

DOCUMENTS



The Radiance of the Great Truth of Marxism Lights Our Way Forward

Report at the Meeting in Commemoration of the
Centenary of the Death of Karl Marx

(March 13, 1983)

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Comrades and Friends,

We are gathered here today at this grand meeting to commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, founder of scientific communism, great teacher of the proletariat and of the exploited and oppressed masses throughout the world, and the most outstanding revolutionary and scientist in human history.

MARX was a German of the 19th century. But his influence far exceeds the limitations of time and place. He belongs to the whole of progressive mankind as well as to the proletariat of the world and all oppressed peoples and nations. As Frederick Engels said following Marx's death, Marx had fertilized with his powerful thought the proletarian movement of both the Western and Eastern hemispheres.¹ It was under the guidance of Marx's theory that the communists, the proletariat and the people of all nationalities in China embarked on the correct path of revolution and liberation in this enormous yet backward country of the East. The Chinese people have now accomplished the new-democratic and the socialist revolution and become masters of this great socialist country. We are creating a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization, striving to build a socialist material and spiritual civilization and to fulfil the splendid programme set forth at the 12th National Congress of the Communist Party of China. All of us feel more deeply now that, without Marx's theory, China could not possibly have become what she is today. We have learnt from Marx, conscientiously studied and drawn wisdom and strength from his works, and shall continue to do so. Therefore, as we honour the memory of Karl Marx, who rests in eternal peace in London, let us today, at this

commemorative meeting held in the East, express our deepest gratitude to him.

Comrades and friends,

Marx's greatest contribution to mankind is his theory of scientific communism, which, formulated by Marx together with his closest comrade-in-arms Frederick Engels, equipped the proletariat and progressive people of the world with the most powerful ideological weapon for criticizing the old world, creating a new world and struggling for their own emancipation.

Marx was the first to combine materialism with dialectics and to apply dialectical materialism to the observation and examination of the history of human society, bringing to light the truths that, in the final analysis, material production constitutes the basis of man's social, political and ideological life taken as a whole and that the contradiction between the productive forces and the relations of production constitutes the real motive force of historical development. He scientifically explained the role of class struggle in human history and the conditions under which classes come into being, develop and die out.

MARX was the first to discover the secret of the exploitation of labour by capital, namely, the law of surplus value, and to bring to light the circumstances of the birth and development of capitalism and its final historically inevitable replacement by communism.

He was thus the first to transform utopian socialism into scientific socialism, proving that the modern proletariat represents the new social force for the overthrow of the old system and the establishment of the new, and that it is the most promising and thoroughly revolutionary class.

Thereby, he brought about the most radical change in history, economics and philosophy and established a truly scientific world outlook and the most thorough theory of social revolution.

FROM its very birth, Marxism has demonstrated its mighty power with which no other ideological system can compare. Marx joined the revolution in his youth, and after he became a Communist, he directly led the workers' movement, identified himself with it and dedicated his whole life to the emancipation of the proletariat. His revolutionary activity was carried on in the 19th century, when European society was in the throes of violent upheavals and revolutionary storms. Under the test of these storms, particularly the severe test of the great struggle for the Paris Commune in 1871, a motley variety of previously vociferous schools of socialism, gradually died out. Marx's theory alone rapidly spread far and wide, because it truly represented the interests of the proletariat and the people at large and brilliantly summarized the experience of both the old and the new revolutionary movements. The proletarian party personally created by Marx developed from a small group of exiled revolutionaries into a "powerful Party that made the whole official world tremble."²

MARX and Engels have passed away, but Marxism has developed with increasing vigour. The past century has demonstrated, again and again, that the history of Marxism is one of triumph over successive onslaughts by various antagonistic ideological trends and over "encirclement and suppression" by reactionary forces. However serious the setbacks and violent the storms, its revolutionary drive has remained invincible. The past century has also repeatedly shown that the history of Marxism is one in which it has overcome various erroneous tendencies within the Marxist movement, thus continuing its forward march. Revisionism is erroneous because it discards the universal truth of Marxism; dogmatism, too, is erroneous because it regards Marxism as a set of rigid tenets. Both revisionism and dogmatism run counter to Marxism in that they separate the

subjective from the objective world and divorce theory from practice. Marxism is a developing science; it is the guide to revolution. Its vitality lies in its constant analysis and study of new situations and problems that arise in the course of practice and in its integration with concrete revolutionary practice at different times and in different countries. This is the well-spring of the unceasing enrichment and development of Marxism and the basic guarantee for its ever-growing revolutionary vigour.

The victory of the October Revolution led by V.I. Lenin and the Bolshevik Party of Russia represented the first momentous development of Marxism after the death of Marx and Engels. Lenin and his party formulated their own line and policies by integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the then latest developments of the world situation in the era of imperialism and with the concrete realities of Russia. From this arose the new development of Marxism, the birth of Leninism, the victory of the October Revolution and the realization of socialist revolution first in one country. If Lenin and the Russian Bolshevik Party had failed to act in the light of the actual conditions in Russia but had held rigidly to the specific conclusion of Marxism that the proletarian revolution must win victory simultaneously in the major capitalist countries, what would have been the result? There would have been no victory of the October Revolution.

