates, so that it may be helpful to all comrades.

For this purpose, I suggest that you read these two books. When there is time in the future, we can study another one, namely, "A Course in Political Economics" edited by the Soviet comrades. If comrades at the township level are interested, they can also take part in the study. It is most interesting to study this kind of book during the period of the Great Leap Forward and the people's commune. What do you comrades think about this?

Mao Zedong  
9 November 1958, Zhengzhou

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Fan Wenlan (1893-1969), a native of Shaoxing, Zhejiang Province, was an historian. He arrived in Yanan in January 1949. He was director of the Historical Research Center under the College of Marxism-Leninism, and deputy principal of the Central Research Institute.



2. Refers to the outline of a speech by Fan Wenlan on the short history of the Chinese study of Confucian classics made at the Yanan new philosophy annual meeting in 1940. This outline was later reorganized and published in Yanan's ZHONGGUO WENHUA [CULTURE OF CHINA] Vol II, No 3, entitled "Changes in the History of China's Study of Confucian Classics."
3. Kang Youwei (1858-1927), a native of Nanhai County, Guangdong Province, was a leading figure of the 1898 Reform Movement; Liang Qichao (1873-1929), a native of Xinhui County, Guangdong Province, was one of the leaders of the 1898 Reform Movement; Zhang Binglin (1869-1936), alias Zhang Taiyan, a native of Yuhang County, Zhejiang Province, was leader of the Guang Fu Hui. Hu Shi (1891-1962), a native of Jiqi County, Anhui Province, was a representative of the right wing in the 4 May New Culture Movement. All of them were scholars of great influence in modern China's history of the study in Confucian classics and history of ideology.
4. Liao Ping (1852-1932), a native of Jingyan County, Sichuan Province, was a scholar of Confucian classics of modern China; Wu Yu (1871-1949), a native of Xinfan County, Sichuan Province, wrote some articles to criticize the feudal ethical code before and after the May 4th Movement, but rarely published any new writings after that; Ye Dehui (1864-1927), a native of Xiangtan County, Hunan Province, was a scholar in prose written in the classical literary style who supported the feudal reign.
5. The Central Research Group and the Senior Research Group, otherwise called the Central Study Group and the Senior Study Group, were founded respectively in August and September 1941, in accordance with the decision of the CPC Central Committee, with the aim of raising the theoretical and political level of senior cadres inside the party, and overcoming subjectivism and formalism. The Central Study Group took in members of the CPC Central Committee, members of various bureaus of the CPC Central Committee, members of subbureaus of the CPC Central Committee, and members of regional or provincial CPC committees, persons chiefly in charge of the Eighth Route Army and the New Fourth Army, some cadres of various advanced organizations, and some teachers from institutes of higher education. Advanced study groups of various localities were under the guidance of the Central Study Group.
6. Namely, Lenin's "'Left-Wing' Communism--An Infantile Disorder" (between April and May 1920.
7. Refers to "A New Outline of Philosophy" by Mi Ding [4717 1353], Lalichawejji [2139 6849 1390 4850 1015], et al. of the Soviet Union, as translated by Ai Siqi and Zheng Yili.
8. Refers to "A Course in Dialectical Materialism" written by Xiluokofu [6007 3157 0668 1133], Aisenbao [1947 2773 1027], and others of the Soviet Union, as translated by Li Da and Lei Zhongjian.

9. Kawakami (1879-1946), Japanese Marxist economist.
10. Alias Wang Jiexiang [3769 1367 4382] (1906-1974), a native of Jing Xian, Anhui Province. He was then director of the General Political Department under the Central Military Commission.
11. He Kaifeng (1906-1955), a native of Pingxiang County, Jiangxi, then deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee.
12. Bo Gu, alias Qin Bangxian, then director of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO. See also footnote 1 in the letter "To Qin Bangxian" (31 August 1944).
13. Su Qun, a native of Harbin, Heilongjiang Province, born in 1913, then editor of the supplement of Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO.
14. Liang Ping, alias Wu Liang Ping, a native of Fenghua County, Zhejiang Province, born in 1908, then editor of Yanan JIEFANG weekly. He also translated Engels' "Anti-Duhring" and other works.
15. Tang Sanzang, alias Xuan Zang, was a Buddhist monk of the Tang Dynasty and a translator of Buddhist classics. He directed the translation of more than 70 classics and treatises of over 1,300 volumes.
16. Lu Xun (1881-1936), a native of Shaoxing County, Zhejiang Province, was a great writer, thinker, and revolutionary in China. He translated many foreign literary works and literary theoretical works, which were later edited into "Translated Works of Lu Xun" in 10 volumes.
17. Luo Mai, alias Li Weihuan, a native of Changsha, Hunan Province, was born in 1896. He was deputy head of the Propaganda Department of the CPC Central Committee from October 1940. He was transferred in September 1942 and assumed the office of secretary general of Shaanxi-Gansu-Ningxia border region government.
18. Central Institute refers to the Yanan Central Research Institute.
19. JIEFANG refers to Yanan JIEFANG RIBAO.
20. Ai Siqi (1910-1966), a native of Tengchong County, Yunnan Province, and a philosopher. He was then head of the Chinese Cultural Thought Research Office of the Yanan Central Research Institute.

Fan Wenlan, then vice president of the Yanan Central Research Institute and concurrently head of the History Research Office. See also footnote 1 in the letter "To Fan Wenlan" (5 September 1940).

Sun Xuwei, alias Liu Xuwei, a native of Langdai (now Liupanshui City), Guizhou Province, born in 1912, then special research fellow of the Yanan Research Institute.

21. Feng Wenbin, a native of Zhuji County, Zhejiang Province, born in 1910, then deputy secretary of the youth work committee of the CPC Central Committee.
22. Wu Yuzhang (1878-1966), a native of Rong Xian, Sichuan Province. He was then principal of the North China University.
23. Refers to Wu Yuzhang's telegram to Zhou Enlai on 13 August 1948, in which Wu Yuzhang expressed his intention to put forth the idea that "the chief task is to study Maoism," "changing Mao Zedong Thought into Maoism," at the founding ceremony of the North China University; he also said: "I hope the chairman will consult Comrade Liu Shaoqi on whether it is proper to put it this way, and will give me their instruction on this."
24. "Marx, Engels, Lenin, and Stalin on Communist Society" refers to the edition edited and published by the People's Publishing House in 1958.

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## BUILD SOCIALISM WITH CHINESE CHARACTERISTICS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 7-13, 23

[Article by the RED FLAG Editorial Department]

[Text] The 90th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's birth falls on 26 December this year.

Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and a great proletarian revolutionary, strategist, and theorist. By integrating Marxism-Leninism with the specific practice of China's revolution, he performed eternally indelible feats for the founding and development of our party and the PLA, for the success of the cause of liberating various Chinese nationalities, and for the development of the cause of socialism. He made major contributions to the liberation of the oppressed nations of the world and to the cause of human progress.

When Comrade Mao Zedong was born 90 years ago, China was a semicolonial, semifeudal society, and the Chinese people lived in abject misery under the dual oppression and exploitation by imperialism and feudalism. The advanced elements among the Chinese tried very arduously to seek from the West truths that might be useful for national salvation, but they failed. Historical experience many times proved that the road of developing capitalism and founding a bourgeois republic after the example of the West did not work in China. The only way of liberating the disaster-stricken people of various Chinese nationalities was to undergo a new democratic revolution and then adopt socialism under the leadership of the CPC. After several decades of endeavor, we achieved complete success in the anti-imperialist, antifeudal democratic revolution and enormous success in the cause of socialism in a large country holding nearly a quarter of the world population. This was a great event in world history. This series of great successes was inseparably connected with the leadership of the CPC and Comrade Mao Zedong.

The success of China's revolution was achieved under the guidance of Marxism-Leninism. The earth-shaking changes in China in this century and the existence and development of socialist new China have irrefutably proved that the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism are applicable not only in the West, but also in the East, including China. It has been

similarly irrefutably proved that China's revolution could not have succeeded if we had only the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism and if the Chinese communists, represented by Comrade Mao Zedong, had not closely integrated them with the specific practice of China's revolution, thus creating the great Mao Zedong Thought and discovering a correct road suited to China's conditions. From 1931 to 1934, our revolution experienced great setbacks because the "leftist" adventurist leadership of Wang Ming was gravely divorced from China's concrete condition and the basic Marxist-Leninist principles were treated as ossified dogmas and mechanically applied as such. Summing up this basic issue, Comrade Mao Zedong said: "Formalistic assimilation of foreign things caused enormous losses to China in the past. The Chinese communists must also beware of this in applying Marxism in China. The universal Marxist truths must be completely and appropriately united with the specific practice of China's revolution; that is, they are useful only if they are integrated with our national characteristics and applied in certain national forms; they must certainly not be subjectively applied like formulas. Marxists who treat them like formulas are making a joke of Marxism and China's revolution. There is no place for them in China's revolutionary ranks." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 667) Working with other veteran proletarian revolutionaries, Comrade Mao Zedong eliminated various practical and theoretical errors involving deviating from Marxism and turning Marxism into dogma, overcame numerous difficulties, and gradually formulated as well as exercised leadership over the implementation of the line, guiding principles, and policies which proceeded from China's real situation and which helped turn the revolution from a failure into a success. Only thus could we achieve great success in China's revolution.

During the socialist construction period, Comrade Mao Zedong continued to make major contributions to integrating the universal truths of Marxism-Leninism with China's specific practice. During the initial 7 years after the founding of the PRC, proceeding from China's basic socioeconomic characteristics, Comrade Mao Zedong and our party creatively opened up a path of socialist transformation suited to China's conditions. Through a gradual transition from a lower form to a higher form of state capitalism, the peaceful buying out of the bourgeoisie to acquire their capitalist industry and commerce, envisaged by Marx and Lenin, was finally achieved. In dealing with individual agricultural undertakings, the method of transition from mutual aid teams to elementary agricultural producers' cooperatives and then to advanced agricultural producers' cooperatives, was created, while the principle of voluntary action, mutual benefit, demonstration by models, and state assistance was followed. Thus, in a short time, the arduous task of building the socialist system in such a large country as China, with a large population and with backward economic and cultural development, was smoothly accomplished. Later, in his speech "On Ten Major Relations" published in April 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong put forth the question of exploring a path of socialist construction suited to our national conditions. In this speech and in such works as "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," published in 1957, and "Speech at the Enlarged CPC Work Conference," published in 1962, he put forth a series of important ideas and principles concerning building

socialism by proceeding from our country's real situation. He said that the socialist system already established in our country was superior. Socialist production relations were compatible with the development of the productive forces. However, they were not perfect, and the imperfections conflicted with the development of the productive forces. Similarly, the superstructure and the economic base were compatible with, but also conflicted with, each other. These contradictions must continue to be resolved in the light of specific circumstances. He said that under the socialist system, the people's basic interests are identical. However, various contradictions still existed among the people; the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy, and the contradictions among the people, must be rigorously distinguished and correctly handled. He put forth the strategic idea of mobilizing all positive factors and turning negative factors into positive ones to help unite the people of various nationalities in our country to build a strong socialist country. Concerning socialist economic construction, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that instead of mechanically copying foreign experiences, we must proceed from the fact that China was a large agricultural country, take agriculture as our basis, and correctly handle the relations between heavy industry, agriculture, and light industry so as to create a path of industrialization suited to our national conditions. He put forth the necessity of correctly handling various relationships, like those between economic construction and building national defense, between large enterprises and medium-sized and small ones, between the Han nationality and the minority nationalities, between the coastal regions and the inland regions, between the central authorities and the local authorities, between accumulation and consumption, between self-reliance and learning from other countries, and so on. He said that ideological-political work was the lifeblood of economic work and all other work. He said that in economic work, there must be overall plans dealing with various social strata in our country's urban and rural areas and due consideration must be given to the state, the collective, and the individual. He put forth a series of correct guiding principles, like that of arduous struggle and building our country through thrift and hard work, and so on and so forth. All these ideas proceeded from our country's concrete conditions and have been proved correct through the test of practice. They constitute the basic aspects of the living soul of Mao Zedong Thought, that is, they are reflections in socialist construction of the principles of seeking truth from facts, the mass line, and maintaining independence and keeping the initiative in our own hands. They have enriched and helped develop the theory of scientific socialism.

An important reason for Comrade Mao Zedong's mistakes of his later years is that he violated the ideological line of being realistic, which he himself always advocated. Our country's socialist cause experienced grave setbacks on two occasions, namely, during the "Great Leap Forward" period and the "Great Cultural Revolution." Then, not only was the new search for a path of socialist construction suited to our national conditions hindered, but many originally correct things were also criticized as errors. It was not until the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee that order was brought out of chaos, a great historical change of our party was

brought about, and the Marxist-Leninist ideological, political, and organizational lines were reestablished.

In 1979, Comrade Deng Xiaoping put forth the need to create a path of Chinese-style modernization. In his opening speech at the 12th CPC Congress, he said: "The basic conclusion from summing up many years of historical experience is that we must integrate the universal Marxist truths with our country's concrete conditions, take our own path, and build socialism with Chinese characteristics." To create a path of socialist construction suited to our national conditions, the CPC Central Committee did a great deal of theoretical and practical work, which included the following items: It reestablished the ideological line of seeking truth from facts, which is a basic prerequisite for a correct understanding of China's national conditions and the building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. It clearly affirmed that exploiting classes, as actual classes, have died out in our country and that class struggle is no longer the principal contradiction but will continue to exist within certain limits for a long time and may intensify under certain conditions. It correctly pointed out that the principal contradiction which our country must resolve is the contradiction between the people's ever-increasing material and cultural needs and the backwardness of social production, and it has shifted the focus of its work accordingly. It pointed out that concerning the level of economic development, our country's main characteristics are that its population is large and its arable land is inadequate. It pointed out that in economic construction, we must act according to our capabilities, struggle vigorously, and achieve the goals of modernization in successive steps and stages. In the light of the level and requirements of development of our country's productive forces, it established some basic principles, for example: that the state-owned economy and the collective economy should be the basic economic forms in our country, that within certain limits the individual worker economy should exist as a necessary supplement to the public-ownership economy, and that on the basis of public ownership, we should mainly practice the planned economy while simultaneously developing the supplementary role of regulation by market mechanism. Moreover, it affirmed that in practice, we must continue to perfect through reforms the specific forms of economic management systems and distribution systems. It pointed out that on the one hand, we must persist in opening our country to the rest of the world while enlivening our domestic economy and that, on the other hand, we must resolutely combat serious criminal activities which endanger socialism in the economic, political, and cultural realms. It pointed out that achieving a high degree of socialist democracy should be one of our basic goals and tasks and that in practical work we should adopt a series of measures to strengthen the building of socialist democracy and the socialist legal system and reform our party and state leadership systems. It pointed out that socialist spiritual civilization should be an important characteristic of socialism and that while we are working to attain a high degree of material civilization, we must also vigorously strive for a high degree of socialist spiritual civilization and resolutely eliminate spiritual pollution on the ideological front. It put forth a series of important

principles regarding adhering to party leadership, improving party leadership, and strengthening party building, and so on.

Under the guidance of the correct line established at the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the development of our country's socialist construction is surging forward like a river surging forth along a gorge. Now, we can say on adequate grounds that through a scientific summing up of our positive and negative experiences since the founding of the PRC and through the great practice of bringing order out of chaos and creating a new situation in socialist construction, our party has gradually opened up a correct path, suited to our national conditions, of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. This path will continue to develop and to be made more solid in practice. However, its main points are summarized and expounded in some important documents, such as the "Resolution on Certain Questions of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC," the documents of the 12th CPC Congress, the "Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," and so on. These main points include some experiences of our country's socialist construction that were correctly summed up by Comrade Mao Zedong in the past, including some correct ideas and principles which were negated before or during the "Great Cultural Revolution" owing to "leftist" mistakes; but of course, they also include correct ideas and principles recently put forth in the light of new circumstances and derived through summing up new practical experiences. Therefore, creating a path of socialist construction with Chinese characteristics amounts to adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought and applying the scientific system and living soul of Mao Zedong Thought under new historical conditions. The formation of these main points indicates that our party's understanding of the laws governing our country's socialist construction is better than in any previous period since the founding of the PRC.

The lessons from our total experience since the founding of the PRC tell us that it is a very arduous task to understand the specific laws governing China's socialist construction. This task is even more complicated and difficult than recognizing the specific laws governing China's revolution. On the other hand, in a large country such as ours, with a large population, complicated circumstances, and prominent historical characteristics, we cannot but take our own unique path which has Chinese characteristics; otherwise, we will not succeed. Therefore, this task is very important and must necessarily be tackled by us. Here, the basic question we must resolve is the integration of basic Marxist-Leninist principles concerning socialism with the specific practice of our country's socialist construction.

There are common laws governing the development of human societies. However, the forms of expression of these laws show different characteristics in different countries or nations. The universal truths of Marxism-Leninism reveal the common laws that all countries and nations will move toward socialism, and reveal general laws of development of the socialist and communist societies. Only if we are guided by dialectical materialism and follow the general laws revealed by Marxism-Leninism can we further understand the specific laws governing our country's socialist construction.



Therefore, we must never abandon or depart from the fundamental theoretical base of Marxism-Leninism. In this respect, we must take a resolute stand and remain sober. If we accommodate ourselves to immediate circumstances and aim at temporary success, if we forget basic Marxist-Leninist principles concerning socialism and the lofty goal of communism, we will lose our way and go astray. On the other hand, the basic Marxist-Leninist principles and general Marxist-Leninist laws concerning socialist society cannot resolve the question of the specific path and forms of realizing and building socialism appropriate to various countries. This question can be resolved only through practice and through the practical experience of millions of people. Marx and Engels objected to the utopian socialists' detailed depiction of the blueprint for some future societies. They always adhered to a rigorous scientific attitude. They outlined what the future society would look like in certain aspects only after a scientific analysis of the capitalist society, basing their reasoning on the logic inherent in things. We should pay attention to these expositions of theirs, but we should not rigidly adhere to these tentative ideas, which are broad principles in nature. We should not mechanically implement them without regarding actual circumstances. Either from the viewpoint that various countries have different historical characteristics or from the viewpoint that every country's practice is continuously developing, a mere knowledge of basic principles and general laws is far from adequate. Under the guidance of basic principles and general laws, we should independently study the theoretical and policy issues arising from the practice of China's socialist construction, and thus further enrich and develop the theory of scientific socialism.

Proceeding from our country's concrete conditions does not imply precluding a selective study of other countries' good experiences and taking them as our reference. After the October Revolution in Russia, the theory of socialism became reality and the theory of scientific socialism continued to be enriched and to develop in practice. The present knowledge of socialist society surpasses the tentative ideas put forth by Marx and Engels, which were principles in nature, as well as the conclusions drawn by Lenin and Stalin from the practical experience of their times. Over the past several decades, various socialist countries have undertaken many categories of exploration in practice and have accumulated a great deal of experience. Both experience of success and experience of mistakes or failure can help reduce our chances of taking tortuous paths or committing mistakes if we are good at studying them and taking them as our reference. However, all foreign experience is invariably connected with certain national historical characteristics and certain specific national conditions. Various countries inevitably differ in their specific paths, forms, and methods of socialist construction owing to differences in historical characteristics, natural conditions, country size, population size, stage of economic development attained, economic structure, degree of scientific, technological, and cultural development, and so on. One country's successful experience may not work in another if it is mechanically copied. A correct policy under one country's specific conditions may be erroneous in another if it is mechanically copied. We should also note that the building of socialism is an unprecedented undertaking in history; all socialist countries are

making explorations in practice as they advance. Explorations may involve correct or incorrect actions, experience may be complete or incomplete, and various forms or methods adopted may have stood the test of practice or may need to be tested in the future through prolonged practice. Those methods which other countries have found in practice to be unsatisfactory or even unworkable, which these countries are correcting or have corrected, should naturally not be repeated by us as successful things. Therefore, in learning from other socialist countries' experiences, we must adopt an attitude of cool-headed and scientific analysis, and we must proceed from our country's concrete conditions to learn useful experience that is compatible with our national conditions. We must also learn from capitalist countries advanced science and technology as well as knowledge of, and some specific experience of, organizing and managing socialized large-scale production. We must take these things as our reference. However, we must know that because essential differences do exist between the socialist system and the capitalist system, we must not take the path of capitalist economic development and must not take modern bourgeois economic theories as guiding principles for our economic development. Moreover, we must not mechanically copy certain economic policies or measures of the West. As to the capitalist system and its decadent and evil things, we must naturally resolutely reject them instead of learning or importing them.

We must not mechanically copy other countries' experience. However, can we mechanically copy all our own past experience? We cannot do this either. In the protracted struggles of the democratic revolution, our party gained a great deal of valuable experience. Many items of this experience now continue to be our party's basic working methods; for example, the experience of ideological-political work, the experience of integrating the general with the particular and close liaison between the leading cadres and the masses, and so on. However, after all, the circumstances of the socialist construction period vastly differ from those of the democratic revolution period. Our party is now the ruling party. Its principal task has changed from exercising leadership over armed struggle to exercising leadership over socialist construction. Thus, its methods of tackling its task and the laws it should follow should also be different. Some specific experiences of the revolutionary war period were connected with the specific circumstances of that period. For example, the supply system was a success in the revolutionary bases, but if it is practiced during the socialist construction period, it will cause negation of the principle of distribution according to work and will disrupt social production. Another example is that although the mass line is a correct working method, it is wrong to use the method of violent mass struggle to resolve contradictions among the people in the socialist society. The excessive reliance on past experience, the habit of using methods of the revolutionary war period to solve the problems of the socialist society, and the relatively little attention paid to studying new circumstances and summing up new experiences have caused many losses to our socialist construction. This is a lesson we must seriously learn in building socialism with Chinese characteristics.

The guiding principles and policies concerning building socialism with Chinese characteristics put forth by our party since the 3d Plenary Session

have been enthusiastically endorsed by the people of various nationalities in our country and have aroused widespread concern and strong response in the international arena. Public opinions among friendly nations and men of insight in various countries have generally applauded them. The fact that our country's economy has been developing steadily amid the waves of global economic recession has convincingly proved that we have again embarked on a correct path. However, some people have distorted the meaning of building socialism with Chinese characteristics out of their "leftist" or rightist viewpoints. They divorce Chinese characteristics from, or even set them against, socialism. This way of viewing questions is erroneous.

The superior socialist system has been established in our country. This is an undeniable fact. This is a basic prerequisite and starting point in our building of socialism with Chinese characteristics. Since the 3d Plenary Session in the economic, political, cultural, and other realms, we have brought order out of chaos and have carried out readjustments and reforms. Our aim is to correct "leftist" mistakes, to overcome the defects in some specific links and subsystems of our socialist system, to discover some forms of substitutes for them that are suited to our country's real situation, and thus to further perfect and develop the socialist system, bringing its superiority into full play. These readjustments and reforms do not alter the basic socialist economic and political systems; on the contrary, they help strengthen and consolidate them. While implementing a series of guiding principles and policies compatible with our country's concrete conditions, the CPC Central Committee has also repeatedly stressed that we must adhere to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship, CPC leadership, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought. These four basic principles must not be violated. In talking about Chinese characteristics, we must definitely not depart from the basic characteristics and system of socialism.

For example, concerning the forms of ownership of the means of production, under the precondition that the state-owned economy plays the leading role and socialist public ownership overwhelmingly predominates, we must proceed from our national conditions and develop other economic forms, including the individual worker economy within certain limits and enterprises jointly operated by Chinese and foreign capital. This is useful to mobilizing and employing various forces to develop economic construction, fulfilling the people's ever-increasing needs, and quickening the progress of modernization; this is compatible with the current level of development of our country's productive forces. However, some people maintain that because our country's productive forces are backward, conditions for building and developing socialist public ownership are not fulfilled and we must organize "remedial courses in capitalism." Some other people hold that socialist state ownership of the means of production is an alien force to the masses of workers, which should be changed. These viewpoints violate socialist principles. Abolishing socialist public ownership and the leading role of the state-owned economy would be tantamount to abolishing the socialist economic system, so building socialism with Chinese characteristics would be out of the question. Furthermore, relying mainly on the planned

economy with regulation by market mechanism as a subsidiary measure is a basic characteristic of our socialist economic system, but some people hold that our country basically lacks the conditions for practicing the planned economy and that we should practice the market economy. According to this view, with the national economy completely and spontaneously regulated by the law of value, the system of ownership by the whole people would practically vanish, the kind of anarchy characteristic of the capitalist society would prevail over the entire national economy, and building socialism with Chinese characteristics would also be out of the question.

Building socialism with Chinese characteristics aims to integrate the basic system and characteristics of socialism with our country's specific characteristics, making the former appear in some specific forms compatible with our national conditions so that the socialist road can be more satisfactorily adhered to. Therefore, on this question, any viewpoint leading to deviation from the basic socialist system is necessarily erroneous. However, it is also basically wrong to misunderstand as deviating from the socialist road those guiding principles and policies formulated since the 3d Plenary Session in the light of our country's real situation. For example, some people regard the individual economy and regulation by market mechanism, which exist within certain limits in our country, as some capitalist factors or as a development toward capitalism. This view is absolutely unrealistic. Marxism holds that all socioeconomic phenomena must be examined in relation to the dominating production relations. The individual economy and the production of minor commodities, based on workers' ownership of the means of production, are not tantamount to capitalism, and it is not true that they will give rise to capitalism under any conditions. In our country, the individual economy and the production of minor commodities are under the leadership of socialist public ownership; their relative importance is very small and socialist state is powerful enough to make it a necessary supplement to the socialist economy. Regulation by market mechanism in our country is a form of regulation which plays a supplementary role under the condition that the planned economy plays a leading role. It is completely different from the spontaneous regulation of everything by the law of value in the capitalist society. The two things should not be confused.

It is a naive view to think that once the socialist economic system is established, it should be pure; that if other economic forms exist, even if on a small scale, the orientation will be worryingly bad. Like other societies, the socialist society cannot be absolute and pure as soon as it appears; moreover, it cannot be so over a considerably long course of development. In history, in the slave, feudal, and capitalist societies, aside from the economy under ownership by slave-owners, the feudal ownership economy, and the capitalist ownership economy, other economic forms (for example, remnants of previous modes of production, the individual economy, and so on) also existed for a long time. These economic forms were in a subordinate position and did not determine the nature of society or the orientation of development of society. The socialist society basically and essentially differs from all previous forms of society in which man exploited man on the basis of private ownership. It is now the

most advanced society in human history. Precisely because of this, after its establishment a long historical development process is even more necessary. This is not only a process of development of the social productive forces, but is also a process of continuous perfection and development of the production relations and the superstructure. In this process, starting from a lower stage at which it is not absolute and not pure, the socialist society develops toward a higher stage, becoming relatively absolute and pure. Different countries must necessarily differ in the specific stages they must go through in this historical process and in the specific circumstances that will appear at various stages. In a populous country such as ours, originally extremely backward economically and culturally, there will be more complications and hence more characteristics. This is not surprising at all.

Naturally, some economic forms, such as the individual economy, constitute a supplement to the socialist economy, but actually do not belong to the socialist economy. It is incorrect to describe all economic forms, which existing policies allow to exist, as socialist economic forms. However, the existence of nonsocialist economic sectors on a small scale does not determine the nature of our society. Historical materialism tells us that a society's nature is determined by the predominating production relations and the nature of the superstructure, such as the political and cultural structures, that is compatible with these production relations. Under the condition that our society's nature is given, if the basic nature of the predominant production relations and the nature of our state power remains unchanged, then certain partial readjustments of the production relations and the superstructure or certain changes in the specific economic forms will not affect our society's nature or cause a change in the orientation of social development.

Some people put forth the view that building socialism with Chinese characteristics amounts to "lowering our standard." This is also a grave misunderstanding. Our party's ultimate goal is to attain the advanced stages of communism. This is the supreme standard. However, the advanced stages of communism can be attained only through the persistent efforts of a number of generations. We must not only harbor a lofty goal, but must also vigorously build socialism in a down-to-earth manner, approaching the goal step by step. In 1959, Comrade Mao Zedong said that socialism as an elementary stage of communism is also divided into two stages: less developed socialism at first, and then transition to highly developed socialism after a long time. Our party puts forth building socialism with Chinese characteristics precisely for quickening the development of socialism. In developing the productive forces, we adopt the guiding principle of acting according to our capabilities and proceeding in an orderly way and step by step. In the production relations aspect, we allow the state-owned economy to be the leading factor, the public-ownership economy to overwhelmingly predominate, and many varied economic forms to coexist with them. In doing so, we have proceeded from our country's real situation. As a result, our country's socialist system will more quickly develop toward the more advanced stage.

Building socialism with Chinese characteristics is both our starting point and our target; it is both the path of construction which we will continue to explore and the result we must achieve in following this path. We must note both the relationships and the differences between the two things. Our national conditions are developing and changing; thus socialism with Chinese characteristics also continues to develop in practice. Because we know that a fixed model of socialism does not exist, we naturally must not turn all that we do now into a fixed model. Of course, this does not mean we must change those existing policies which have been proved in practice to be correct and effective. Those which suit our actual national conditions and conform to the most essential interests of the overwhelming majority of people will definitely not be subjectively changed by us. We will certainly not repeat the past follies of spoiling things by taking excessive measures, like a man trying to help the shoots grow by pulling them upward, driven by impatience for success. However, with the development of objective real circumstances, when new contradictions arise and the objective economic process reaches a new stage of development, new policies and methods for resolving contradictions will naturally appear. Naturally, these contradictions will have to be resolved in the light of future practice and the experience of the masses, and we cannot draw up some schemes beforehand. Nevertheless, one point is certain: With the rapid development of social productive forces in our country and with the progress of our reforms, our production relations (including our economic management systems and economic forms) and superstructure will certainly continue to develop and to be perfected. By the end of this century, with the successful quadrupling of our annual total national industrial and agricultural output and with the achievement of the four modernizations, some more perfect specific forms of production relations will certainly appear, which will be compatible with the nature and level of development of the social productive forces of that time, and a more perfect specific form of superstructure will certainly appear, which will be compatible with the economic base of that time. Thus, the socialist system with Chinese characteristics will also reach a more advanced stage of development. We firmly believe that this will certainly come true. If we understand this point, we will naturally know that the alleged view of "lowering our standard" is absolutely groundless.

Comrade Hu Yaobang said: "Under the precondition that we adhere to the four basic principles and the basic socialist system, if we readjust those links of the production relations which are not compatible with the development of the productive forces as well as those links of the superstructure which are not compatible with the economic base, we will certainly succeed in building socialism with Chinese characteristics, the boundless potential creative power of the hundreds of millions of people will certainly be more fully brought into play, and the superiority of the socialist system will certainly become more conspicuous." Building socialism with Chinese characteristics will continue to be the basic orientation and practice for our party over a long historical period. The accomplishment of this great creative undertaking in human history calls for the entire nation's persistent and arduous efforts. Some of the laws governing our country's socialist construction are relatively clearly known to us, but some must

continue to be explored. Our understanding of those which are more clearly known must also be continually deepened. Considering either the overall situation or the work of various parties, sectors, or localities, there are many tasks which center round the basic task, or overall goal, of building socialism with Chinese characteristics and which must be studied and tackled. Thus, there is a vast world in which all theoretical and practical workers can fully develop their own intelligence, wisdom, and creative ability. Since the 3d Plenary Session, our party has created very favorable conditions for theoretical research work. Our undertakings are developing every day; new questions, new creations, and new experiences are abundantly emerging. Many questions need to be studied and conditions for studying them do exist, but actually they are not fully studied or not studied at all. It should be noted that at present, some theoretical workers lack interest in various major theoretical questions arising from our country's socialist modernization and some even want to keep a distance from reality. This tendency is undesirable. A Marxist theoretical worker devoted to transforming the old world and creating a new world should not adopt this attitude. Many comrades doing theoretical work like reading books. This is naturally a good thing. In studying any questions, we should try our best to comprehensively grasp Chinese and foreign ideological materials of the past. However, we must never divorce ourselves from reality or forget the practical questions which our times and the people require us to answer. In Marx' times, the principal task of theoretical work was to answer questions concerning the laws of the birth, development, and dying out of capitalism; in Lenin's times, it was to answer the questions concerning the laws governing proletarian revolution in the era of imperialism. Both Marx and Lenin, proceeding from the real circumstances of their times, answered the questions posed by their times, thus creating Marxism-Leninism, the beacon that illuminates the way of advance of the proletariat all over the world and all oppressed peoples and nations. In the contemporary era, our Chinese Marxists are obliged to promote the development of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought in the light of our country's actual circumstances. We are thus required to study and answer various theoretical questions arising from the practice of building socialism with Chinese characteristics. Comrades engaged in theoretical work should concentrate their efforts on investigating, studying, expounding, and analyzing various practical questions. While we commemorate the 90th anniversary of Comrade Mao Zedong's birth, we should carry forward and develop the style of study always advocated by Comrade Mao Zedong, that of integrating theory with reality. We must go deep into reality, carry out investigation and study, and make greater contributions to the great cause of socialist construction.