THE triumph of the Chinese revolution is the most significant event in the history of Marxism's development after the October Revolution. Under the conditions then prevailing in the world's East, Comrade Mao Zedong and our Party integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete realities in China, relied closely on the peasants — the powerful ally of the working class in the rural areas and the main revolutionary force against feudalism — and found the correct path of encircling the cities from the countryside. From this flowed the birth of Mao Zedong Thought and the triumph of the Chinese revolution. If we had not taken this path, but had held rigidly to the traditional mode of revolution in

modern Europe, that is, the seizure of state power through urban armed uprisings, what would have been the result? There would have been no triumph of the Chinese revolution.

It follows that a basic lesson to draw from the history of the development of Marxism is that the Marxist Party of each country cannot succeed in revolution and construction unless it formulates its own line and policies in accordance with its own concrete conditions and with the international and domestic circumstances in which it finds itself.

FOR more than three decades since World War II, the world communist movement has followed a tortuous course of development. It has scored magnificent successes and victories, but has also experienced severe setbacks and failures, undergoing a bewildering process of turbulence and division. This complex historical phenomenon has given rise to a wide variety of reactions throughout the world. Some people have gloated over the setbacks, whereas others have lost their confidence, describing Marxism as being in a state of "crisis." However, amidst such shouts of "crisis," the Marxist parties and organizations of many countries, braving all kinds of attacks, have heroically and calmly carried on the fight. In the tortuous course of development all true Marxists and far-sighted people are discerning a most essential positive factor, i.e., politically and ideologically more and more Marxist parties and organizations have dared to break with blind faith, to emancipate their minds and to think for themselves, thus becoming able independently to integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of the revolution in their own countries. Facts have proved that on the questions of how to handle correctly the relations between the Parties of various countries and of what specific road of revolution to take, the Marxist parties in different countries have a much deeper understanding and are richer in experience and their level is clearly higher than before. Fundamentally, this has created the most important condition for the greater development of Marxism.

In our own Communist Party of China, a change of historic significance has taken place since the Third Plenary Session of its 11th Central Committee in late 1978. Our Party fell into dire straits in the 10 years (1966-76) of the "cultural revolution." However, in spite of all the difficulties the Chinese people did not lose faith in Marxism; on the contrary, they were able to acquire a better understanding of its truth. In the short span of four years or so from the Third Plenary Session to the 12th National Congress of the CPC in September 1982, we fulfilled the arduous task of setting things to rights in our guiding ideology. In essence, this means that we have re-embarked on the road of integrating the universal truth of Marxism with the actual realities in China under the new historical conditions. This is the only correct road opened up for us by Comrade Mao Zedong. Our personal experience has made us appreciate keenly the brilliance of his thinking and practice and the tremendous wisdom and strength he brought to the Party and people when he adhered to this correct road through decades of activity. It has also made us realize that, deviating or departing from this correct road in the evening of his life, even such a great Marxist as Comrade Mao Zedong could not avoid going astray and making distressing mistakes. Therefore, by setting things to rights we mean restoring Mao Zedong Thought to its true essence and upholding and developing it. Some people are prattling right up to now that we have abandoned Mao Zedong Thought. This only shows that they have no idea of what Mao Zedong Thought means, that is, no idea of what Marxism means.

IN setting things to rights in ideology, we have resolutely shaken off the "Left" tendency and the personality cult that long fettered us, re-established the principle of seeking truth from facts, scientifically appraised the historical role of Mao Zedong Thought and Comrade Mao Zedong, and restored and developed the Marxist principles guiding our Party life.

In setting things to rights politically, we have courageously discarded the erroneous

theory of "continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat" that did us so much harm, correctly re-analysed the contradictions in China's socialist society, achieved political stability and unity and shifted the focus of work of the whole Party.

IN setting things to rights in the agricultural system, we have resolutely corrected certain grave and prolonged misunderstandings regarding such questions as the socialist public economy and mass production, overcome the serious egalitarian error of "everyone eating from the same big pot" and created the system of responsibility for agricultural production characterized by contracting for specialized work and by payment being linked to output. In such ways the Marxist principle of "to each according to his work" and the principle of integrating the interests of the state, the collective and the individual are being genuinely implemented in the vast rural areas in the light of China's concrete conditions. The bold reform in agriculture has pioneered a correct road and given our 800 million peasants a free hand to fully tap their tremendous labour potential, develop a diversified economy and expand production in breadth and depth. It has led to a steady rise in purchasing power for means of production as well as for consumer goods and thus to the building up of an extensive socialist market. This has lent tremendous impetus to our socialist modernization drive as a whole, and will continue to do so. Far from losing its foothold or slipping back as some half-baked critics have claimed, socialism has become greatly consolidated and is taking big strides forward in our rural areas. This is because we have given up old forms that were divorced from realities — forms that were either uncritically copied from other countries or arbitrarily devised by ourselves — and have found new forms that are truly Chinese and suited to China's current rural conditions.