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CHINA'S UNITED FRONT UNDER THE GUIDANCE OF MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT--IN  
COMMEMORATION OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S 90TH BIRTHDAY

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[Article by Li Weihai (revised on 20 September 1983)]

[Text] Comrade Mao Zedong was a great Marxist and proletarian revolutionary. Devoting all his life to the cause of the Chinese people's revolution, he made great and indelible contributions to the emancipation of the people of all nationalities of China, the founding of the People's Republic of China, and the victory of the socialist revolution and construction in China. Bearing in mind the reality of this big semicolonial and semifeudal country of ours in the orient, the Chinese communists, with Comrade Mao Zedong as the representative, creatively used the basic Marxist-Leninist principle to guide the revolution and construction in China and scientifically incorporated the rich experiences of the Chinese revolution into theory, thereby producing a Marxism with Chinese characteristics and style--that is, Mao Zedong Thought. Mao Zedong Thought is the paragon of combining the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of the Chinese revolution, the crystallization of the collective wisdom of the Chinese Marxists and the creative development of Marxism in a big oriental country. In his November 1919 report to the second congress of communist organizations of all nationalities in eastern Russia, Lenin pointed out: "The task facing you, which no other communists in the world have ever encountered, is that on the basis of general communist theories and practices, you must adapt them to the peculiar conditions that European countries do not have, and be good at applying these theories and practices to the conditions under which the task in the struggle to be done by peasants as the main body of the masses is not to oppose capital but the residue of the Middle Ages." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, p 104) To Marxists in economically backward countries, this passage of Lenin's has significance in matters of principle. Comrade Mao Zedong's concepts of strategy concerning the Chinese revolution completely conform to this principle of Lenin's. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, the Chinese revolution blazed a path suitable to the conditions in China and ended in a monumental victory. Mao Zedong Thought will remain forever the valuable theoretical asset of our party and of the people of all nationalities in our country, and guidance for our actions as well.



The issue of the united front occupies a very important position in the theoretical system of Mao Zedong Thought. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, we have successfully used and developed the united front, accumulated rich experiences, formulated a set of comprehensive theories and policies, and creatively solved many important problems related to allies in our revolution, thereby creating a very important condition for the victory of the cause of the Chinese revolution and construction.

Led by the CPC, the united front gradually developed and expanded through countless difficulties and complications during the two periods of the new democratic revolution and the socialist revolution. In the period of the democratic revolution, our united front underwent severe trials of two cooperations and two splits between the KMT and CPC, overcame the interference and sabotage from the "left" and the right within the party, and was continuously solidified and expanded. After the founding of the People's Republic of China in 1949, our united front began to be shaped into the form of the CPPCC, and extended its scope to include the people of all nationalities throughout China, all the democratic parties, all the people's organizations and other patriotic personages. Under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought, our united front played a tremendous role in opposing the enemy at home and abroad, in solidifying the people's democratic dictatorship, in promoting socialist transformation and construction, and in many other undertakings. After 1957, although obstructed by the "left" and seriously mutilated by the Lin Biao and the Jiang Qing counterrevolutionary cliques during the 10 years of internal chaos, our united front revived and developed and became more solidified, and expanded after order was brought out of chaos following the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee. In the new historical period, our united front returned to Mao Zedong Thought's correct path. We have achieved many new creations both in theory and practice. The united front is playing a gigantic role in the implementation of the general task set by the party's 12th national congress.

As a scientific system, the united front theory and policy contained in Mao Zedong Thought is based entirely on China's condition and reflects the Chinese style and traits whether in form or contents.

1. Without emancipating all mankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation.

This is a basic guiding thought on the united front contained in Mao Zedong Thought. In his preface to the German edition of the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" in 1883, Engels said: "The exploited and oppressed class (the proletariat) will no longer emancipate itself from that exploiting and oppressing class (the bourgeoisie) if it does not simultaneously work to extricate the whole society from exploitation, oppression and class struggle." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 1, p 232) Comrade Mao Zedong tersely summarized this basic thought in the "Manifesto of the Communist Party" as follows: Without emancipating all mankind, the proletariat cannot achieve its own final emancipation. He repeatedly

referred to this as the basic guiding thought for the proletariat in promoting the united front and instructed us to firmly keep in mind this basic guiding thought.

This basic guiding thought indicates the broadmindedness and the firm stand of the proletariat in promoting the united front.

Emancipation of all mankind by the proletariat means elimination of all forms of class exploitation and oppression, disparity between classes and the causes of these social phenomena. Only then can the proletariat achieve its own final emancipation. This is a protracted and extremely arduous revolutionary cause. Therefore, it is imperative to unite all classes, strata and people that can be united during different revolutionary stages. United front is an alliance of different classes, strata and political groups. In a communist society, where class disparity has vanished and the communist party is gone, the united front led by the communist party will also be gone. Since class disparity has not been eliminated in China, the united front will remain in China for a long time to come.

2. The broadest united front made up of the overwhelming majority of the population.

China was formerly a semifeudal and semicolonial country. The broad masses of people found themselves in prolonged untold misery resulting from imperialist aggression and feudal oppression. The greatest oppression came from national oppression. This historical condition determined the fact that the proletariat in China has a broad ally, and is capable of uniting around it all patriotic people who are not reconciled by slavery by foreign imperialists and of forming into a large-scale united front that incorporates the overwhelming majority of the population of the whole Chinese nation. This is a salient feature as well as the greatest advantage of the revolution and united front in China. History has indicated that the peasantry is a firm ally of the proletariat, and that the petty bourgeoisie in the urban areas is also a reliable ally. With the exception of the period following the failure of the great revolution in 1927, the national bourgeoisie also joined or could join the united front. The big comprador bourgeoisie was attached to imperialism, is opposed to communism and the people, and has always been the target of revolution. Different factions of the big comprador bourgeoisie, however, belonged to different imperialist groups and were divided among themselves. When the Chinese revolution was directed against an imperialist country, the big comprador bourgeoisie belonging to other imperialist countries might join the united front for some time in varying degrees. For instance, during the period of war against the Japanese aggressors, the Sino-Japanese contradiction became the major contradiction. Then we took advantage of the contradiction between Britain and the United States on the one hand and Japan on the other and drew the large pro-British and pro-U.S. bourgeoisie, represented by the Chiang Kai-shek clique, into the anti-Japanese national united front to oppose the Japanese aggressors and capitulationists represented by Wang Jingwei. In short, all anti-imperialist and patriotic

classes, strata and political groups belong to the united front. The proletarian political party should take into consideration the revolutionary nature and goals of different periods as well as the attitudes of different classes and people toward revolution, make specific analyses, win over as many allies as possible, and form the broadest possible united front so as to strengthen the revolutionary force and weaken and isolate the enemy as much as possible. This was done during the period of the new democratic revolution as well as in the period of socialist revolution and construction.

Lenin said: "The only way to defeat more powerful enemies is to exert as much effort as possible. At the same time, we must, on the one hand, exploit every 'rift' among the enemies, even the slightest 'rift,' and every antagonism of interests among the bourgeoisie of various countries and among various bourgeois groups or factions in each country--very carefully, cautiously, prudently, and skillfully. On the other hand, we must use every opportunity, even the smallest opportunity, to win a great number of allies, even if they are only temporary, vacillating, unstable, unreliable, or conditional." He also pointed out that "all that is mentioned above applies to the period both before and after the seizure of political power by the proletariat." ("Selected Works of Lenin," Vol 4, pp 225, 226) From the first great revolutionary period, while affirming that the proletariat was the leading class of the revolution and peasants were the main force of the revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong gradually studied and solved the issue of direct and indirect allied forces in the Chinese revolution. He stressed that we had to unite with all forces that we could unite with and "had to turn to good accounts all such fights, rifts, and contradictions in the enemy camp and turn them against our present main enemy." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 134) This was an enrichment and development by Mao Zedong Thought of the theory and policy of allied forces in the revolution.

3. The Communist Party must hold the power of leadership over the united front.

The exercise of firm and correct leadership by the CPC over the united front is the most fundamental characteristic of China's united front. It is also the most fundamental guarantee that China's united front can play a significant rôle in December 1947, when making a profound summing-up of the historical experience of the Chinese revolution, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "Without the broadest united front of the overwhelming majority of the population, it will be impossible to win the victory in China's new democratic revolution. Moreover, the united front must be under the firm leadership of the Communist Party of China. Without the party's firm leadership, no revolutionary united front can win victory." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1201) In the socialist revolution and construction, the Communist Party should also hold the power of leadership over the united front.

After the first revolutionary civil war period, Chen Duxiu practiced capitulationism. He united with anyone and denied struggle in dealing with the

bourgeoisie. He gave up the power of leadership and then abolished the united front from the rightist stand. Following the failure of the great revolution, there were three "left" deviation mistakes, especially Wang Ming's "left" deviation opportunism, which viewed the intermediate force as the most dangerous enemy, relied on struggle in everything, and negated the need for alliance. The power of leadership and the united front were thus eliminated from the "left" point of view. In 1937 Wang Ming held that everything should be done through the Kuomintang and the united front, thus going to the other extreme of opportunism and giving up the power of leadership from a rightist stand like Chen Duxiu. Objecting to the erroneous policies of "uniting with all" and "struggling against all," Comrade Mao Zedong established a policy combining alliance and struggle and put forward a whole series of strategies of relying on the progressive force, winning over the intermediate force, and isolating and dividing the stubborn force. He insisted on the party's independence in organization and ideology and firmly held the power of leadership over the united front.

In a class society, it is an objective social phenomenon that there is a political dividing line between the progressive and the middle-of-the-roads, the backward and reactionary among the people. It is by no means decided willfully and subjectively by the communists. Revolutionaries must carry out a scientific analysis of the people at various strata of society to distinguish among their different economic conditions and political attitudes under the historical conditions at the time, and adopt the correct policy on the basis of the analysis. Comrade Mao Zedong set an example for us regarding this matter of great importance to the Chinese revolution.

During the period of democratic revolution in China, the working class, the peasant class, the patriotic intellectuals and other working people were all the basic forces of the Chinese revolution. But the working class was the leading force of the Chinese revolution. The middle-of-the-road forces were all those political forces that were mainly represented by the national bourgeoisie and were between the progressive forces and targets of the revolution. They had a dual character of being revolutionary and vacillating at the same time and exerted a very great influence on society. Their political support or opposition could often affect the success or failure of the revolution. Our party was required to adopt a very prudent attitude toward the middle-of-the-road forces to either win them over to join the revolution or make them remain neutral. The right-wing forces were mainly the big capitalists and big landlords in the nature of the comprador. To be anticommunist and opposed to the people was their natural instinct. They were still quite reactionary, even when they joined the united front. One example was the Chiang Kai-shek clique during the anti-Japanese war. Although it joined the anti-Japanese united front, it nevertheless pushed a reactionary policy that called for passive opposition to the Japanese, but active opposition to communism. In addition, it whipped up an anticommunist outcry on several occasions. We repulsed that anti-communist outcry by adopting the principle that we would not attack unless attacked, and if we were attacked we would certainly counterattack, as well as a policy of reason, advantage and restraint. It was only because of this

that the Chiang Kai-shek clique had to take the domestic and international situation into consideration and did not dare to surrender openly to the Japanese aggressors or to split the united front. The ranks of the right-wing forces were varied. They differed to the extent that they were reactionary. We had to be good at making analyses and adopt the tactics of isolation and division. "Don't strike at too many enemies at a time; strike at a few, and, even with the big landlords, deal your blows only at the most reactionary handful. To strike at everyone may seem very revolutionary, but actually it causes great harm." (Mao Zedong: "Some Experiences in Our Party's History") In short, it was necessary to take advantage of the contradictions, win over the majority, oppose the minority, destroy the enemy one by one, and unite with all forces that one could unite with. That is the strategy line advocated by Mao Zedong Thought for the united front.

After the founding of new China, our party became the government party and its leading position in the united front has become more consolidated and strengthened than ever before. In the period of socialism, our party must develop the united front further and persist in exercising leadership over the united front in order to consolidate and develop the great unity of all the people in the country, defeat attempts at sabotage and troublemaking by enemies at home and abroad, realize the reunification of the motherland, and accomplish the various arduous tasks of socialist revolution and socialist construction. Under socialist conditions, our party and the democratic parties are practicing the principle "long-term coexistence and mutual supervision" and "treating each other with all sincerity and sharing weal and woe." The prerequisite to practicing that principle is that all democratic parties recognize the leadership of the Communist Party. Its purpose is to serve the cause of socialism. China's multiparty cooperation under the leadership of the Communist Party is entirely different from the multiparty system in capitalist countries. It represents a new development and new characteristic of China's united front in the period of socialism.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out in January 1948: "The leading class and the leading party must fulfill two conditions to exercise their leadership of the classes, strata, political parties and people's organizations that are being led: (a) Lead those who are led (allies) to wage resolute struggles against the common enemy and achieve victories; (b) bring material benefits to those who are led or at least not damage their interests and at the same time educate them politically. Without both those conditions, or with only one, leadership cannot be realized." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1216) This exposition, which clearly pointed out the indispensable conditions for the party to realize and strengthen its leadership over the united front, is still significant guidance in consolidating and developing the united front in the new period.

4. Correctly settling the national bourgeoisie issue is an original contribution of Mao Zedong Thought to the united front theories and policies.

China's national bourgeoisie emerged under semicolonial and semifeudal social conditions. Its social and economic status determined the dual

characters of its fundamental political attitude: while it wanted to go against imperialism and feudalism, it was rather weak and tended to waver. This was an important feature that distinguished China's national bourgeoisie from the bourgeoisie of the imperialist countries and from the comprador-like big bourgeoisie of our country. It is an important part of our party's political line to understand and handle correctly the dual characters of the national bourgeoisie. If that issue is resolved properly our revolution will prosper, otherwise it will suffer setbacks, or even fail. In handling the national bourgeoisie issue, our party went through a tortuous process of understanding during its early stage.

Our party followed a correct line during the early and intermediate stages of the first revolutionary civil war. In January 1924, Mr Sun Yat-sen, pushed and assisted by our party and the Communist International, convened decisively the First KMT Congress, during which the three major policies--uniting with Russia, uniting with the communists, and supporting workers and peasants--were formulated and the KMT was reorganized. The first cooperation between the KMT and the CPC was achieved. The KMT in those days represented the national bourgeoisie. Within the KMT, however, there were actually various political factions. Sun Yat-sen, Liao Zhongkai and other leftists among the KMT members represented the bourgeois revolutionaries; Wang Jingwei and Chiang Kai-shek also represented the national bourgeoisie at a certain period, and Hu Hanmin and Dai Jitao belonged to the right-wing faction of the bourgeoisie from the very beginning. Most of the leaders of armies under various factions were representatives of the despotic gentry classes. Owing to our party's cooperation with KMT leftists, the Whampoa Military Academy was founded, uprisings of national and democratic revolution with peasants' movements as the center were launched in several provinces and regions in southern China, political work that effectively improved the army's fighting strength and its relations with the people was carried out in the army, and victories were won smoothly during the Northern Expedition. Following the rapid development of the revolution, however, fierce political divisions emerged within the KMT. In November 1925, Zou Lu, Xie Chi and others formed the Xishan conference faction in open opposition to the communists. On 20 March 1926, Chiang Kai-shek created the Zhongshan warship incident and began to usurp the party, government and military leadership within the central KMT authorities, step by step. In those days, the control of the imperialists as well as the despotic gentry and comprador classes they groomed, was still very strong, and they did all they could to draw the national bourgeoisie to their side to fight the communists; at the same time, the right opportunists headed by Chen Duxiu, who assumed a dominant role within the Communist Party during the latter stage of the Northern Expedition, made endless concessions to the national bourgeoisie's compromising tendency, instead of carrying out the necessary struggle against it. Because of such "pulling" and "conceding," many people of the national bourgeoisie, which is by nature afraid of the masses' revolutionary movements, followed Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary movement after the 12 April counterrevolutionary coup d'etat.

Amid such abrupt and complicated changes, our party again committed "left" deviationist mistakes, a very important aspect of which was that it

confounded the national bourgeoisie with the big bourgeoisie. The declaration of the Fifth CPC Congress in May 1927 stated that "the '12 April incident' was 'by no means an individual action.' It represented a class--the national bourgeoisie." The declaration of the Sixth CPC Congress in July 1928 even emphasized: The Chinese revolution "can be carried through to the end only by opposing China's national bourgeoisie because it is one of the most dangerous enemies hampering the success of the revolution." The "left" mistake was perpetrated from the Fifth CPC Congress to the "7 August" conference and to the Sixth CPC Congress, thereby excluding the national bourgeoisie from the united front. Chen Duxiu's right deviationist opportunists noticed only the revolutionary aspect of the national bourgeoisie and maintained that the bourgeois-democratic revolution should be led by the bourgeoisie and that the proletariat should wait until a bourgeois republic is established and the capitalist economy has developed to a certain degree before it rises up to overthrow bourgeois rule and establish a dictatorship of the proletariat. It was complete transplant of the old bourgeois-democratic revolution of the West. On the other hand, perpetrators of the three "left" mistakes noticed only the reactionary aspect of the national bourgeoisie and adopted a policy of excluding and attacking the national bourgeoisie. It was a complete transplant of the experience of the Russian October Revolution. Both the right and the "left" mistakes denied the dual character of China's national bourgeoisie and ran counter to China's specific conditions, thereby bringing serious damage to the Chinese revolution.

Early on Comrade Mao Zedong scientifically asserted the dual character of China's national bourgeoisie and opposed the two erroneous assertions mentioned above. In his "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" in 1926, he pointed out that the bourgeoisie in China consists of two sections--the comprador class and the middle bourgeoisie (i.e., national bourgeoisie). This was his initial analysis of the dual character of the middle bourgeoisie. Shortly afterwards, the article "Why Is It That Red Political Power Can Exist in China?" written in Jinggangshan followed up that scientific assertion and said: "The bourgeois-democratic revolution, which started in Guangdong Province, had gone only halfway when the comprador and landlord classes usurped the leadership and immediately shifted it on to the road of counterrevolution; throughout the country workers, peasants, other sections of the common people, and even the bourgeoisie, have remained under counterrevolutionary rule and obtained not the slightest particle of political or economic emancipation." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 47) By December 1935, in "On Tactics Against Japanese Imperialism," he made further profound scientific assertions about the distinction between the comprador bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie. He said: "The national bourgeoisie is not the same as either the landlord or the comprador class; there is a difference between them." "On the one hand they dislike imperialism, and on the other they fear a thorough revolution, and they vacillate between the two." When the national crisis reached a crucial point, "one section (the left-wing) may join in, while another section may vacillate toward neutrality." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 131) Comrade Mao Zedong criticized some people in the party for denying the dual character of the

national bourgeoisie and for holding the erroneous view that it is impossible for the national bourgeoisie to join hands with the workers and peasants in opposing the Japanese aggressors. He pointed out the necessity of uniting with the national bourgeoisie, mobilizing a mighty revolutionary army and establishing an anti-Japanese national united front. Comrade Mao Zedong also said: "Even under the circumstances of the period between 1927 to 1931 when many people of the national bourgeoisie went along with Chiang Kai-shek's reactionary stand, our policy should still be to win them over politically and protect them economically so as to help us concentrate our efforts on opposing the major enemy." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1232) Therefore, theoretically and strategically, a firm basis was laid down for solving the complicated issue of the united front.

After the founding of the PRC, the national bourgeoisie still maintained its dual character. "Exploitation of the working class for profit constitutes one side of the character of the national bourgeoisie, while its support of the constitution and its willingness to accept socialist transformation constitute the other." (Mao Zedong: "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The capitalist economy that it represented played an important role in China's national economy. It was at once favorable and unfavorable to the national economy and people's livelihood. In light of this situation, while maintaining political alliance with the national bourgeoisie, our party also established economic alliance with them and adopted the policy of state capitalism and redemption. After repeated education and consultations, our party successfully changed the capitalist ownership system and eliminated the national bourgeoisie through alliance with them. Now the national bourgeoisie has vanished as a class. The majority of them have been reformed into self-reliant laborers striving to serve socialism. This shows the originality of the CPC and signifies the tremendous success of China's united front. It adds new theory and treasure to Marxism. As Comrade Deng Xiaoping said: "China's successful completion of the socialist transformation of capitalist industry and commerce is one of the most brilliant victories in the history of socialism in China and in the world as a whole. It was won because the CPC led the entire working class in implementing the Marxist policies formulated by Comrade Mao Zedong in the light of China's specific conditions and because the progressive elements and the majority of the members of the capitalist class played a beneficial, cooperative role in accepting the transformation." ("Selected Works of Deng Xiaoping," p 172)

5. The intellectual is an important force of the united front.

During the democratic revolution period, the problem of intellectuals was one of prime importance to the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out long ago: "In the long and ruthless war of national liberation, in the great struggle to build a new China, the Communist Party must be good at winning intellectuals, for only in this way will it be able to organize great strength for the war of resistance, organize the millions of peasants, develop the revolutionary cultural movement and expand the revolutionary united front. Without the participation of the intellectuals, the victory of the revolution is impossible." Comrade Mao Zedong also



pointed out the necessity of understanding the difference between intellectuals in colonial and semicolonial countries and those in capitalist countries, and the difference between intellectuals who serve the landlords and the bourgeoisie and those who serve the working class and the peasantry. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 581) Revolutionary intellectuals often played the role of vanguard and bridge in the Chinese revolution. In the new historical period the broad masses of intellectuals in our country, including those from the old society, have on the whole become part of the working class. Like workers and peasants, they are a force to be relied upon in the socialist cause of our country. They have already played and will continue to play an increasing role in the socialist modernization program.

In the history of our party there were both successful experience and lessons of failure in dealing with intellectuals. Generally speaking, there were two big ups and two big downs. In the main our party was founded by a group of revolutionary intellectuals who had received Marxism. Most of them were originally students and had close ties with the broad masses of youth. They made positive efforts to publicize Marxism, integrate themselves with the workers' movement, and later engage in the peasants' movement, where they caused a mighty revolutionary upsurge in China. In the great revolutionary period many intellectuals participated in the revolution, thereby resulting in the development of the revolution at that time. Following the failure of the great revolution, some intellectuals were killed, some fled, and a small number defected. The remaining revolutionary intellectuals further strengthened their revolutionary stand in the midst of struggle and carried on the fight more courageously. The "7 August" conference corrected Chen Duxiu's right opportunism and set up the correct principle of agrarian revolution and armed uprising. At that time, however, a "left" mistake began to show up, and subsequently putschism came into being. In November 1927 the enlarged central meeting further emphasized the working and peasantry class status, carried out a large-scale change of personnel, and brushed aside the broad masses of intellectuals. Especially during the period when Wang Ming's "left" adventurism prevailed, a series of excessively "left" policies, such as eliminating the bourgeoisie and rich peasants economically and getting rid of landlords and striking at intellectuals physically, were put into practice. None of the intellectuals born and brought up in the Soviet area had a political standing at that time. They were one up and one down. Only after the party Central Committee moved to northern Shaanxi in 1935 were those "left" policies corrected, one by one. In 1939 Comrade Mao Zedong drafted the decision "Recruit Large Numbers of Intellectuals" for the party Central Committee. ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 581) It enabled many intellectuals to participate in the revolution. The large number of intellectual cadres recruited and trained by the Chinese People's Anti-Japanese Military and Political College, the Northern Shaanxi Public School, and other institutions became hard-core and leading backbone forces on various fronts. From that time up to the period of the liberation war and the early years after the founding of the People's Republic, many intellectuals actively joined the revolutionary ranks. That represented another big up. After 1957 an erroneous "left" guiding ideology arose within our party, regarding all intellectuals without exception as

bourgeois intellectuals. Radical expansion of the antirightist struggle resulted in many intellectuals being erroneously labeled as rightists. Then, in the 10 years of internal turmoil, the broad masses of intellectuals were described as the "stinking ninth category" and suffered grave blows and torment. That was another big down. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, resolute efforts have been made by the party Central Committee to clear up what was confused and set things to rights and to go all out to implement the policy on intellectuals. That restored the true nature of Mao Zedong Thought and aroused the zeal of the broad masses of intellectuals. The current policy of the party Central Committee in dealing with intellectuals is entirely correct. The report delivered by Comrade Hu Yaobang last March at the meeting to commemorate the 100th anniversary of the death of Marx expounded the problem of intellectuals in connection with Marx and Marxism. The report stressed the need to attach importance to knowledge and intellectuals, stated the shortcomings of intellectuals, and pointed out that intellectuals should integrate themselves with workers and peasants. It gave a thoroughly clear elaboration of the problem of intellectuals.

6. The fundamental tactical principle of Mao Zedong Thought concerning the united front includes both alliance and struggle.

Alliance is achieved by the common goal of China's united front, which includes different classes, strata, social and political groups and individuals. However, because of different interests and political views, contradictions and struggle exist among them. Therefore, our fundamental policy must be based on a combination of alliance and struggle. Following such a policy means concretely applying the law of the unity of opposites of materialist dialectics in handling contradictions within the united front.

Because the Chinese revolution traveled a course of long years with complex relations with the bourgeoisie, it is of particular significance to handle correctly the relationship of both alliance with the bourgeoisie and struggle against it. After summing up our party's positive and negative historical experience in dealing with the bourgeoisie in 1939, Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out emphatically: "One important component of the political line of the Chinese Communist Party is the policy both of unity with the bourgeoisie and of struggle against it." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 571) In December 1940, he made alliance and struggle the main point of the anti-Japanese national united front policy. He pointed out: "Today our anti-Japanese national united front policy is neither all alliance and no struggle, nor all struggle and no alliance, but combines alliance and struggle." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 721) Henceforth, he applied that policy in both artistic and cultural work. For example, in May 1945 he pointed out: "In a united front, all unity and no struggle and all struggle and no unity are both wrong policies...that is as true in literature and art as in politics." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 3, p 824) This shows that the principle of both alliance and struggle was used to handle both the relationship with the bourgeoisie and the social contradictions in the united front. Of course, the characteristics and

circumstances of the contradictions were different in different historical periods and different conditions. Accordingly, the specific methods of unity and struggle were also different. The form of alliance, criticism and struggle was determined by specific circumstances.

The combination of alliance and struggle in the united front constituted a dialectical and comprehensive policy. Unity was the end while struggle was the means; there was struggle in unity, and the aim of struggle was unity. In short, unity was the main goal.

The contradiction between the national bourgeoisie and the working class as the exploiter and the exploited was originally an antagonistic contradiction. Since the founding of new China, our party, under the condition of the people's democratic dictatorship, handled that contradiction as one among the people. It was an important aspect in the development of Marxism. Antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions are changeable. In specific conditions, antagonistic contradictions, if handled properly, may be turned into nonantagonistic contradictions and handled as contradictions among the people; if handled badly, nonantagonistic contradictions may change into antagonistic contradictions or even into contradictions between the enemy and ourselves. There are different methods of handling antagonistic and nonantagonistic contradictions. In handling contradictions among the people, we must uphold the formula "unity, criticism, unity." That means starting from the desire for unity, resolving contradictions through criticism or struggle, and arriving at a new unity on a new basis. The tactical principle of both alliance and struggle is identical with the formula "unity, criticism, unity." Criticism is a form of struggle. Judging from people's habits, struggle is relatively fierce, and criticism is relatively mild. On the issue of struggle, in the past because we committed the "left" error of enlarging the struggle, some people are frightened when they hear of some kind of struggle. That is understandable. It should be noted that the "left" error ran counter to the party's principle of both unity and struggle. We must be firm in correcting such an erroneous practice. Whether we conduct criticism or wage a struggle, we must stick to facts and reasoning, use reasoning to convince people and treat people on an equal basis; in short, we should proceed from the desire for unity and work for unity.

Some people have argued that the tactical principle of both unity and struggle is no longer practical in the new historical period. That viewpoint is worth discussing. In the new historical period, fundamental changes in social conditions have taken place in China, except in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao, and the socialist identity within the united front has been enhanced further. Nevertheless, China's society and united front are not completely devoid of contradictions and struggle. That is because it is impossible to eliminate in a short time pernicious influence in various spheres left over by the exploiting system and the exploiting classes; China's great cause of reunification has not been finally realized; we are still living in a complex international environment; and because we are pursuing a policy of opening to the outside world and of invigorating the domestic economy. (This policy is necessary and correct.) Those conditions

have helped increase the influence of bourgeois ideology and the remnant of feudal ideas in China. Because of such conditions, the criminal activities of a small number of economic criminals and elements who are hostile to socialism are still rampant, international reactionary forces are trying in every way to struggle against us, and a number of unresolute elements among our cadres and the people have degenerated under their constant corrosive and decadent influence. As China's present united front is a broad one, it is unbelievable that no contradictions of a certain scope, of a class character exist in it as contradictions among the people. Under such conditions, how can it be said that the tactical principle of both unity and struggle is no longer practical?

To grasp the principle of both unity and struggle, it is necessary to persist in waging a struggle on two fronts, opposing both "left" and right tendencies. At present, there are still quite a number of "left" tendencies in united front work, but it is wrong to think that there are only "left" and no right mistakes in united front work in the new period. We must proceed from the actual situation at any time, opposing "left" tendencies if there are "left" tendencies and opposing right tendencies if there are right tendencies.

7. Developing the united front and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship--the two are interdependent and go together.

In 1949 Comrade Mao Zedong, in summing up the major and basic experience gained by the Chinese people, pointed out: "Domestically, arouse the masses of the people. That is, unite the working class, the peasantry, the urban petite bourgeoisie and the national bourgeoisie, form a domestic united front under the leadership of the working class, and advance to establishing a state that is a people's democratic dictatorship under the leadership of the working class based on the alliance of workers and peasants." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1409) Comrade Mao Zedong also pointed out: "The people's democratic dictatorship, led by the proletariat and based on the worker-peasant alliance, requires that our party conscientiously unite the entire working class, the entire peasantry and the broad masses of revolutionary intellectuals; they are the leading and basic forces of the dictatorship. Without such unity, the dictatorship cannot be consolidated. It is also required that our party unite with as many as possible of the representatives of the urban petite bourgeoisie and national bourgeoisie who can cooperate with us and with their intellectuals and political groups, so that during the revolutionary period we can isolate the counterrevolutionary forces and completely overthrow both the counterrevolutionary and imperialist forces in China and so that, after the victory of the revolution, we can restore and develop production speedily, cope with foreign imperialism, steadily transform China from an agricultural into an industrial country and build China into a great socialist state." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, pp 1374-1375) This was how developing the united front and consolidating the people's democratic dictatorship promoted each other and went together.

In the protracted course of developing the united front in our country, two alliances have been formed. One is the worker-peasant alliance (including the working class, the peasantry, other working people and their intellectuals), which is the foundation of the united front and the people's democratic dictatorship. The other is the alliance of all workers with all non-workers who could cooperate (before the completion of socialist transformation this alliance included the national bourgeoisie and its intellectuals and other patriotic personages), which is a broader and indispensable alliance based on the worker-peasant alliance. The interaction between the two alliances promotes development of the united front and consolidation of the people's democratic dictatorship.

8. The united front is a magic weapon of the proletariat and revolutionary people to transform the world and remold themselves.

Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out: "The struggle of the proletariat and the revolutionary people to change the world fulfills the following tasks: To change the objective world and, at the same time, their own subjective world--to change their cognitive ability and change the relations between the subjective and the objective world." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, pp 272-273)

To transform nature, to transform society and to transform ourselves--this is the glorious and arduous historical mission of the Chinese people's united front under the guidance of Mao Zedong Thought. The three transformations are related closely and are inseparable. The glorious course traversed by the Chinese people's united front in the past 62 years is the history of the heroic struggle of the Chinese people under the leadership of the Communist Party to overthrow the reactionary rule of internal and external enemies, the history of transforming old China, building new China and bringing about China's great changes, and the history of China's revolutionary people, who are constantly transforming themselves while transforming the objective world.

How to carry out self-transformation? Comrade Mao Zedong said: Criticism and self-criticism "is an excellent method, which impels every one of us to uphold truth and rectify error, and it is the only correct method for all revolutionary people to educate and remold themselves in a people's state." ("Be a True Revolutionary")

Thus it can be seen that during the entire socialist period all people (including Communist Party members) should adhere to the four fundamental principles, should always use the method of criticism and self-criticism, should constantly carry out self-education and self-transformation and should strive to build China into a modern socialist country that is highly democratic and culturally advanced. We communists should more than anyone else carry forward the party's three main styles of work and lead the way.

In the past, the united front was one of the three magic weapons of the Chinese revolution. During the entire historical period of socialism, it was still an important weapon in carrying out the three transformations and

building socialism with Chinese characteristics. The victories won by the united front in our country have been difficult, but the future tasks are more difficult and greater. We hope that China's united front will continue to carry forward its fine tradition in transforming nature, transforming society and transforming oneself and carry out its great historical mission more successfully.

In the new historical period, owing to the victory of the socialist revolution and the fundamental changes of class conditions in our country, our united front has grown into the broadest possible patriotic united front of all socialist workers, patriots who support socialism and other patriots who uphold the reunification of the motherland, including compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and Chinese nationals residing abroad. The fundamental task of the united front in the new period is to serve the three main tasks, namely, to build a modern, powerful, socialist country, to accomplish the great cause of reunifying the motherland, and to develop the international struggle against hegemonism. The political bases of the united front in the new period are patriotism and socialism. As far as its strategic goal and political basis and the political attitude of the overwhelming majority of its members are concerned, its basic character is socialism. The united front has always had a patriotic character. In the new historical conditions, it has united a wider range of classes and strata and all patriotic people to work jointly for the great cause of making China prosperous and strong and reunifying the motherland, thus its patriotic political basis has been broadened. We cannot demand that all compatriots in Taiwan, Hong Kong and Macao and all Chinese nationals residing abroad support socialism, but we can seek common ground on such issues as the motherland's reunification, integrity of sovereignty, national prosperity and power, the people's well-being, and so forth. We should unite with any people, so long as they are patriotic, support the motherland's reunification and do not oppose socialist new China. This is the party Central Committee's strategic thinking about the patriotic united front in the new period. The united front of the new period is a development of the past united front in our country in conformity with the law of historical development. If we want to consolidate and develop the united front in the new period, we should conscientiously study Mao Zedong Thought concerning the theory and policy of united front, study and grasp the characteristics of China's united front, combine them with the historical characteristics of the new period and the party Central Committee's policies and put them to use in a flexible way according to the new historical conditions so that the united front of the new period will bear richer fruits in the great cause to carry out the general tasks of the party and state.