We have now entered the stage of creation of a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization. But in our economic, social and other activities, there still exist many erroneous

ideas and models that do not suit China's actual conditions and that have long fettered people's minds and seriously hampered the development of the productive forces. Only by proceeding from realities, breaking away from such ideas and models and instituting properly guided reforms step by step and in an all-round, systematic, resolute and orderly way can we create a new situation in all fields, better integrate the fundamental principles of Marxism with the concrete reality of our modernization drive and develop scientific socialism even further. In order to achieve the four modernizations (modernization of China's industry, agriculture, national defence and science and technology), and to vigorously develop the productive forces, it is imperative to carry out reforms in both the relations of production and the superstructure. We are convinced that, by readjusting those links in the relations of production that are not in correspondence with the growth of the productive forces and those links in the superstructure that are not in correspondence with the requirements of the economic base, always provided that we adhere to the four cardinal principles* and the basic system of socialism, we will surely succeed in building socialism with distinctive Chinese characteristics and bring out to the full the immense creativeness latent in our hundreds of millions of people, so that the superiority of the socialist system will display itself still better. This, of course, cannot be accomplished in a short time, for it involves a process of constant improvement and progress. But it can be predicted that through one or two decades of hard struggle China, as an economically and culturally backward developing country with a population of one billion, will make historic progress in its modernization programme under the socialist system and that this will bring a new major victory for Marxism in the East at the turn of the century.

Comrades and friends!

Marx was not only a great revolutionary, but also a great scientist. One extremely im-

*These principles refer to adherence to the socialist road, the people's democratic dictatorship (i.e., the dictatorship of the proletariat), the leadership of the Communist Party, and Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought.

portant factor which enabled him to found scientific communism was that he mastered all that was best in the culture and knowledge of mankind and integrated it firmly with the workers' movement. As Lenin said, the ideological sources of Marxism lay in its critical assimilation of three main trends of thought prevailing in the three most advanced countries of the time, that is, German classical philosophy, English classical political economy and French utopian socialism.³ And Marx's theory was able to "win the hearts and minds of millions and tens of millions of the most revolutionary class" because he based himself "on the firm foundation of the human knowledge acquired under capitalism," knowledge which enriched his conclusions.⁴ Marx's knowledge was extensive and expert. Rarely in the history of the world has any person achieved such breadth of scope and accomplished so much. Marx won the admiration of many honest scientists, thinkers and historians. The apologists of the old world tried to write him off or branded his theory as being thoroughly "outdated." But facts proved that this was mere wishful thinking. Generation after generation of scholars, young people, activists in the workers' movement, national revolutionaries and other people seeking change have continued to draw inexhaustible strength and confidence from Marxism. This would be inconceivable in regard to any flash-in-the-pan "new trend of thought." Marx's diligence and tenacity were amazing, and particularly in his rigorous approach to scholarly research, he set a worthy example for all scientific workers. Often persecuted by reactionary governments, he had to live abroad in exile, drifting from place to place. But his fighting will became even firmer and he never ceased to strive on along the road of revolution and science. All his life he was plagued by poverty, somewhat alleviated only with help from Engels. Four of his children died either in infancy or childhood and he could not even afford a small coffin for one daughter.⁵ He dedicated all his energies and wisdom and the choicest fruits of his scientific research to the working class and to all mankind. This spirit of utter devotion can move one to song and tears. Marx was indeed a working-class intellectual *par excellence*, and the most

outstanding intellectual representing the wisdom and conscience of mankind.

In speaking here of the importance of the mastery of humanity's cultural heritage to the success of Marx's great cause and of Marx as the most outstanding intellectual, I would like to take the opportunity to discuss at some length the correct attitude our Party, the Chinese working class and other working people should take towards knowledge and intellectuals.

SINCE our Party's founding more than 60 years ago, its main efforts have gone into leading the people of all our nationalities in the performance of two major tasks. One is the overthrow of the old world, the three big mountains (imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism), and the other is the building of a new world, or the building of a powerful, modern socialist China. Knowledge and intellectuals were necessary for overthrowing the old world, and they are even more necessary for building the new. Furthermore, in a country like China with its low economic and cultural level, whether or not we are able to master modern science and culture is a pivotal factor determining success or failure in our construction. But it is precisely with regard to this key question that our understanding has been inadequate for so long and that we have for years been obsessed with erroneous ideas that depart from Marxism. Today, the correct attitude towards knowledge and intellectuals has therefore become a vital and urgent question in the integration of the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of China's socialist modernization.

It must be affirmed that our Party has had marked successes in handling the question of intellectuals. The founding and development of our Party cannot be separated from the efforts of revolutionary intellectuals. In 1939, when the War of Resistance Against Japan (1937-45) entered a more arduous stage, a decision was taken, drafted by Comrade Mao Zedong, on "recruiting large numbers of intellectuals," and in

this well-known document he made an incisive Marxist analysis of the characteristics of the intellectuals in semi-colonial and semi-feudal China and laid down the policy of recruiting them boldly. History has already proved the importance of this strategic decision to the winning of victories in the anti-Japanese war, in the War of Liberation (1946-49) and in our cause after the founding of the People's Republic. In the early years after the birth of New China, our Party was, for some time, rather prudent and basically correct in its attitude towards intellectuals. In 1956, that is, after the basic completion of the socialist transformation of the private ownership of the means of production, Comrade Zhou Enlai, in his report at a meeting on the question of intellectuals convened on the proposal of Comrade Mao Zedong, systematically expounded the relationship between this question and the acceleration of socialist construction. For the first time, he pointed out in explicit terms that the overwhelming majority of China's intellectuals had already become a part of the working class, and issued the great call to "scale the heights of science." Under the Party's leadership, progress without parallel in Chinese history has been made in science, education and culture. There have been major achievements in science and technology, including such sophisticated items as the atomic bomb, the hydrogen bomb, rocket carriers and man-made satellites. Not only have we recruited large numbers of intellectuals who were educated before liberation, but we have trained an even larger number of new intellectuals, among whom more than 4 million have received higher education. They constitute the backbone of our intellectual force today. And this contingent is growing steadily. They, along with the workers and peasants with whom they have identified themselves, are people we should rely on, for in their joint efforts lies our hope of attaining, by the end of this century, the advanced world levels of the 1970s and 1980s in science and technology.