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UPHOLD AND DEVELOP THE STRATEGIC AND TACTICAL THEORY OF PEOPLE'S WAR UNDER  
NEW HISTORICAL CONDITIONS--IN COMMEMORATION OF COMRADE MAO ZEDONG'S 90TH  
BIRTHDAY

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 24-32

[Article by Yang Dezhi [2799 1779 1807]; passages within slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] On the occasion of commemorating the 90th birthday of Comrade Mao Zedong, we are happy to see that, under the guidance of the line since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, our party has made new achievements in upholding and developing the military theory of Mao Zedong, and the cause of the modernization of our national defense is advancing victoriously along a correct path.

In the course of decades of Chinese revolutionary wars, Comrade Mao Zedong and his comrades in arms successfully established the Mao Zedong military theory on people's army, people's war, and strategy and tactics of people's war, and made very outstanding contributions to enriching and developing Marxist military theory. The strategy and tactics of people's war are important component parts of the Mao Zedong military theory, our precious heritage with which to subdue the enemy and win the victory, and the extremely precious wealth of our party, our army, and the people of the whole country. Under the new historical conditions, upholding and developing the theory of the strategy and tactics of people's war is the urgent need in strengthening the construction of the modernization of our national defense, safeguarding the security of the motherland, preserving world peace, and opposing wars of aggression, and is also the glorious and unshirkable duty of Chinese communists.

I

What are the criteria in judging whether or not a military theory is scientific or advanced? According to the viewpoints of Marxism, the criteria should be whether or not this theory correctly reflects the objective laws of war, and whether it can stand the practical test of war.

The strategy and tactics of people's war originated and were developed in the revolutionary wars in China. The revolutionary wars led by the CPC were

participated in by millions of people in a large semifeudal and semi-colonial oriental country. In these wars, the large scale, the long length of time, and the complexity of the modes of warfare and of the development of different situations were seldom seen in the military history of the world. We have had the experience of fighting against the internal reactionaries as well as the experience of fighting against the imperialist aggressors; we have had the experience of guerrilla warfare waged by small detachment units as well as the experience of waging wars by large military units composed of hundreds of thousands of fighters; and we have had the experience of defeating our enemies with "millet plus rifles" as well as with "aircraft and big guns." Such great practices in warfare are bound to give birth to great military theories compatible with the great practice.

Engels pointed out: "The emancipation of the proletariat will manifest itself in terms of military affairs, and will create its own specific and new fighting methods." ("Complete Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 7, p 562) The proletarian revolutionaries, with Comrade Mao Zedong as the chief representative, utilized the theory of Marxism to guide the revolutionary wars in China, pooled together the wisdom of the masses, summed up positive and negative experiences, absorbed the eminent military theories of ancient and modern times, both at home and abroad, and creatively solved a series of fundamental problems concerning the Chinese revolutionary wars, and thereby gradually formed the strategy and tactics of people's war with Chinese features. This strategy and these tactics include the epistemology and methodology of war as well as a whole set of guiding principles in warfare. They are founded on the basis of people's war. The strategy and tactics, which depend on the masses and mobilize them to emancipate themselves, are strategy and tactics guided by military dialectics and which act in accordance with science. They not only correctly reflect the specific laws of the Chinese revolutionary wars, but also reflect the general laws of war with unprecedented profundity. Therefore, they are theories that inherit and develop Marxist military theory and are the advanced strategic and tactical thought of the proletariat in modern times.

In 1964, when Comrade Mao Zedong went over an article, he personally added the sentence: "Social practice is the only criterion for evaluating truth," which once again emphasized the basic principle that the criterion for evaluating truth can only be social practice. In the course of decades of war, we have repeatedly fought against the military theories of our enemies at home and abroad. The result in practical tests has proved that only the strategic and tactical thought of people's war has kept its great vitality throughout, and it is the invincible weapon of the revolutionary people. In the history of our party, some people had ridiculed the strategic and tactical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong and termed it as "the simple and shallow theory which fails to understand the principles in the world's wars," and "narrow experiences which cannot present themselves in the great hall of world revolution," while they held that their strategy and tactics such as "strike with two fists," "fight against the enemy outside the boundary of the country," "unconditional attack," and "shock attacks" were "100 percent Bolshevik." However, history has provided the answer. Their idealistic and metaphysical strategy and tactics led to setbacks and failures time and



again, whereas Comrade Mao Zedong's strategic and tactical thought guided us to march from victory to victory. The strategic and tactical thought of people's war is an advanced military science, which is a truth repeatedly proved in the practice of the Chinese revolutionary wars.

In the past, we depended on the strategy and tactics of people's war in winning victory in the revolutionary wars. This has gone down in the glorious history of the Chinese revolution and is an irrefutable fact acknowledged by all. Under the new historical conditions then, can the strategy and tactics of people's war work in modern wars? Can they guide us to gain victories in the future wars against aggression? These are important questions which must be answered in explicit terms.

Fundamentally speaking, the strategy and tactics of people's war are determined by the just nature of the wars we wage. They are theoretically based on the principle of historical materialism, that the masses are the creators of history. They are not necessarily connected with backward arms and equipment. Some people think that the way we fought our past people's war was determined by the backwardness of weaponry, and that when advanced arms and equipment are available, it is no longer needed and the strategy and tactics of people's war will "no longer be useful." This viewpoint conforms neither to historical facts nor to the present practical situation. People's war is the highest form of the people's revolutionary struggle and is a form of war with very great vitality. In the past we used long knives and spears, and millet plus rifles to fight a people's war; and now that we have aircraft, tanks, missiles, and nuclear weapons, we should similarly fight a people's war.

With the development of science and technology and their broad application in the military field, and the continual innovations in weaponry, modern war is three-dimensional, general, combined, and electronic warfare on an unprecedented scale. We must pay sufficient attention to this new situation. At the same time, we should soberly realize that although there will be enormous changes in future wars as compared with past wars, there will be no change in their nature. We will need to rely on people's war waged by the masses, and they will be just wars fought with the sympathy and support of the revolutionary peoples of the world against imperialism and hegemonism; and neither will there be any change in the basic rules of war. Hence, the basic principles of the strategic and tactical thought which scientifically reflect the objective rules of people's war will remain our precious weapon for victoriously overcoming the enemy. In modern warfare, because the enemy concentrates a large quantity of weaponry which increases its dependence on the rear, and the war would be conducted in our vast expanse of space, it is certain that they will have many insurmountable weak points, thereby creating more favorable conditions for us to conduct people's war. So long as we uphold the strategic and tactical thought of people's war, we can give full play to our advantages of having a superior social system, a wide territory and a large population, and the merit of fighting a just war. We also can bring into play the integral power of diversified forms of struggle, greatly reduce the superiority of the enemy's weaponry, utilize and maximize the enemy's weak points to gradually

change the balance of power between the enemy and ourselves, and win victories in the end.

Of course, Marxism is not stationary, but progressive. "All the rules guiding a war develop in accordance with the development of history as well as the development of a specific war." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 157) Similarly, the strategy and tactics of people's war are not stationary, and the concrete tactics are certain to change in accordance with changing conditions. An important topic facing us at present is to integrate Mao Zedong's military thought with the actual conditions of modern war, uphold and develop the strategy and tactics of people's war, and make preparations for opposing a war of aggression.

What we have said above does not mean that we should neglect the function of weapons and equipment. On the contrary, we have always attached great importance to the improvement of weaponry. Comrade Mao Zedong said long ago that we should have what our enemy possesses and we also should have what our enemy does not possess. We will be heavily punished if we lag behind. The people's army, armed with advanced military theory plus modern arms and equipment, is like a tiger that has grown wings. It is stupid if we do not pay attention to or even refuse to develop new weapons. However, we have never exaggerated or blindly believed in the function of weaponry, and we do not uphold the idea that a few new weapons will lead to an eventual victory. Even the sober-minded capitalist military experts have to admit that the victory of the revolutionary war in China was not because our arms and equipment were superior to those of our opponents, but because we upheld people's war and the strategy and tactics of people's war. Innumerable facts in the history of war have proved that on the basis of a certain degree of material supply, advanced military thought is the lever for changing the balance of power between the enemy and ourselves. Backwardness in military thought is to be feared even more than backwardness in weapons. It goes without saying that we should develop sophisticated weapons and equipment so as to build a modernized army. However, if we only possess sophisticated weapons and equipment but do not have the guidance of advanced military theory, we cannot be sure of winning a modern war. Therefore, under the new historical conditions, we must uphold and develop the strategy and tactics of people's war. All the commanders and fighters of our army, the leading comrades at various levels in particular, must firmly establish this unshakable faith.

## II

People often use the expression "working miracles in directing military operations" to describe and praise the arts of guiding the war by Comrade Mao Zedong. Where do the "miracles" come from? It was because he radically broke through the conception of regarding the war as something holy and correctly understood and grasped the objective laws of war. The strategic and tactical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong is glittering everywhere with the glory of material dialectics. Just as Comrade Zhu De pointed out: "Comrade Mao Zedong has systematically studied the laws concerning the Chinese revolutionary wars. Especially important is the fact that in his military

works, Comrade Mao Zedong has specifically developed the theoretical basis and methodology of the military science of Marxism and Leninism, that is, the military dialectics."

In order to uphold and develop the strategy and tactics of people's war under the new historical conditions, the most fundamental thing is for us to uphold and develop the dialectical military thought of Mao Zedong.

/1. In guiding people's war, we should uphold the principle of unifying subjective guidance with objective reality./

Comrade Mao Zedong always upheld that military operations should be directed on a practical basis and in a matter-of-fact way, and with specific reference to each enemy, weaponry, time, and place. This is the living soul of the strategic and tactical thought of Comrade Mao Zedong, and is also a fundamental feature in his practice in directing battles.

Not every military commander can correctly grasp and solve the problem of unifying subjective guidance with objective reality in war. In this respect, some emphasize the "probability" of war and attribute the success or failure to accidental factors, thus falling a prey to agnosticism of war; some direct wars subjectively regardless of the changing conditions in the battlefield, thereby committing subjectivism in directing wars; and some blindly believe in books and the successful experiences of foreign countries and of themselves and act in strict observance of set rules, thus practicing mechanism in directing wars. Comrade Mao Zedong made use of the revolutionary and mobile theory of reflection to direct wars, attached great importance to "knowing the enemy and knowing oneself," made objective and overall analysis and comparison of the power between the enemy and oneself, and practiced "discarding the dross and selecting the essential, eliminating the false and retaining the true, and proceeding from one point to another and from the superficial to the core." Out of very complicated situations, he delineated the characteristics and objective rules of war, foresaw the process of war, and made correct strategy and tactics. He attached great importance to the overall situation of war, concentrated efforts on solving the main contradictions, grasped the key points of strategy to plan tactics, and grasped the key points of tactics to plan operations. He paid great attention to grasping the changes and development in the war situation, effected timely strategic changes, and adopted strategy and tactics suited to the prevailing conditions. Therefore, he was able to have the war at his fingertips and guide the whole army to overcome the enemy and win victory.

At the beginning of the war of resistance against Japan, Comrade Mao Zedong made an overall analysis of the practical conditions of China and Japan, and pointed out that the war of resistance against Japan would be a protracted war; that China would go through the three stages of strategic defensive, strategic stalemate, and strategic counteroffensive; and that our army should effect a strategic change and adopt a strategic policy of "conducting a guerrilla warfare basically, but effecting mobile warfare on favorable conditions" so that a final victory could be won. The process of

the war of resistance against Japan, which lasted for 8 years, entirely affirmed the scientific prediction of Comrade Mao Zedong.

After the war of liberation entered the stage of strategic offensive, Comrade Mao Zedong, with his courage and resourcefulness of a great revolutionary and his superior art of command, personally organized and directed the three great campaigns of Liaoning-Shenyang, Huai-Hai, and Beiping-Tianjin which were of decisive significance to the overall situation of the war. With particular reference to the specific features of the strategic and tactical deployment and posture of both sides in the regions of the northeast, north China, east China, and central China, he formulated different policies of fighting and adopted different fighting methods. In the Liaoning-Shenyang campaign, he made use of the enemy's uncertain decision and dilemma and decided to take Jinzhou first and thus closed the gate of escape, leading to the annihilation of the enemy on the spot. In the Huai-Hai campaign, in view of the densely concentrated enemy in the Xuhai region, he adopted the principle of breaking through in the middle and "attacking Jinan while combating the relief troops" and unconventionally used a greater part of the force to hold off or combat the relief troops. In this way, a favorable posture was created: While attacking and annihilating one of the enemy's corps, we took on another corps which came to its aid; and while encircling and annihilating the second corps, we took still another corps. In the Beiping-Tianjin campaign, the enemy had become "a bird startled by the mere twang of a bowstring," and they deployed their troops in a single-line battle array, ready to flee at any moment. At first, our army adopted the tactics of "separating without encircling" and "encircling without attacking" so as to stabilize the enemy. After that, we attacked the two ends first and then the middle, thus cutting the enemy troops into several sections to be annihilated separately. After the three great strategic battles which lasted over 4 months, more than 1.5 million enemy troops were wiped out, and all the northeast region, most of north China, and the broad areas north of the Changjiang were liberated. The miracles in the history of war thus created entirely verified the correctness of Comrade Mao Zedong's subjective ability in guiding the war.

/2. In guiding people's war, we should persistently bring into play the spontaneous initiative of man on a given material basis./

In directing the war, Comrade Mao Zedong always emphasized giving full play to the spontaneous initiative of man so as to grasp the initiative in war. He pointed out: "War is a contest in subjective ability between the commanders of the opposing armies in their struggle for superiority and for the initiative on the basis of material conditions such as military forces and financial resources." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 458) Initiative means an army's freedom of action. With initiative, we can attain freedom on the battlefield, and can "dominate the enemy and not be dominated," thus causing the war to develop toward an end which is favorable to us and harmful to the enemy. This initiative is not something readily available, and it should be gained with consciousness and with the active performance of subjective ability.

With regard to bringing into play man's conscious dynamic role and gaining the initiative in war, Comrade Mao Zedong persistently held that strategically we should "pit 1 against 10," but tactically and in actual fighting we should "pit 10 against 1," so as to create the objective material conditions for gaining superior positions and initiative; we should prepare for the worst and strive for the best, and devise several plans at the same time so that we can be in an invincible position; and we should be well versed in developing our advantages and avoiding our disadvantages, and should strive to make use of the beneficial and evade the harmful, thus providing little opportunity for the enemy, or, in some cases, we can even exert efforts to convert our weak points into favorable conditions for gaining the initiative.

The battle of four fordings of the Chishui, which was conducted after the Zunyi meeting, was a typical example of giving full play to the conscious dynamic role and of turning the passive into the initiative. At that time, more than 30,000 troops of our central Red Army, confronted with the encircling, pursuing, and intercepting of several hundred thousand KMT troops, were in a strategically disadvantageous position. Comrade Mao Zedong made use of the contradictions among the KMT reactionary troops and the errors of Chiang Kai-shek in strategy and tactics, and gave full play to the advantages of the Red Army in carrying out highly flexible and mobile operations: Marching forward or retreating with great speed, attacking for the purpose of defense, retreating for the purpose of advance, moving to the flank for the purpose of advancing in the center, taking a tortuous path for the purpose of taking a straight road, and thus penetrating and maneuvering amid the encirclement of the heavy enemy troops. Sometimes the Red Army made a feint to the east and attacked in the west, thus misleading the enemy; and sometimes the Red Army saw through the tricks of the enemy and took the opportunity to pin down the enemy, thus throwing off the pursuers in their confusion. When the enemy sought us in order to engage in battle, they could not find us; and when we wanted to attack the enemy, we could pin them down and annihilate them. In this way, the enemy was always in a state of confusion and uncertainty and soon became exhausted and often vulnerable to attack, and they could only stare blankly at a few pairs of worn-out straw sandals left behind by the Red Armymen. Consequently, the Red Army not only achieved the victory of annihilating two divisions and eight regiments of enemy troops in the Zunyi campaign, but also shattered the enemy's dream of annihilating our army, and the Red Army also achieved the success of completely reversing the former passive and vulnerable situation. The battle of four fordings of the Chishui greatly enhanced the prestige and morale of the Red Army, and the expression "Chairman Mao directed military operations with miraculous skill" became known universally.

In campaigns and battles, man's subjective initiative is mainly expressed in accurately grasping three key links: opportunity, place, and troops, and flexibly directing military operations. In the autumn of 1947, in accordance with the directives of the Central Military Commission and Comrade Mao Zedong, and in order to coordinate with the northeast China field army, the field army of the Shanxi-Chahar-Hebei military region

launched the Qingfengdian campaign. The strategy of this campaign was to give the enemy a false impression and lead them to commit mistakes through the maneuvers of our army. Before the campaign was launched, our army attacked the enemy at Baoding, Shijiazhuang, and west of Beiping, so as to pin down and confuse the enemy. At the same time, some troops were sent to encircle and attack Xushui so as to attract the enemy's reinforcing units and force a military confrontation between our army and the enemy. Thus, Chiang Kai-shek got a false impression, thinking that this was the best opportunity to fight a decisive battle with our army, and ordered his main force in Shijiazhuang to march northward. The enemy marched forward in isolation and entered an area 90 li from our anticipated battlefield. However, the main force of our army was some 100 to 200 li away. Then, with heroic and indomitable fighting spirit, our combating troops performed a miracle of making an unbelievable 250-li forced march in 1 day and 1 night and arrived at the predetermined area earlier than the enemy. After 3 days' fierce fighting, an enemy army commander was captured and more than 20,000 enemy troops were wiped out. The experience our army has gained from many battles shows that on the basis of a certain degree of material supply, the conscious activity of the commanders plays an important role in the war. It not only can counteract our own weaknesses, but also direct and move the enemy's troops, thus directing a living drama full of sound and color and full of power and grandeur.