But it should be noted that, from the late 1950s onwards, we gradually swerved away from the correct orientation and committed serious "Left" errors in our attitude towards

knowledge and intellectuals. The principal manifestations were contempt for knowledge and specialized studies, the stigmatizing as "bourgeois" of large numbers of intellectuals who loved their socialist motherland and had made important contributions to socialist construction, and discrimination and attacks against them. The result was that many intellectuals felt depressed and not a few were wronged. At the same time, efforts to carry out the strategic task of making our cadres at large better educated and professionally more competent were slackened or abandoned altogether. During the "cultural revolution" these tendencies reached heights of absurdity and whoever attached importance to knowledge and intellectuals was described as going "revisionist" and creating the danger of "subjugating the Party and nation." Thus, the effects of the "Left" mistakes concerning knowledge and intellectuals became an important component of the catastrophic upheaval of that distressing decade.

SINCE the smashing of the Jiang Qing counter-revolutionary clique in 1976, and especially since the Third Plenary Session of the 11th Central Committee of the Party, there has been a marked turn for the better. In 1978, Comrade Deng Xiaoping further expounded the thesis that the overwhelming majority of the intellectuals have become a part of the working class, thus bringing the Party's policy towards intellectuals back on to the right track of Marxism, as is now generally known. At the same time, however, it must be noted that the grave consequences of the prolonged "Left" mistakes are far from being liquidated either in our ideology and public opinion or in various political, economic and organizational measures adopted. The working class and other working people throughout the country, all Party comrades and primarily the leading cadres at different levels must gain a profound understanding of the Marxist concept on this major issue, so as to meet the urgent needs of vigorous expansion in our cause of socialist modernization. Time is as precious as gold to us. It is high time we solved this question thoroughly and without any hesitation.

Comrades and friends,

What lessons should we draw from the past twists and turns on the question of knowledge and intellectuals? And what truly revolutionary and scientific Marxist concepts should we establish in the light of them?

First, it is imperative that we fight against the incorrect tendency of isolating Marxism from the cultural achievements of mankind and setting it against the latter, that we establish the correct concept of valuing scientific and general knowledge and that we mobilize the whole Party and the whole people to strive to acquire knowledge of modern science and culture.

Where does Marxism come from? Fundamentally, it is no doubt the product of contradictions and of the workers' movements in capitalist society; at the same time it is the result of absorbing human knowledge accumulated over several thousand years. If the cultural achievements of mankind had not been applied to the scientific discovery of the laws governing historical development and to the definition of the fundamental and long-term interests of the working class, the movement of the workers could only have given rise to various kinds of theories such as syndicalism, economism, reformism and anarchism, but not to Marxism. Moreover, our comrades have all learnt through personal experience that to study Marxism one has to have a certain amount of knowledge. Simple class feeling can make one receptive to some isolated Marxist concepts, but is inadequate for a systematic understanding and good command of Marxism. In order to build a new world under the guidance of Marxism, apply and develop it in the great cause of China's modernization and use it to educate all the builders of socialism, it is all the more necessary that we make sustained efforts to critically assimilate new knowledge and the new achievements of modern science and culture. "Knowledge is power."⁶ It should be part of the fine qualities of us Communists and all builders of the future to value knowledge, em-

brace it, thirst after it and turn it into immense power for building a new world.

A fallacy that prevailed during the "cultural revolution" was that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be." It must be pointed out explicitly that human knowledge, that is, the knowledge of natural sciences, of production and technology, of history and geography, of different branches of modern social sciences studied under the guidance of Marxism and of operation and management as a reflection of the laws governing mass social production, as well as various other kinds of knowledge embodying the progress of mankind and the demands of progressive classes in history—all such knowledge contains truths accumulated by mankind in the long process of understanding and changing the world, is the product of its hard labour and can be a weapon in its fight for freedom. The more knowledge people acquire, the better able they will be to know the world and to change it. This is a sign of social progress. Even certain things which played an important role in history but are imbued with prejudices of the reactionary classes, should be critically analysed by Marxists and whatever is useful in them can be assimilated. What really matters is the standpoint, views and methods people apply in regard to knowledge. In general, it is always better to have more knowledge than less, and it definitely must not be said that "the more learned one becomes, the more reactionary he will be."

WHEN we state that Marxism is based on the fine cultural achievements of mankind, we naturally include natural sciences in that basis. It is particularly important to make this point clear today when we are concentrating on socialist modernization. Here I would like to stress the importance Marx and Engels attached to natural sciences. By delving deeply into the theories of mathematics and natural sciences and into a wealth of technical material and by applying the results of natural sciences, especially of the three great discoveries⁷ in the 19th century, they substantiated the theory that

things in nature develop through interconnection and mutual transformation, thereby laying a solid foundation in natural sciences for the Marxist world outlook. Two works by Engels, *Dialectics of Nature* and *Anti-Duhring*, give concentrated expression to the results of their studies in this area. Particularly noteworthy is Marx's famous thesis that science constitutes a productive force and has always played the role of a revolutionary motive force of history. Taking his stand with the proletariat which represents the advanced productive forces, Marx highly valued the role of science and technology in propelling social development and vividly referred to certain epoch-making achievements in these fields as "revolutionists of a rather more dangerous character"⁸ than some famous revolutionary persons of his time. When the techniques for generating electricity were still in an embryonic stage, he perceived discerningly that mankind would soon see the dawn of the epoch of electricity. When the world's first experimental electric transmission line was set up, Marx and Engels gave it the closest attention, foreseeing that in future electricity would reach remote corners of the world and "become the most powerful lever in eliminating antithesis between town and country."⁹ So Marx, while fighting for the overthrow of the old world, already paid great heed to developments in science and technology. Should not we, who today shoulder the great historical responsibility of building a new China, give science and technology still greater attention and all the more conscientiously study and master modern science and culture? There can be no doubt that once our hundreds of millions of working people, who have become masters of their country, are armed with Marxism and modern science and culture, they will become more powerful and dynamic productive forces and be able to perform world-shaking deeds.

Second, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of separating intellectuals from the working class, counterposing them to the workers and regarding them as an "alien force," that we confirm the correct concept of intellectuals as a part of the working class and that we strengthen a hundredfold the unity be-

tween workers and peasants on the one hand and intellectuals on the other.

WE must respect and rely on the intellectuals as much as we respect and rely on the workers and peasants in the great cause of socialist construction. In the Marxist view, intellectuals do not constitute an independent class. Before the founding of New China, ours was a semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Although intellectuals were for the most part linked to the bourgeoisie or the petty bourgeoisie in their social status, the overwhelming majority of them were at the same time oppressed by imperialism and the Kuomintang reactionaries. Therefore a number joined the revolution directly, others sympathized with it and a great many cherished anti-imperialist and patriotic aspirations. Those reactionary intellectuals who did obdurately range themselves against the revolutionary people and served the ruling classes were of course a force alien to the proletariat, but they were very few in number. When our socialist society was built, the conditions of China's intellectuals underwent a fundamental change. The overwhelming majority of them coming over from the old society have been working energetically for socialism and have been educated in Marxism and tempered and tested over a long period since the founding of New China. Moreover, over 90 per cent of our intellectuals today have been trained in the new society and, in their overwhelming majority, come from worker, peasant or intellectual families. Although major differences in their form of labour still exist between intellectuals on the one hand and workers and peasants on the other, this does not keep us from stating that in terms of their means of living and whom they serve, on the whole the intellectuals in our country have definitely become a part of the working class. This change is a great achievement in the history of the Chinese revolution and in our socialist development.

In the new period of socialist modernization, intellectuals have a particularly important role to play. In the Marxist view and judging from the latest trend in the development of science

and industry, essential differences between manual and mental labour will gradually diminish and eventually disappear, and there will be successive generations of new people in whom manual labour is integrated with mental labour on an ever higher level. But this is a long-range perspective and will not happen right away. In other words, for a fairly long time to come scientific and cultural knowledge and mental work will continue to be relatively concentrated among one section of the population — the intellectuals. Therefore, the intellectuals, who constitute the trained mental power indispensable to socialist modernization, are a valuable asset to our country. In our society we must create an atmosphere in which knowledge and intellectuals are valued, and we must take effective steps to improve their working and living conditions. This should be taken as "capital construction," and of the most essential kind at that. We should make it clear to our people at large that, generally speaking, in socialist society it is an essential condition for mental labour that people who engage in it, or who have attained a relatively high scientific and educational level, should receive more material remuneration than those who do manual labour or whose scientific and educational level is relatively low and, more importantly, that this will greatly contribute to the expansion of production and to the improvement of the material and cultural life of the people as a whole. At the same time, this will serve to encourage the working class and all other working people to become more educated and the children of workers and peasants to seek education and study science, thus swelling the ranks of the intellectuals. It is obvious that this policy conforms to the law of the development of socialism and to the immediate and long-term interests of the working class and the whole people and that it is a Marxist policy. Conversely, the previous erroneous "Left" policy ran counter to the principles of Marxism and socialism.

WHEN we speak of respect for knowledge and intellectuals, in no sense do we mean that manual labour and manual workers may be dis-