/3. In order to guide the people's war, we should master the laws on changes between strong and weak./

As a commander in the battle, Comrade Mao Zedong always emphasized concentrating forces to fight battles of annihilation and wiping out the enemy's effective strength. This is an important guiding ideology for changing the situation in which we are weak and the enemy is strong, and defeating the better-equipped enemy with inferior equipment. The Chinese revolutionary war led by our party was a history in which the revolutionary army developed from small to large and from weak to strong and defeated the better-equipped enemy with inferior equipment. Comrade Liu Bocheng said that Comrade Mao Zedong's military thinking was "a military theory of the people defeating the strong and modern-equipped enemy with inferior arms." ("Selected Military Works of Liu Bocheng," p 476)

The course of war is a course of growth and decline of the relative strength of the two sides: the enemy and ourselves. According to the viewpoints of materialist dialectics, everything divides into two. Being strong and being weak are not absolute. The strong may not be always strong, and the weak may not be always weak. The fact is that each side is superior in some aspects and inferior in other aspects; that the superior is inferior in some aspects and the inferior is superior in some aspects; and that the strong is weak in certain fields and the weak is strong in certain fields. In China's revolutionary war, it was an objective fact that the enemy was strong and we were weak in weaponry and equipment. However, we were fundamentally superior in political quality and in winning over the people's support. The position of being strong or weak can also be changed. Without exception, the result of the struggle between two confronting sides is the

change of this position under certain conditions. Mao Zedong's strategic and tactical thinking and his great practice in wars were permeated with this spirit of change, that is, to actively create conditions so that all enemies, which appear to be very strong for the time being, can be changed from "iron tigers" into "paper tigers," and the people's armed forces can be changed from weak to strong as soon as possible.

In order to master the law on changes between strong and weak, we must understand that battles are always fought in a certain specific time and space. Being the continuation of the movement of war and the space for war activities, both time and space are interrelated and can affect each other under certain conditions. In order to defeat a strong enemy, the weak army must give full play to its superiority in time and space, make use of the inferiority of the enemy, and realize changes in the relative strength of the enemy and its own. China is a country with a vast territory and large population. Where there are people, there are battlefields to wipe out the enemy. Everywhere there can be a vast ocean in which to drown the enemy. However strong the enemy may be, it can never withstand the protracted struggles of the revolutionary people who are advancing wave upon wave. Our policy is to fight a protracted war. This protracted war and quick battles in a campaign form a dialectical unity. The practice of the revolutionary wars in China proves that the process of combining the strategically protracted war with quick battles in each campaign is one of our developing from weak to strong. Our purpose of contending for or yielding space to win over time or seizing more space through protracted war is to wipe out the enemy's effectiveness and develop our revolutionary forces.

The most effective method to realize the change from weak to strong is to "concentrate a superior force to destroy the enemy forces one by one." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 4, p 1141) Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out penetratingly: "Injuring all of a man's 10 fingers is not as effective as chopping off one, and routing 10 enemy divisions is not as effective as annihilating one of them." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 1, p 220) He emphasized that the method of "cutting a carrot" should be used to annihilate the enemy so that our army can change its inferiority in strategy into superiority in concrete battles and campaigns, and realize a qualitative change through quantitative change by achieving one victory after another. During the liberation war, several million reactionary troops of the KMT, which looked fierce and strong, were finally subdued by Comrade Mao Zedong by means of "cutting a carrot." At the beginning of the war, the KMT had an army of 4.3 million strong, including 248 regular army brigades. This could be regarded as a "big carrot." At that time, ours was only an army of some 1.2 million strong, much weaker in comparison with the enemy's. The method we adopted was to cut this big carrot one piece after another. In the first 3 months, we annihilated 25 brigades of enemy troops, cutting off a small piece of the carrot. In the first year, a total of 97.5 brigades of enemy troops were annihilated, which was a large piece of the carrot. Not only was the all-out attack launched by the enemy smashed, but also the enemy's attacks against key sectors were put on the brink of bankruptcy. In the second year, we continued to cut the carrot and annihilated 94 brigades of enemy troops. Thus, the accumulation in quantity

brought about a leap in quality. The enemy was forced to change its district defensive into key-sector defensive. From September of the third year, our army successfully launched great strategic and decisive campaigns, during which 144 divisions of the enemy's regular army were annihilated. The big "carrot" was thus cut up and only a very small part was left. On the other hand, the people's army, which the enemy yearned day and night to annihilate, became larger and stronger in the war. As a result, a new China was founded.

/4. In order to guide the people's war, we should effect organic integration and flexible application of the offensive and defensive./

Offensive and defensive are two basic means to realize the purpose of war. All strategists, in modern or ancient times, in China or elsewhere, have paid great attention to this in order to win victories in war. However, just as was pointed out by Comrade Chen Yi: "To some ordinary strategists, the problem of offensive is always a problem of offensive, not considering any other factors; and the problem of defensive is always a problem of defensive, not considering other factors either. However, Chairman Mao has discovered new contents in these two basic forms of war and looked at them from a new angle." ("A Single Spark Can Start a Prairie Fire," November 1979 edition, Vol 1, p 142)

In accordance with the law of the unity of opposites of Marxism, Comrade Mao Zedong effected a close integration and alternate application of the offensive and defensive and put forth a unique strategic thinking of active defense. Many strategists had discussed the question of active defense, but Comrade Mao Zedong was the first to systematically analyze and study it as a strategic thinking governing the whole situation in war and guiding the whole course of war, and the first to successfully apply it in the practice of war. Comrade Mao Zedong pointed out that active defense, also known as offensive defense or defense through decisive engagements, is a defense for counteroffensive or offensive. He not only emphasized that in the strategic defense there must be offensive in campaigns and battle, but also emphasized that it is necessary to change strategic defense into strategic counteroffensive or offensive in good time. This is a strategic thinking for thoroughly annihilating the enemy. Comrade Mao Zedong applied the method of combining offensive with defense in campaigns and battles, sometimes, making an offensive while being on the defensive, and sometimes, going over from the defensive to the offensive at the appropriate time or vice versa. The fighting method of "luring the enemy in deep" which he used flexibly during the revolutionary civil war and the war of resistance against Japan, the method of making tactical counterattacks while being on firm defense, which was adopted in the later period of the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea and was highly praised by him, the method of setting up defenses and performing garrison duty on key points and the necessity of drawing lessons from the history of wars in China and abroad, which he repeatedly emphasized after the founding of the PRC, and the method of using cities to fight defensive battles of the style of the Stalingrad battle were vivid expressions of dialectical unity in combining the fundamental purpose and basic methods of war.



The close combination of offensive and defensive by Comrade Mao Zedong was also expressed in his flexible application of both the interior-line and exterior-line operations. For a long period of time, the revolutionary war in China was in a complicated jigsaw situation of interior-line and exterior-line operations, encirclement and counterencirclement, and "encircling and suppressing" and "counterencircling and suppressing." Comrade Mao Zedong vividly compared this to chess-playing. He said: "There are two forms of encirclement by the enemy forces and two forms of encirclement by our own--rather like a game of go." "The establishment of strongholds by the enemy and of guerrilla base areas by us resembles moves to dominate spaces on the board." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 396) Being a great master of go in fighting battles, Comrade Mao Zedong was especially good at "moving to dominate spaces on the board." During the war of resistance against Japan, he commanded our army to penetrate into the enemy's rear areas and created more than 10 liberated areas there. They were the "spaces" dominated by us on the chessboard, which the enemy could never wipe out in the war of resistance against Japan. During the war of liberation, he instructed the Liu (Bocheng)-Deng (Xiaoping) field army to launch a large-scale attack on the central plains with the coordination of the Chen (Yi)-Su (Yu) field army and the Chen Geng army, and to march 1,000 li forward to the Dabieshan, thus changing the interior-line strategic defense into exterior-line operations and dominating some "spaces" in the enemy's rear area. This "move" on the chessboard confused the enemy's strategic arrangements and changed the exterior-line attack by the enemy on our army into our exterior-line attack on the enemy. It created a new situation in the war, leading it to the Chiang-controlled area and regaining the initiative.

/5. In order to guide the people's war, we should integrate fighting a military campaign with fighting a political one./

In commanding a battle, Comrade Mao Zedong did not deal with battles alone, but closely integrated military struggle with political struggle and other forms of struggle, and created ingenious tactics for struggle. He pointed out: "War cannot for a single moment be separated from politics," "from the mobilization of the entire people, from the political principles of the unity between officers and men, the unity between army and people, and the disintegration of the enemy forces, from the effective application of united front policy, and mobilization on the cultural front, and from the efforts to win international support and the support of the people inside the hostile country." ("Selected Works of Mao Zedong," Vol 2, p 447) He also pointed out that "armed struggle cannot succeed unless coordinated with other forms of struggle." (Ibid., p 599)

In commanding a battle, Comrade Mao Zedong attached great importance to the combination of field armies, local armies, and militia guerrillas, and the combination of armed and unarmed masses. He required that our army should be a combat team and, at the same time, a work team and production team capable of uniting with the masses and mobilizing, organizing, and arming the masses. Practice shows that only thus can we give full play to the might of the entire people's war.

Comrade Mao Zedong was good at using revolutionary dual tactics to combat counterrevolutionary dual tactics and waging tit for tat struggle against the enemy, that is, a blow-for-blow, talk-for-talk, and half-fight-half-talk struggle against the enemy. The Chongqing negotiations after the victory of the war of resistance against Japan, and the Panmunjom negotiations in the war to resist U.S. aggression and aid Korea, which were closely coordinated with military struggles, played a role of educating and uniting the people and exposing and hitting at the enemy.

In campaigns and battles, Comrade Mao Zedong emphasized the combination of military offensive and political offensive. In November 1945, after the victory of the Ping-Han Campaign, the first experience the Liu (Bocheng)-Deng (Xiaoping) field army summed up in fighting against the KMT troops was that "it is necessary to launch both military and political offensives; doing political work while fighting the enemy so that they can be won over," "and to give the enemy a dual blow in political and military affairs." In particular, during the Beiping-Tianjin campaign, our army created three methods to annihilate the enemy: The method of combat as was used in the battle in Tianjin, the method of peaceful absorption of enemy troops as was used in the battle in Beiping, and the method of retaining the existing organizational system for later absorption as was used in the battle in Suiyuan. They are examples showing a high degree of combination of military and political struggles, leading to the victory of the military struggle. During the 3 years of the war of liberation, more than 1.77 million enemy officers and men revolted and crossed over or accepted redesignation. This greatly helped our army march forward victoriously in the war of liberation.

If we make a comprehensive study on Comrade Mao Zedong's military works and military practice, we easily can find that they are permeated with a Red line of Marxist materialist dialectics. By conscientiously applying Marxist philosophy in studying and guiding wars, Comrade Mao Zedong not only brought to light various contradictions in the sphere of war and the laws governing their development, but also enriched and developed Marxist philosophy. Just as was pointed out by the resolution of the 6th Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, Comrade Mao Zedong's military works "present us the most brilliant example of applying and developing Marxist epistemology and dialectics in practice." ("Resolution on Certain Questions in the History of Our Party Since the Founding of the PRC")

### III

Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, the CPC Central Committee has repeatedly emphasized that it is necessary to completely and accurately understand and master the scientific system of Mao Zedong Thought and adhere to and develop Mao Zedong Thought. With revolutionary courage and the scientific attitude of a Marxist, Comrade Deng Xiaoping has worked hard to get rid of both "leftist" and rightist interferences. He has great courage to break with old conventions, methods which have obstructed our advance and is good at absorbing new ideas and new experiences which are in conformity with the real situation. He has great

courage to affirm those things which should be affirmed and negate those which should be negated. He has thus made outstanding contributions to adhering to and developing Mao Zedong Thought. All the theories, policies, and principles he has put forward for building our revolutionary, modern, and regular army are great creations based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and the practice of our revolution and construction. In order to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war, it is particularly necessary for us to learn from and develop this Marxist spirit of creation.

Under the new historical conditions, in order to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war, it is necessary to conscientiously and thoroughly study Comrade Mao Zedong's military works and military practice and gain a complete and accurate understanding of the scientific system of Mao Zedong's military thinking. On this question, it is necessary to oppose book worship which holds that things are immutable. It is also necessary to oppose nihilism, which negates everything. We must never mechanically copy the strategy and tactics of people's war, which is full of vitality, to the neglect of the new characteristics of modern wars and the new problems in future wars against aggression. Neither must we negate the guiding role of the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war merely because Comrade Mao Zedong committed mistakes in his later years or that some new situations have appeared in modern war. Our army has fought battles for many years and has accumulated rich and unique experiences. It has also a glorious tradition. The military works by Comrade Mao Zedong and proletarian revolutionaries of the older generation are a condensation of these experiences. They have recorded our experiences and lessons written in blood, and are a precious treasure for our army. We must attach great importance to the study of these works. Some comrades, however, do not respect our own experiences and tradition, and some comrades do not attach importance to the study of theoretical principles. This is not correct. If we do not conscientiously study the previous experiences the Chinese people have gained through several decades of the revolutionary war, do not carry forward and develop the fine tradition of our army, and do not take Mao Zedong's military thinking as a guide for our action, how can we develop them? In order to develop the law on guiding people's war under modern conditions and to win victory in future wars against aggression, we must create within the whole army a dense atmosphere of studying Mao Zedong's military thinking. We must not only study the concrete principles and methods for commanding troops and fighting battles, but must also study Comrade Mao Zedong's theoretical basis and methodology on guiding wars, that is, military dialectics. Only thus can we fundamentally raise our ability in guiding wars and master the new method of dialectical materialism in commanding troops.

Under the new historical conditions, in order to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war, it is necessary to energetically encourage the practice of investigation and study, and to attach great importance to studying and mastering the characteristics and laws of modern war, and to studying and solving the new problems facing us in guiding wars. Engels said: "Once a technical progress can be and is applied

for a military purpose, it will lead to the change or transformation of the mode of operations, usually free of the will of commanders and almost in a mandatory manner." ("Selected Works of Marx and Engels," Vol 3, p 211) We must realize that in the future wars against aggression, there will be many new characteristics and new problems in the targets, scale, mode, and progress of operations as well as in concrete fighting methods. For example, we have to make a systematic study on questions such as how to counter the enemy's strategic sudden attacks; how to deal with the three-dimensional, general, combined, and electronic warfare waged by the enemy; how to take countermeasures against the continuous tank group assaults by the enemy from multiple directions, in depth, and at high speed; how to integrate positional warfare with mobile and guerrilla warfare; how to organize coordination of operations between various armed services; and how to make the main force, the local forces, and the militia guerrillas take concerted action so as to give play to the might of the entire people's war. Only when we pay close attention to the characteristics and development of modern war, put forth new countermeasures, and adopt new fighting methods, can we continuously enrich and develop our army's unique strategy and tactics of people's war.

Under the new historical conditions, in order to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war, it is necessary to attach importance to the study of foreign armies, hostile armies, and wars of various natures, scales, and modes in the present world. "Only by comparing can one distinguish; and only by distinguishing and struggling can things be developed." Having blind faith in foreign countries is certainly wrong. However, being complacent and conservative, being self-important, and failing to see the advantages of other countries are also wrong. As a matter of fact, the modern weaponry of the enemy is nothing to be feared. What is fearful is that we know nothing about the military thinking and strategy and tactics of the enemy. We must pay close attention to the development and changes of the military thinking, techniques, and tactics in various countries and study the new things provided by modern wars and armed conflicts in the present world, so that we can get some useful and new ideas from them. In particular, we must make an effective and profound study of the targets in future wars. If we make a profound study on the enemy, we will have more methods to deal with it and be more certain of victory in future wars.

Under the new historical conditions, in order to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war, it is necessary to make great efforts to raise the military, political, and cultural quality of the commanders and fighters of the whole army. It is especially necessary to make great efforts to train good commanders. Lenin pointed out: "Like modern technology, modern war also needs high-quality people." ("Collected Works of Lenin," Vol 8, p 33) A history of war also includes the history of continuously applying new science and technology on the battlefield. Once a new weapon is created and a new tactic is adopted with this new weapon, an army which lacks new knowledge and does not keep pace with the new situation is surely to be defeated. An army without scientific and cultural knowledge can never have high combat effectiveness. At present, we must

strengthen education in modern military sciences and change as soon as possible the irrational knowledge structure and the situation of lacking knowledge. Special attention should be paid to making our commanders and staff officers at various levels more revolutionary, younger, better educated, and more professionally competent. In peacetime, the key to training and bringing up talented people lies in running colleges and schools well, strengthening education and training in the army, and arming the commanders and fighters of our army with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and modern science and culture. It is necessary to help our commanders at various levels master the basic theories of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and acquire the political consciousness and the proletarian revolutionary spirit of devoting themselves to the cause of communism and for the interests of the people, so that they can become useful people who know both military and political affairs and both the economy and science and technology, who are familiar with both our army and the foreign armies, who have a good knowledge about the present and about history, and who are capable of commanding battles and carrying out socialist construction. With these high-quality commanders and fighters, we will be able to adhere to and develop the strategic and tactical thinking of people's war and build our army into an indestructible iron great wall in defending the socialist motherland and defending the construction of the four modernizations.