dained or belittled. This is absolutely impermissible in our socialist society. Any type of labour, manual or mental, is great and glorious in itself so long as it benefits society. In China, more than 90 per cent of our working people are engaged in different kinds of manual labour. In the final analysis, all our wealth is jointly produced by both manual and mental labour. Naturally, with progress in modernization, the fruits of mental labour will take on ever-increasing prominence and the proportion of mental workers in the working population will gradually grow. However, this process will itself involve a steady improvement in the educational and scientific level of manual workers, a steady increase of the elements of mental labour in manual labour and a switch from manual to mental work by group after group of people according to society's needs. At the same time, the productive activities pursued with creativeness by the masses of workers and peasants, particularly skilled veteran workers as well as dexterous artisans in the rural areas, constitute an inexhaustible source of scientific and technological progress. Any idea or practice that isolates mental from manual labour and pits one against the other is utterly wrong. In socialist society, intellectuals who hold workers and peasants in contempt and are divorced from them will find it hard to play their due role and will be corrected by society. It should furthermore be borne in mind that however high the technological level in production that may be reached in the future, the elements of manual labour can never be completely eliminated from man's labour, much less can technical and artistic handwork or heavy manual labour under special circumstances and in emergencies ever disappear. In this sense there will still be manual labour even ten thousand years from now. All in all, the distinction between manual and mental labour in socialist society is nothing more than a division of work and a difference in degree of complexity. In no way is one superior and noble and the other inferior and ignoble. I am making this point because now, as we lay emphasis on valuing knowledge and intellectuals, we must guard against the wrong tendency of disdaining and belittling manual labour and also because in

China, with its thousands of years of feudal history, the outworn concept of social hierarchy expressed in the saying "those who do mental labour rule and those who do manual labour are ruled" is deeply entrenched. Engels referred to the pernicious habit of disdain for labour as a poisoned sting left behind by the slave system.¹⁰ We must at all times keep a watchful eye on this poisoned sting and see to its removal.

IN saying that knowledge and intellectuals should be valued, we certainly do not imply that intellectuals are perfect in every way, or that they have no weaknesses to overcome. Our workers, peasants and intellectuals have each come, under specific historical circumstances, to possess certain strengths and weaknesses. Whether ideologically, professionally or in work performance, our intelligentsia taken as a whole cannot as yet fully meet the new and higher demands set by our socialist modernization drive. In the new period, we hope that while taking Marx and Engels, the most outstanding intellectuals, as shining models, inheriting and carrying forward the glorious traditions of revolutionary Chinese intellectuals since the May 4th Movement of 1919 and the December 9th Movement of 1935, and learning from the spirit of dedication of comrades like Peng Jiamu, Luan Fu, Jiang Zhuying, Luo Jianfu, Lei Yushun and Sun Yefang, our intellectuals will study Marxism more diligently, apply themselves more assiduously to the pursuit of new knowledge, go among the masses and dig into practical work, consciously strengthen their sense of organization and discipline and strive to transform their own subjective world and become both red and expert in the course of the great struggle to transform the objective world. The experience of all advanced intellectuals has testified to the fact that none of them, not even highly prestigious specialists and scholars, can rest on their laurels in face of the rapid scientific and social progress, but have constantly to raise their ideological and professional levels. It has also proved that only when intellectuals identify themselves more closely with the workers and peasants and wholeheartedly serve the people can they put their talents to the best use, bring their initiative

into full play and truly turn their knowledge into a mighty force for enhancing the people's well-being.

Ninety years ago, Engels wrote a letter to the International Congress of Socialist Students, expressing the ardent hope that from among them "the intellectual proletariat" would emerge. Taking their place in the same ranks as the manual workers, he added, such intellectuals could play a great role in revolution alongside their brothers, the manual workers.¹¹ Today, under the new historical conditions in China, Engels' hope is being realized on a countrywide scale. However, some people now say that "while Number One has been shunted aside, Number Nine is soaring to the skies."^{*} It is not right to describe workers as "Number One" and intellectuals as "Number Nine." As for the assertion that "Number Nine" is soaring to the skies, this is not true. We maintain that under the leadership of the Party, workers, peasants and intellectuals join hands and work shoulder to shoulder so that they can all soar to the skies, the new skies of socialist modernization.

Third, it is imperative that we oppose the erroneous tendency of divorcing Party leadership from expert leadership or setting the former against the latter, that we implant the correct concept that all leading personnel must strive to be experts and that we ensure that our cadres become better educated and more professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded.

That our socialist modernization needs knowledge and needs intellectuals is a guiding idea which must be embodied, first and foremost, in the reform of the leading organs at all levels and of all departments, so that our cadres will be younger, better educated and more pro-

^{*} Here "Number One" refers to the workers whereas "Number Nine" refers to the intellectuals because, during the "cultural revolution," they were placed ninth, after the landlords, the rich peasants, the counter-revolutionaries, the bad elements, the Rightists, the renegades, the special agents, and the inveterate capitalist-roaders. — *Tr.*

professionally competent on the basis of becoming more revolutionary-minded. People may ask: Didn't we win our revolutionary wars even though the educational level of our cadres wasn't very high? True, due to the protracted rural guerrilla fighting, our Party cadres lacked knowledge of modern science and culture during the war years. Even in those circumstances, however, our Party laid great stress on the planned training of large numbers of cadres and troops. We ran many kinds of cadre schools in Yanan and other base areas and in the liberated areas. We studied diligently and conscientiously and acquired much knowledge about military, social, economic and cultural affairs urgently needed in the revolutionary wars, the building of revolutionary base areas and work in the Kuomintang areas. Thousands upon thousands of fine leaders were brought up at different levels from among the cadres of both worker-peasant and intellectual origin, and many of them became specialists in military affairs, agrarian reform, united front work, financial and economic affairs, propaganda, cultural and educational work, and so on. And the comrades forming the leading core of the Central Committee of the Party that directed our entire struggle and the large numbers of outstanding Party leaders all attained a high educational and theoretical level. They studied questions concerning the Chinese revolution comprehensively and profoundly and summed up the laws of development of Chinese society, thus evolving the set of systematic and scientific theories on the Chinese revolution known as Mao Zedong Thought. History shows that, far from being uneducated and ignorant, the cadres of our Party were intelligent and capable people who had a good command of the knowledge urgently needed in the revolutionary struggles of the time and were, therefore, able to vanquish the enemy. The situation today is radically different from that in the past. Socialist modernization, being an entirely new task, is much broader in scale and far more complex in nature, involving many more branches of learning than the tasks we faced before. Military work, too, has become more specialized. Under these circumstances, to rely merely on past knowledge and experience is far from adequate. It is a pressing necessity