CSO: 4004/60

## ELIMINATING SPIRITUAL POLLUTION AND BOOSTING SOCIALIST LITERATURE AND ART

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 33-35

[Article by Lin Mohan]

[Text] Eliminating spiritual pollution and boosting socialist literature and art represent two aspects of one thing. It will be difficult for socialist literature and art to flourish without eliminating spiritual pollution. On the other hand, it will also be difficult to eliminate spiritual pollution if we do not boost socialist literature and art. These two aspects cannot be separated from each other and they represent the relationship between destruction of the old and establishment of the new, as referred to in the past. To eliminate spiritual pollution requires destruction. It means to destroy bourgeois things that are reactionary and decadent. Boosting socialist literature and art means to make them socialist, revolutionary and healthy. Establishment can only be carried out when there is destruction. True destruction can be carried out only when there is establishment. Without destruction there can be no establishment, and there can be no establishment without destruction. That which is correct can only develop in its struggle against that which is wrong; there is no plain-sailing in its development. Marxism was established in the process of criticizing the bourgeois ideological system. That is why Marx' "Das Kapital" has also been termed "Critique of Political Economy." There would be no Marxism were there no criticism of the bourgeois ideological system. The purpose of eliminating spiritual pollution and boosting socialist literature and art is the same: to raise people's ideological consciousness and spiritual level and to build socialist material and spiritual civilization. The purpose of eliminating spiritual civilization is to clean the foundation and make preparations for further developing socialist literature and art.

I fully agreed with the concept of the need to "boost socialist literature and art," but it is not necessary to develop them in general. This is because literature and art exist in various forms in China today. Some literature and art works are not worthy of being called literature and art, such as pornographic books, magazines, and tapes. They are not literature and art at all. But others, such as the so-called alienation works and works advocating abstract humanity and humanism cannot but be acknowledged as literature and art, because these works depict certain ideology through the

use of characters. Therefore, in China, in addition to socialist literature and art, there also exist nonsocialist literature and art and literature and art that tends to derail from socialist orientation. There exist literature and art that oppose socialism. Therefore, it is imperative for us to raise aloft the banner of socialist literature and art, unite all literature and art that is in the interest of socialism, and resolutely oppose literature and art that opposes socialism.

I am of the opinion that contemporary and patriotic literature and art should belong to the spheres of socialist literature and art, because today patriotism means to love the socialist motherland, and literature and art that cherish the socialist motherland are of course socialist literature and art. Literature and art that depict patriots in history and are in a position to encourage the people of today to love the motherland is also socialist, because in depicting patriots in history, the ideology of the writers concerned may also be socialist. Therefore, the sphere of socialist literature and art should not be very narrow, but should be wide.

What is the criterion for boosting socialist literature and art? It mainly depends on the quality of literature and art works. This does not mean that we should neglect quantity, for quality breeds quantity and quantity reflects quality.

However, quality is most important. That is, to boost socialist literature and art means that we must produce enormous amounts of literature and art works that are superb both in ideology and artistic quality. Works with low quality are not beneficial even if they are enormous. Such works are not welcomed by the people. With regard to reactionary literature and art, the greater their quantity, the more hazardous they are to the people. There are enormous amounts of works now advocating bourgeois decadent ideology, ultraindividualism, anarchism, God, and spreading the sentiments of having no faith in the CPC and socialism. What good is it to increase the number of such works? It can only be said that the greater the number of such works, the worse it will be and the more harmful they will become. Therefore, whether socialist literature and art is prosperous mainly depends on the quality of socialist literature and art works.

There are two kinds of social products: material products and spiritual products. Material products also should be good in quality. If such products are not good in quality, they will only cause economic losses to the masses. After being taken in once, the masses will not buy such material products again. But spiritual products with bad contents enchant many people. They enchant many people who are naive and unable to distinguish right from wrong, particularly youngsters. Like those who take drugs, the more they take, the stronger will be their habit. The effect of bad quality spiritual products is fathomless. Therefore, it is imperative that we change the attitude of only paying attention to quantity and neglecting quality. Over the past few years, some comrades in literature and art circles in China have talked much about quantity. When they talk about achievements, they say that the literature and art circles in the country have produced thousands of novels and medium-length novels, tens of

thousands of short stories, and so many films. The method of calculating the number of literature and art works without considering their quality is not scientific. Such method only covers up bad works. We do not include waste products in the achievements of material production; thus it is also improper to include bad literature art works in our literature and art achievements.

The situation of spiritual pollution so far exposed is serious and staggering enough. Some comrades in some places who did not pay attention to this problem in the past now have begun to pay attention after the problem was pointed out by the CPC Central Committee. For example, some university students have demanded the "redressing of the idea of selfishness" because they consider selfishness as the nature of human beings and a motive force for making progress and developing society. They are of the opinion that without selfishness, society will stagnate and history will not be able to develop. It is really a problem of what road these persons will take in future. If we take no measures to eliminate spiritual pollution and instead let it go rampant, China will be in a very dangerous position in the future. But it is not an easy work to eliminate spiritual pollution, nor can this work be completed in a short period. Eliminating spiritual pollution is a struggle that requires a long period to complete. We must in no way underestimate the strength that is resisting and neglecting the efforts to eliminate spiritual pollution, as such strength is quite strong. There are various types of persons who belong to this category.

First, some persons have tried to undermine socialism by resorting to spiritual pollution. Some imperialist and capitalist countries have used this method to undermine socialism, because they are aware that it is impossible to subjugate China with armed force. Therefore, they have pinned their hopes on the third and fourth generations of China and hope that these generations will degenerate and carry out peaceful evolution in China. Consequently, these persons have spared no efforts to corrupt our youths from the points of politics, ideology, and life.

Second, some comrades have written works and articles under the guidance of their wrong ideology in an effort to create spiritual pollution. Most of these comrades have done so because of their wrong ideology and understanding. But ideological problems cannot be resolved easily; such work needs time. Other comrades still do not understand the importance of eliminating spiritual pollution and they are ideologically opposed to it. For example, some people have said that since you oppose spiritual pollution, I will not write articles again in future. By saying this, are they not persisting in creating spiritual pollution? Otherwise, why are they stopping their writing when we are opposing spiritual pollution? In fact, it is better for such persons not to write articles that are causing spiritual pollution. Of course, we must pay attention to not broadening the scope of the works that are considered to be causing spiritual pollution. We cannot regard works that have defects but are basically good as creators of spiritual pollution. We hope that all writers will create works that are good for the people. Other persons, particularly youths, consider spiritual pollution as having no influence and, therefore, regard eliminating spiritual pollution



as making a fuss. Therefore, it can be seen that spiritual pollution cannot be eliminated at once, but is a protracted work.

How should we proceed? We must follow the advice of Lu Xun. That is, we must display stubborn combat spirit and in all circumstances persist in eliminating spiritual pollution. We must acquaint ourselves with the importance of eliminating spiritual pollution. All spiritual pollution must be eliminated seriously and not superficially. The situation in which all newspapers and magazines responded superficially to the call of the CPC Central Committee, causing spiritual pollution to breed again, must in no way be repeated.

Criticism and self-criticism must become a common practice in literature and art circles. It is quite understandable that some people in literature and art circles are afraid of criticism because in the past, criticism was turned into persecution and this practice was carried out even more seriously during the 10 years of turmoil. Now, we must carry out correct and normal criticism backed by facts. Without such criticism, it will be impossible to free these people from the feelings of being afraid. Our criticism is intended to criticize wrong ideology and it is not aimed at overthrowing people. In carrying out criticism, we must follow the principles put forth by Comrade Hu Qiaomu. First, we must proceed from the principle of seeking truth from facts. That is, first of all we must acquaint ourselves with the works and their viewpoints that are to be criticized. We must not carry out criticism blindly. At the minimum, we must understand these two aspects subjectively. However, there may still be some wrong criticism, because it is not easy to determine whether certain works are right or wrong. Even great writers may make mistakes in judging certain works. But at least we must be conscientious in this aspect. We must seek truth from facts and point out the defects as they are. We must in no way create false defects. Second, we must be rational; we must neither bludgeon nor put labels on others. Third, we must cherish a desire for and proceed from unity to achieve still better unity after criticism. Here, unity refers to uniting with comrades who have made mistakes, but not uniting with their wrong ideology. We must not unite with wrong ideology; but should not avoid criticizing wrong ideology just because we have stressed the importance of proceeding from the desire to seek unity. On the contrary, wrong ideology must be criticized, and right must be distinguished from wrong and our understanding must be unified before we are able to attain true unity. We must really understand these two aspects.

It is not easy to carry out normal criticism. Enormous complicity and connection hinder us in carrying out criticism. For example, it is not easy to criticize one's colleagues, friends, and teachers. Therefore, I think it is advisable to learn from the spirit of "I love my teachers, but I love truth all the more."

I have been deeply moved by the articles written by Lu Xun in commenting on two persons. One article is about Zhang Taiyan. Zhang was a teacher highly respected by Lu Xun. He respected Zhang because the latter was an educated revolutionary. But Zhang later became decadent ideologically. He

even excluded articles with revolutionary spirit when publishing his collection. Lu Xun did not go so far as to consider that Zhang Taiyan had failed to attain integrity in his later years, but he was so sorry for the change in Zhang.

Another article is about Liu Bannong. Liu struggled side by side with Lu Xun. During the period of the circulation of "New Youths," Liu went to Beijing as a vigorous fighter and he worked with flying colors. He was straightforward and easy to understand. But later he changed. Upon returning home from study abroad, he became a professor with high position. But he constantly wrote articles playing with classical literary style and ragged verse. Lu Xun said in his article that he loved the Liu Bannong of a decade ago but hated the Liu Bannong of the later years.

Lu Xun analyzed people concretely, with clear-cut demarcation between right and wrong. I think we should follow the example of Lu Xun. True revolutionary fighters should have such an ideological level as Lu Xun; they should treasure principles and not seek personal interests. Only in this way can a healthy atmosphere prevail and evil practice be eliminated. Only in this way can literature and art circles really unite to boost socialist literature and art.

CSO: 4004/58

## WE MUST FOLLOW THE PATH AND HAVE A CLEAR-CUT STAND

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 36-39

[Article by Feng Mu [7458 3668]]

[Text] Socialist literature and art represent an important part of socialist spiritual civilization and an important front of the ideological and political sector. Since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee, under the guidance of correct ideological line of the CPC and with the common efforts of the broad masses of revolutionary literary and art workers, literature and art in China have made achievements. These achievements have been affirmed by the CPC Central Committee on a number of occasions and have won encouragement from the broad masses of people. This attitude has become a tremendous encouragement for us, and at the same time we have felt how heavy our responsibility is. But, as pointed out by Comrade Deng Xiaoping in his speech to the 2d Plenary Session of the 12th CPC Central Committee, the emergence of the unprecedentedly prosperous literature and art situation has been followed by the existence of serious ideological confusion and spiritual pollution in literary and art creation, theory, and work. All revolutionary literary and art workers must face the following important and urgent tasks conscientiously and modestly. That is, they must make the greatest efforts to consciously and actively overcome ideological confusion in literary and art circles and eliminate spiritual pollution in literary and art creation, theory, and work.

It is the duty of all revolutionary writers and artists, particularly those who are CPC members, to build a high level of socialist spiritual civilization and boost socialist literature and art with Chinese characteristics. In order to be able to build socialist spiritual civilization and develop socialist literature and art, it is necessary to resolutely take the path and have a clear-cut stand and constantly resist the corruption and pollution of various forms of decadent ideology of the bourgeoisie and exploiting class toward our cause so as to expand and consolidate our socialist literature and art front. This is our duty. And yet, some comrades in literary and art circles, myself included, during a certain period underestimated the erosion of spiritual pollution and ideological confusion in literature and art circles. As a result, although some work has been done in criticizing a certain wrong ideology in literature and art circles and developing socialist literature, the work has been very weak and loose and the criticism

has been far from adequate. Consequently, the problems have yet to be basically resolved. This is a fact nobody can deny. Therefore, it is a serious test for all CPC member writers and artists on whether they can make contributions by sparing no effort to free our literature and art from spiritual pollution.

The purpose of eliminating spiritual pollution is to boost socialist literature and art. It is true that there are many reasons (including internal and external reasons) for the emergence of spiritual pollution in literature and art circles. But one of the most important reasons is that some comrades have lost their orientation, and have doubted and even wavered on the nature, path, and banner of socialist literature and art, in both their theory and practice of creating. We can see from some literary and art phenomena (including creation, theory, study, education, and editing) that some comrades are not resolute in taking the path of socialist literature and art while their banner is not clear-cut. Some comrades have wrapped themselves up in Western ideological and literature and art modes in their bid to make the so-called "creation." What is more serious, these comrades have resorted to such creation and spread the philosophical, social, and literature and art viewpoints that are contradictory to the four basic principles. Some other comrades have discarded Marxist principles of making class analysis and instead relied on the theory of abstract human nature and humanism and so-called "dissimilation" as their guiding ideology in analyzing social life and creating literature and art images. This practice has become common now in literature and art creation and comments. The practice of making creation harshly and roughly for personal fame and gain in disregard of social effect has not only defamed revolutionary literature and art workers but also affected the purity of the banner of socialist literature and art.

Therefore, in talking about further boosting socialist literature and art, my first sentence will be:

"Follow the path and have a clear-cut stand!"

A lot of work has to be done to further boost socialist literature and art. Much theory and practice must be further studied (this study must be based on integrating theory with practice and the overall summing up of the work in literature and art circles since the 3d Plenary Session of the 11th CPC Central Committee). The following are my premature views on questions I consider to be the most important and urgent.

First, in order to develop the literature and art of a country or an era, first it is imperative to define the nature and path of literature and art. I think we all agree that we are building socialist literature and art with Chinese characteristics. The nature of literature and art must be judged mainly from ideological content and the ideological tendency of literature and art works so as to see whether these works have reflected the demand, will, and desire of the broad masses of people. The socialist literature and art in China must serve the basic and long-range interests of the 1 billion Chinese people. Therefore, it is demanded that writers and

artists must understand and appraise life by resorting to the most advanced world outlook and the theory of knowledge of mankind (such as stand, viewpoints, and method). It is only under this condition that they will be able to reflect life with the most perfect artistic method. Therefore, it is utterly important to uphold a scientific world outlook and social outlook, follow Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought, and resort to these aspects as guidance in understanding and analyzing life. If you want to become a socialist writer, you must first turn yourself into a socialist fighter who is armed with the most advanced world outlook of mankind. There is no other way to socialism and communism. It has become a common practice among young writers to seek spiritual support and ideological guidance from a certain philosophy and literary and artistic ideology that depart from Marxism. This will only confuse them ideologically. Under this ideological guidance, it is absolutely impossible to create works that serve the people and socialism. The mistakes that have been made in creation and theory are not only caused by poor experience in life and little artistic training but mainly by an incorrect world outlook and wrong, lopsided, and even upside-down judgment and understanding of reality. We are deeply grieved by the fact that some talented young persons have fallen into the embrace of Western bourgeoisie philosophy and literary and artistic ideology because they have failed to resist the attack by wrong social ideology and because they doubted Marxism and socialism. Consequently, the social life in China they describe is overshadowed by the ideology of existentialism, anti-rationalism, social Darwinism, and even ultra-egoism. Works with such contents cannot but be diametrically opposite to the requirements for socialist literature and art. Socialist literature and art demand writers to warmly, truly, historically, and typically reflect the constantly changing and developing social life. Therefore, without rich experience in life and correct ideology to guide writers in correctly understanding life, it will be impossible to meet the requirements. We are deeply sorry to find that some writers and commentators are not enthusiastic about studying Marxist theory. I am of the opinion that this attitude represents an important question that will determine the nature of socialist literature and art. If we do not pay enough attention to and resolve this question, it will be impossible for us to healthily develop our literature and art.