of the current struggle to master modern science, technology and culture. Is it not, then, entirely correct, necessary and in conformity with the requirements of historical development for us now to set the higher demands of training better educated and more professionally competent cadres?

PARTY leadership involves political, ideological and organizational leadership, leadership in matters of principle and policy, and inspection and supervision of work in various fields. It cannot — and should not — monopolize specific professional, technical and administrative work. This being so, what need is there for the Party's leading cadres at all levels to become more professionally competent and turn into experts? In our socialist modernization drive today, correct political leadership means adhering to the four cardinal principles in all fields, integrating the Party's principles and policies with the concrete practice and professional work of the given locality or department and mobilizing and organizing the positive factors in various quarters so as to effectively fulfil the tasks advanced by the Party. To achieve this, it is imperative not only that the leading Party cadres at all levels master the basics of general and scientific knowledge, but also that they acquire the professional knowledge needed by the particular work they lead, understand the actual conditions in the relevant professions and grasp their specific laws. Otherwise, their leadership will be nothing more than armchair politics, pointless and fruitless effort, or arbitrary direction. Our modernization programme would get nowhere if we were to rely on such leadership. To lead, therefore, one must strive to be expert.

From the viewpoint of the theory of knowledge, we must correctly understand and handle the relationship between the general and the particular if we are to properly integrate the universal truth of Marxism with the concrete practice of our socialist modernization and properly integrate the Party's principles and policies with concrete professional work in various fields. Marxism holds that the general and the particular are interrelated and that the former resides in the latter. Only with a deep under-

standing of the particular will it be possible to have a better grasp of the general; and an understanding of the general should be followed up with a continuous deepening of knowledge of the particular. Comrade Mao Zedong regarded this dialectical relationship between the general and the particular as part of the quintessence of the dialectical materialist theory of knowledge and as an important principle of method of thinking and of leadership which we must always bear in mind. It will be very dangerous if our leading comrades rest content with generalized "political leadership" without trying to gain a deep understanding of the particular and to acquire the professional knowledge necessary for effective leadership, or if they simply refuse to do so, thinking that it is perfectly normal for laymen to lead experts. For to act thus will be to negate outright the necessity for greater professional competence and to obstruct both the steady deepening of knowledge and the continuous improvement of leadership.

IN fact, the question of making our Party and government functionaries better educated and more professionally competent was raised as early as in the 1950s. At the First Session of the Party's Eighth National Congress held in September 1956, Comrade Mao Zedong stressed that, reflecting the course of development of the Chinese revolution, the composition of the Central Committee would change later to include many engineers and scientists. However, this question, along with that of lowering the average age of leading cadres at various levels, was not solved in good time. With the present organizational reform as a good start, the Central Committee of the Party is determined to solve all these questions gradually in conjunction with one another and through the succession of new cadres to the old. They will be solved by the following methods: Large numbers of old cadres are mobilized to leave their posts and help and guide young and middle-aged cadres and pass on experience to them; many intellectuals who possess both political integrity and professional competence and are in the prime of life, are recruited into the leading bodies at all levels; and middle-aged cadres fairly experienced in

leadership and having a fairly high level of political understanding but little schooling are warmly encouraged and helped to improve their level of education. These are strategic measures of far-reaching import for ensuring the incessant vigorous development of our Party's cause.

Comrades and friends,

AS we commemorate the centenary of the death of Karl Marx, we are happy to see that, in China today, the central task of the communist movement initiated by Marx and Engels has become the struggle to bring about a new situation in all fields of socialist modernization and to turn the country into a modern, powerful socialist state with a high level of democracy and civilization. This grand and arduous task is one of the greatest creative undertakings in the history not only of the East but also of all mankind. Some of the major problems involved in accomplishing this task have never before been encountered by the world's Marxists and hence there is no precedent for solving them. This demands that we Chinese Communists and cadres in all fields learn anew in the unfolding great struggle.

On the eve of the founding of our People's Republic, our Party put forward the slogan of learning anew. In his article, "On the People's Democratic Dictatorship," Comrade Mao Zedong said emphatically: "The serious task of economic construction lies before us. We shall soon put aside some of the things we know well and be compelled to do things we don't know well. This means difficulties." He added: "We must overcome difficulties, we must learn what we do not know. We must learn to do economic work from all who know how, no matter who they are." Facts have proved that our learning anew in that period ensured the success of our Party's shift from fighting a revolutionary war to seizing state power and ensured the establishment and consolidation of our People's Republic. It is regrettable that we did not persevere in such study and, particularly, that we did not put before our leading cadres at all levels the specific task of systematically learning modern science and culture, and especially of acquiring varied

professional knowledge — even less did we adopt any long-term and effective measures for that purpose. Faced with the task of socialist modernization in this new historical period, our Party has now once again put forward the slogan of learning anew. This effort to learn anew — the second following the founding of our People's Republic — has two equally important aspects: One is to acquire a better grasp of Marxism-Leninism and Mao Zedong Thought on which the theory guiding our thinking and all our actions is based, and the other is to acquire a better grasp of various branches of social and natural sciences, modern technology and scientific operation and management. This effort, which will run through the whole process of China's four modernizations, must be organized in a planned and systematic way and persisted in for a long time. Together with the planned vigorous expansion of all our educational and cultural undertakings, it will mean a great, nationwide march towards the heights of science, involving hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and intellectuals in all fields of endeavour.

AT this commemorative meeting, as we put forward the task of learning anew we think naturally of the brilliant example Marx and Engels set for us in this respect. For more effective research in political economy, Marx, in his 40s, reviewed his knowledge of algebra and learnt calculus, an advanced branch of mathematics in his time; in addition, he made a point of attending lectures on technology. In the course of establishing the dialectical materialist outlook on nature, Engels determinedly embarked on a systematic study of mathematics and natural sciences when already past 50. Recalling this experience, Engels said, "I went through as complete as possible a 'moulting,' as Liebig calls it, in mathematics and natural sciences."¹² What was meant by this "moulting"? The famous 19th-century German chemist Justus Liebig had said, "Chemistry is moving forward at an incredible speed, and chemists, wishing to keep up with it, are in a state of constant moulting. The first feathers, unsuitable for flight, fall out of the wings, but new ones grow

in their stead and flight becomes more powerful and easier."¹³ This refers to the precious enterprising spirit of scientists who strive constantly to update their knowledge, never cease in their research effort and dare to destroy the old and establish the new. Why can't the effort being made by us Chinese Communists and people to learn anew be compared to moulting? China, with its one billion people, is like a giant roc whose "wings obscure the sky like clouds."¹⁴ Once the old feathers unsuitable for flight fall out of the wings and new ones grow in their stead in the process of learning anew, our country is bound to soar to the skies more powerfully and with greater ease, flying over one peak after another towards its goal.

Comrades and friends,

A full century has elapsed since the death of Marx. For more than a hundred years, Marx's theory, at first a "spectre" haunting Europe, has grown into a mighty force that has profoundly changed world history and will continue to do so. Since its birth, Marxism has been a compass guiding the world proletarians in their united struggle and guiding the oppressed nations of the world in their struggle for political and economic independence. At present, although there are many obstacles on their road of advance, both these forces are a thousand times more powerful than in Marx's time. Marxism also enables us scientifically to pinpoint the source of war and find the only way to eliminate it. Although today mankind is still faced with the menace of a massive war of aggression, we are convinced that through the common struggle of the working class, the oppressed nations and the whole progressive mankind, light will eventually triumph over darkness.

The great ideal of communism advanced by Marx and Engels inspires the world proletariat and all oppressed peoples and nations in their struggle for emancipation and inspires all progressive mankind in its struggle for a bright future. These struggles are converging into a worldwide, irresistible historical tide propelling social progress.

Marxism is immortal. Let the radiance of the great truth of Marxism for ever light our way forward!

NOTES

¹See Frederick Engels' letter to Wilhelm Liebknecht of March 14, 1883, in Wilhelm Liebknecht, *Karl Marx — Biographical Memoirs*, Eng. ed., Charles H. Kerr & Company Co-operative, Chicago, 1901, p. 46.

²See Frederick Engels, "Closing Speech Delivered at the International Congress of Socialist Workers," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol. 22, p. 408.

³V. I. Lenin, "The Three Sources and Three Component Parts of Marxism," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Publishing House, Moscow, 1963, Vol. 19, pp. 23-24.

⁴V. I. Lenin, "The Tasks of the Youth Leagues," *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1966, Vol. 31, p. 286.

⁵See Jenny Marx, "Short Sketch of an Eventful Life," *Reminiscences of Marx and Engels*, Eng. ed., FLPH, Moscow.

⁶See Francis Bacon, *Advancement of Learning and Novum Organum*, the Colonial Press, 1900, p. 315.

⁷These refer to the discovery of the law of the conservation and conversion of energy, the discovery of the cell and the discovery of the evolution of living beings.

⁸See Marx, "Speech at the Anniversary of *The People's Paper*," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1980, Vol. 14, p. 655.

⁹See "Engels' to E. Bernstein, February 27-March 1, 1883," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1967, Vol. 35, p. 445.

¹⁰See Frederick Engels, *The Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State*, Eng. ed., Foreign Languages Press, Beijing, 1978, p. 181.

¹¹See Engels, "To the International Congress of Socialist Students," in Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, *Collected Works*, German ed., Dietz Verlag, Berlin, 1963, Vol. 22, p. 415.

¹²Frederick Engels, "Prefaces to the Three Editions," *Anti-Dühring*, Eng. ed., Progress Publishers, Moscow, 1969, pp. 15-16.

¹³*Ibid.*, Note 12, p. 449.

¹⁴See Chapter I, "Transcendental Bliss," *Chuang Tzu*, edited by H. A. Giles, Eng. ed., Kelly & Walsh Ltd., Shanghai, 1926, p. 1.