Second, a lofty task of socialist literature and art is to reflect the new era of socialism. Literature and art creation is creative spiritual labor, and consequently it is impossible to resort to administrative order and ask writers to write something specific or tell them how to write. Socialist literature and art must be rich in variety of subjects and forms. This situation provides a wide scope for writers to carry out their spiritual labor. But in this aspect, we must consider this question: When we put forth the question of diversification in creation (which is no doubt imperative), we must see the importance of showing support and giving guidance. Socialist literature and art must be characterized by a clear-cut spirit of the era of socialism. It is imperative, through artistic images, to imbue people with the ideology of patriotism, collectivism, socialism, and communism. That is, a most important and primary subject in developing socialist literature and art includes depicting a socialist new era and the

constantly changing reality of life and creating socialist new images so as to educate people. Of course, writers have the right to choose the subjects of their work. But if a writer does not love the life of our society or does not have enough sense of social responsibility and revolution or does not have a definite aim in creating, it is unlikely that he will produce the works that are welcome by the broad masses of people or that will have a good effect on the society of our country. In this aspect, we agree with Comrade Hu Qiaomu when he said: "To serve socialism is a broad concept. The world outlook, ideals, morality, character, belief, will, wisdom, courage, sentiments, and entire spiritual outlook that are in the interest of training socialist new people can be defined as having the nature of serving socialism. In China today, to serve socialism means to serve the people." Here Comrade Hu Qiaomu stressed the importance of the fact that socialist literature and art can display their social function in various ways. He also stressed the importance of the lofty social task of socialist literature and art. If socialist literature and art cannot reflect the changing reality of our life profoundly, widely, and in rich content, cannot enlighten people ideologically through vivid images and the ideology that make people ponder, cannot demonstrate the brilliant cause carried out by the great people under the leadership of the CPC, and create lively and typical images of the fighters and builders of the revolutionary cause of socialism and communism, and if our writers and artists do not ardently love our era and are conceited, with the self-expression and the expression of the narrow space beside them, our literature and art will no doubt fail to meet the expectations of our era and the people. And if this situation continues, the color of the banner of our socialist literature and art will gradually fade. To our delight, we have produced a great number of fine works that have reflected the spirit of our era. This achievement shows that most writers and artists have persisted in the road of socialist literature and art with a clear-cut stand. But at the same time, we must understand that some writers who have created work that is worth praising, including some of the young and talented writers that are making their debut, have gradually cut off their relations and even parted with people's struggles and life over the past few years. Their enthusiasm toward life has faded. Some have even become indifferent toward life. Some other people, in seeking the so-called "safe coefficient," have taken the narrow path of departing from reality, politics, and contradictions, and consequently, there is neither the sound nor the splendor of the era in their works. Under the influence of the decadent ideology of "divorcing from reality and facing inward," some young writers and poets have become conceited in the so-called "surveying the souls" of individuals. Some others are seeking the so-called new "viewpoints of the value of people." A young writer bluntly said: "Our ideal characters are those who are able to create and work." The so-called "value of people" is in fact a synonym of individualism and ultra-egoism.

Third, our socialist literature and art must persist in taking the road of serving the people. Therefore, it is imperative to take the road of producing works that are welcome by the broad masses of people. Over the past one-half century, all the creations and works that have a place in the history of modern and contemporary literature in China are characterized by

the fact that they have reflected the era and history of their time and the struggles and life of the people under the influence and leadership of the proletariat. In addition, these works have also reflected the style of China and the features of the people through the artistic work of the writers. Our socialist literature and art should belong to the broad masses of people and should be loved by the people who are being served by it. This situation is not contradictory to our attitude of critically inheriting and learning from the ancient or the modern fine cultural heritage of China and other countries. But we often find that some people have indulged themselves in learning from the West and have blindly worshipped the various types of literary and artistic viewpoints and philosophical viewpoints of the modern faction. And on the other hand, they have despised and squeezed the revolutionary cultural tradition of our nation. Some people have even considered the new literature and art movement and the leftwing literature and art as the core of over one-half century ago and as representing "a blank." They believe that it is only following the "rise" of "modern and factional" literature and art in China that the literature and art of the country "stepped out from the door of hell." Are these comrades opposing nothing else but just a national form of literature and art? Is the debate launched by them to oppose the slogan of "nationalization" representing nothing but the argument about the forms and method of literature and art? Of course not. The argument on the question of whether our literature and art will take the road with national features and serving the masses of people is not an argument about literature and form, nor is it an argument about arts. It is an argument about what road is to be taken and what stand is to be followed by our socialist literature and art. Some people said that if our literature and art wanted to "enter into the world," it must be "transplanted horizontally" and must not "inherit parallelly." Our response to this view is that the reason for the difference between our literature and art and other literature and art is primarily because our literature and art belong to the broad masses of people and serve the basic and long-range interests of the latter. We have not only acknowledged these features of our socialist literature and art but also persisted in these features. Of course, we also need the "highbrow literature and art"; but the self-styled "highbrow literature and art" have divorced from the reality and sentiments of the broad masses of people and have no vitality, and consequently they will be discarded by the people. What we need are the fine literature and art works which are closely related to the thinking and feelings of the people, which have rich national artistic features, and which are able to enrich and profoundly reflect the new era, new people, and the constantly changing reality of life. We do not want fake literary and art works that are polished with various colors and that are peddling the social ideology of Western countries.

Now our literature and art circles are facing the urgent task of preventing and eliminating spiritual pollution. The purpose of opposing spiritual pollution is to further develop socialist literature and art. When measures are being taken to weed out the wrong, the decadent, and the ugly from literature and art circles, we must at the same time spare no effort to produce more, healthy, beautiful, and nourishing spiritual products. Our purpose of opposing "the fake, the evil, and the ugly" is to replace them

with "the good and the beautiful." Therefore, I fully agreed with Comrade Zhao Ziyang's proposals that were made at a meeting of the Sixth NPC. He said that in order to boost socialist literature and art, it is imperative to "raise the ideological and artistic quality of writers and artists, as well as the ideological and artistic quality of their works."

In order to raise the ideological and artistic quality of writers and artists and their works, we must be diligent in and good at studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Zedong Thought and CPC principles and policies, and learning from the great struggles and life and from the heroic creators and builders that have come to the fore in realizing the modernization program. Of course, we must also spare no effort in learning from the excellent literature and art works of our country and those of other countries as well as the experiences in literature and art creation.

There is no way for those who are lazy in their study to improve their ideological and literature and art quality, and consequently they cannot become good writers and artists. I believe that as long as we are diligent in and good at our study, we will be able to sum up the positive and negative experiences. And on this basis, we will be able to still better display our initiative and creativity. In this way, we will consequently be able to improve and strengthen our creative practice and literature and art criticism and comments so as to constantly develop our socialist literature and art.

CSO: 4004/58



## CADRES' THEORETICAL DISCUSSIONS

Beijing RED FLAG in Chinese No 24, 26 Dec 83 pp 40-43

["Cadres' Theoretical Discussions" column]

[Text] What Is Bourgeois Humanism?

(By Wen Da [5113 6671])

Bourgeois humanism is a cultural movement and social trend of thought promoted by some bourgeois thinkers since the latter half of the 14th century European Renaissance. The number of humanist thinkers is quite large and yet the differences between their thinking is also very great, indeed sometimes their views are contradictory. No humanist thinker has ever come up with a strict humanist system of thought which has been universally accepted as such. The role that bourgeois humanism played also varies in each part of history.

There is a developmental process to bourgeois humanism. Humanism during the period of the European Renaissance was generally understood as humanism [renwen zhuyi 0086 2429 0031 5030]. The reason that it was referred to in this way was that the spheres of activity and aims of research of those who represented this trend of thought at that time were the humanist sciences and also because their basic philosophy advocated that which belonged to man and took man as central. The source of this kind of humanism [renwen zhuyi] was Italy and later it gradually spread to other European countries. The main figures of humanism [renwen zhuyi] were the famous Italian poet and writer Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, the great artist Da Vinci, the famous scientist and philosopher Copernicus, Bruno, and others. They made the call of "all for man" and opposed "all for God." They proposed the restoration or renaissance of the culture and arts of ancient Greece, believing that this reflected the true spirit of man and that this spirit had been lost in the Middle Ages. These beliefs played an active and important role in opposing feudal autocracy, opposing religious doctrine, and overturning the development of capitalism. Humanism during the period of the Enlightenment ran from the 17th century until the bourgeois revolutionary period of the 18th century. Its main proponents included the French philosopher of the Enlightenment, Voltaire, Montesquieu, Helvetius, D' Holbach, and others. They believed that life was free and equal and they advocated freedom,

equality, and universal love. Its highest embodiment was seen later in the American "Declaration of Independence" and the French "Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen." Humanism during this period was the forerunner of bourgeois revolutionary thought. It played a developmental role although in essence it still protected the interests of the bourgeoisie, even though during the development of the bourgeois revolution the rights and interests of the proletariat and other workers suffered oppression. The 19th century German materialist philosopher Feuerbach was also an important adherent of humanism and he upheld humanism [renben zhuyi 0086 2609 0031 5030] (this being a metaphysical materialist theory of human biology in which man is understood to be only biologically natural man, only abstracted and general man). He maintained that "man is the highest form of the nature of man." Modern bourgeois humanism started in the 20th century and became especially popular after World War II. Some schools of modern Western philosophy such as existentialism, new Thomism, and so on are all part of the humanist school. After the publication of Marx' "1844 Handbook of Economics and Philosophy" in 1932, yet another form of humanism arose which took "Marxism" as its model. In actual fact this system of humanist thought was still bourgeois.

During the 19th century utopian socialism lashed out at the capitalist system and proposed the establishment of a new, rational social order and plans for these changes. This utopian socialism reflected the early and at that time immature aspirations and demands of the proletariat. However, its conception of history had still not surpassed the boundaries of bourgeois humanism.

As a trend of thought, bourgeois humanism is extremely diversified and different, but in overall and general terms it can still be summarized into several common elements. They are listed below.

1. That man is an isolated, abstract individual, separated from any time in history and any social relations. Human society is the mechanical sum of these individual men.
2. Man's character or essential nature is abstracted from this isolated individual, and it is "the innate abstracted matter within each individual man." It is believed that man's character is innate, suprahistorical, and never changing. This, then, is the theory of abstract human nature. In actual fact the human nature of which they talk is often a generalization of natural attributes of man (such as nature as the motive force behind historical development) and believe that the "ideal human nature" is the yardstick for measuring social development. Human history is simply the self-realization of human nature or it is the loss and restoration of human nature. They either believe that the bourgeois republic is the full realization of human nature, or they believe that it cannot be fully realized because of the existence of the "ideal human nature." They move toward the murky depths and negative resistance of historical pessimism.

## Why Is It Wrong To Propagate "Self-Expression" in Literature and Art?

(By Zhong Quan [6945 3123])

"Self-expression" is an idealist literary and artistic proposition. This thesis holds that the source of art and literature is not social life but the soul of the individual writer. The mission of art and literature is not to use advanced thinking and lofty emotions to influence people, educate people, and satisfy the masses' diversified aesthetic needs, rather it is merely a channel through which the author may express his or her personal joys and sorrows and various fantasies.

"Self-expression" is by no means a new invention and has appeared many times throughout the history of Chinese and foreign art and literature, but within the various Western modernist schools it has taken on new meanings and implications. Writers of the Western modernist school often emphasize the self and ignore society and they often emphasize intuition and ignore reason. Because these modernist writers and artists have given up hope for modern social life in the West, they see no future in it and they often use the consciousness of the self and hallucinations to represent the irrational reality which they perceive. In this way, although their works can sometimes be classified as satirizations of the capitalist world, they are also to be seen as laments and curses of the meaningless and hopelessness of life. After the smashing of the "gang of four," the propositions of the modernist school of art and literature were propagated widely in China by some people as "advanced" theories and put to practice in creation. Some people said that writing about the objective world was now finished and that now the only undiscovered continent was the inner world of the self. Some people took "self-expression" as the creative program and the "new aesthetic principle" of modern writing. They felt that the former principles of aesthetics stressed an expression of the people and that the new principles of aesthetics stressed the expression of the self and that "it would disdain to be the mouthpiece of the spirit of the day and would also disdain to express the great achievements outside the world of one's own emotions." Some people urged that "self-expression" was the "new declaration of poetry and literature and that it represented all new poets and writers." The propagation and practice of the theory of "self-expression" has had a damaging effect on the development of the new era of art and literature.

The Marxist theory of reflection states that works of art and literature, as formal conceptions, are all products of specific parts of social life as reflected in the minds of men. This kind of reflection is dynamic and by necessity it affects the writer's thoughts, feelings, and subjective leanings and thus manifests itself in different creative styles. In formal terms, works of art and literature are manifestations of the writer's "self-consciousness" and in actual fact they originate from human social life. The value of art and literature does not depend on whether it expresses the self, but to what extent it reflects the universally significant objective content of social life, and expresses the thoughts and feelings of the masses. The typical idealist view of art and literature is to propose that

art and literature express the self and to deny that human social life is the only source of artistic and literary creation.

The theory of "self-expression" is extremely damaging to the creative practice of socialist art and literature. 1) It encourages writers to depart from real life, the present time, and the people, and to work behind closed doors, totally cut off from the practical activities of the millions of people building a new socialist life. 2) It denies that the writer should constantly change his or her subjective world as the objective world constantly develops, denies the guidance of advanced thought, and encourages some people to make the self the most important and central thing, aggressively expressing thoughts and feelings of extreme individualism. 3) It leads art and literature to veer away from its direction of serving the people and serving socialism.

Why Is It That China's Art and Literature Cannot Take the So-Called Modernist Road?

(By Wen Yu [2429 3768])

First we must start by asking what is this so-called Western modernism.

Modernism is a Western bourgeois and petty bourgeois trend of literary and artistic thought. Modernism is not a pure school of art and literature; it is very diversified and the name covers many different factions within it. The meaning of modernism is not very exact. It arose in the latter years of the 19th century and developed during the intensification of social contradictions in the Western world and the increasing seriousness of the spiritual crises before, during, and after the first and second world wars and there have been many changes to its content and form. In general, modernism denies and breaks down the traditional and calls for radical changes in form and style, stressing irrationality, the "subconscious," and self-expression. In overall ideological terms, modernism is a reflection in art and literature of the decline of social trends of thought in modern Western bourgeoisie.

In general, Western modernist works aim to describe the social and spiritual crises of the present stage of capitalist society as well as the so-called phenomenon of "alienation" which arises out of this. These works express doubt and despair for the capitalist society and expose the various social phenomena and spiritual conditions within the Western world, such as lack of feeling, isolation, helplessness and ruthlessness, and they do have a specific perceptual value in our investigations of the present condition of capitalist society. However, while exposing these phenomena of the Western world, many of the works also express pessimism, despair, and negation toward man, his future and destiny, and all social systems, and they propagate individualism and nihilism. They touch on all the ills of the capitalist society but they do not actually come to grips with the capitalist society itself. The violence and pornographic descriptions which fill these works are even more poisonous.

In terms of artistic and literary form and style, modernism has been innovative and to varying extents it has enriched the expressive capacity of art and literature (such as psychological descriptions and structural changes). However, it often only seeks novel styles of presentation and takes some artistic and literary propositions to extremes, thereby breaking the laws of art and literature and sometimes reaching the truly preposterous and totally incomprehensible.

Modernist writers in capitalist countries all have different political leanings; some are reactionary, others advanced or anticapitalist, and still others have different leanings at different times. In the West, modernism has always been a controversial subject. However, many Western critics admit that it is a kind of "literature of the age of the crisis."

Some comrades regard Western modernism as a material product of Western modernization and believe that if China wants to achieve modernization of material production, then the development of art and literature must follow the modernist road. This is incorrect. In fact there is no necessary relationship between the emergence of Western modernist art and literature and the modernization of material production, instead it is a direct product of the social crisis to appear after the development of the Western capitalist countries to the monopoly stage. China is a socialist country and our development of material production must take the road of socialist modernization and must be carried out at the same time as we construct a socialist spiritual civilization. As an integral part of socialist spiritual civilization, China's art and literature may only develop along the socialist road and can in no way take the Western modernist road.

Some people say that we should create "Chinese modernism" and "Marxist modernism," believing that these are different from Western modernism. These kinds of statements confuse the fundamental differences between the ideologies of Marxism and modernism. As an ideology, Western modernist art and literature often takes idealism and irrationality as its philosophy while sociopolitical thought is often reflected in anarchy and its world view is often solipsism while its aesthetics are often "self-expression." In terms of its fundamental character, modernist art and literature falls into the category of bourgeois ideologies. China's socialist art and literature are guided by the Marxist world view, outlook on life, and aesthetics, and it uses socialist and communist thinking to educate the people. Marxism and modernism are two opposing ideologies; they cannot be integrated and may not be confused.

Still other people say that art and literature must be constantly innovative in order to develop and that innovation requires taking the Western modernist road. Of course, our art and literature must be constantly innovative but innovation cannot cut off history, rather innovation should take place on a basis of passing on and developing our own revolutionary and national traditions, and it should start from real life in this new period of China and work hard to be innovative as it follows the direction of serving the people and serving socialism. Of course, innovation requires borrowing from certain foreign artistic and literary skills and styles,

including Western modernism, so that we may develop art and literature which will be read and enjoyed by the mass of the Chinese people. However, modernist art and literature is characterized by its denial of the traditional. If we simply advocate that China's art and literature should follow the Western modernist road without analysis or selection, and if we simply copy exactly its artistic and literary methods, even its ideological system, then we will be forced to deny the revolutionary and national tradition of China's art and literature, and veer away from serving the people and serving socialism, and this is not "innovation" but regression.

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END



