December 1, 1964
No. 3347

************
*  National *
************

COMMUNITY THEORY

Why Does Comrade Yang Hsien-chan Oppose Having Theory Serve Politics?

by

Niichi Yang-ch'oum (謝 忠 春)
Hu Kuo-ch'eng (胡 洪"

(Jehol Jh-min Shih-pao Nov. 9, 1963)

"Theoretical study cannot serve politics" — this is one of Comrade Yang Hsien-chan's several views. This view is extremely beneficial in theory, very harmful in practice, and utterly reactionary politically. This is because it basically distorts the true relationship between theory and politics and is a deliberate misleading of the water, so that theory may be prevented from serving proletarian politics but that his "theory" may serve the bourgeoisie.

What is a theory? "Marxism-Leninism is a theory created by Marx, Engels, Lenin and Stalin on the basis of reality: it is a general conclusion drawn from the realities of history and of revolution." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, p. 816) This theory "is no dogma but a guide to action." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, p. 816)

What is politics? Politics is a concrete expression of economy and also class relations and class struggle. Proletarian politics means revolution; it unites the people in social politics, power and, having done so, continues to guide them in carrying out socialist transformation and socialist construction with the ultimate object of establishing classless and building communes.

What is the relationship between theory and politics? This relationship is that theory must serve class struggle, that is, politics. "The principal service done by Marx and Engels," says Lenin, "is their identification of socialities and the workers' movement. The revolutionary theory which they founded explains the necessity of this unity and points out that the task of all socialists is to conduct the class struggle of the proletariat." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 291.) Hence, one must "never forget political struggle even for one minute." (Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. XXXIV, p. 306.)"
But, completely ignoring the above-mentioned Marxist-Leninist principles, Comrade Feng Hsiung-chen talks wildly about his absurd view that "theory cannot serve politics."

Let us examine what this absurd view means.

He says that theoretical study cannot serve contemporary politics, believing that the slogans - "fight while you study, and study while you fight" - is wrong, and that to learn what you are doing now is in a certain sense pragmatism.

2. He says that the Right Party School should serve as a rear area on the theoretical front, that we must not make it a regular practice to have theory serve politics, and that the study of theory also involves the question of serving theoretical research itself.

3. By believes that no rectification campaign should be permitted in the Party school.

Can such an absurd view stand up on its feet?

If the slogans - "fight while you study, and study while you fight" - is wrong, should we have the slogans - "don't fight while you study, and don't study while you fight"? Look at all the works written by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Comrades Mao Tse-tung, which one of them was not written in the midst of combat? These great revolutionary experts never studied theory in isolation from struggle, but, on the basis of the urgent needs of revolutionary struggle, they wrote one great theoretical work after another. And it is exactly because these immortal classic works were born out of struggle, were written for the sake of struggle, and were closely related to actual struggle that they reflected actual struggle most profoundly and in turn played a great, guiding role in it.

To link theoretical studies closely with the current actual struggle is also a means of overcoming dogmatism and preventing the study of Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation. So that theoretical studies may not be divorced from actual work, both cadres and students of the Party School, particularly those comrades who are exclusively engaged in theoretical work, must regularly and systematically participate in actual work and must constantly study the various important resolutions and documents of the Party Central Committee, which serve as the most powerful weapons with which to reply Marxist-Leninists and the thought of Mao Tse-tung in analyzing the current situation and unraveling current contradictions and problems.

Through serious study of these resolutions and documents it will be possible to learn to apply the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism in correctly analyzing and dealing with the major problems concerning revolution and socialist construction at home and abroad, and to correctly implementing the Party's policies and establishing a fine Marxist-Leninist style of work which integrates theory with reality. This is entirely consistent and is compatible with the spirit of Comrade Mao Tse-tung's exhortation that "comrades of our Party school should not regard Marxist theory as a rigid dogma. They must master it and apply it, the purpose of its mastery being its application." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, p. 617) It may be said that if theoretical studies at the Higher Party School are divorced from the Party's central work and from the current struggles and documents of the Party Central Committee, we would thus not take theoretical studies to be divorced from Party leadership, as well.

Now Comrade Yang Tien-chen, in making the correct-academic style propounded by Comrade Tso-hsiaang as "pragmatism," not openly and audibly stand up against the Party, but in the Chinese Communist Daily, he also advocated the "pragmatism" common knowledge that "pragmatism" is the world outlook of the modern reactionary bourgeois, that it is everything partial as a truth, and that it is inescapable with escalating materialism - the theoretical foundation of Stalinism - as water is still five. Obviously, Comrade Yang Tien-chen has his own political axe to grind. If we want to encourage theory from the theoretical work on the Party and Base it in the retention of the Party, so that he may use it to serve his reactionary politics, then a genuine revolution...
of the personal history of Comrade Yang Heliu-chien would show that he is no "superman" who is not conscious of political, but that he does pay attention to every day political moment to attack the Party. What he thinks is not true or false, but he also understands and draws a proper conclusion which is entirely inconsistent with reality, in order to oppose truth. It is crystal clear that it is Comrade Yang Heliu-chien, and no one else, who is a true pragmatist.

If we say that "having theory serve politics must not be regarded as a regular practice of theoretical work" and this "the study of theory also involves the question of serving theoretical research itself", can it be that the regular practice of theoretical research is to stay out of political struggle and to do theoretical research for its own sake? Not let us compare this with Comrade Mao Tse-tung's instruction! In the article "Perform Our Study," Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "As to education for cadres on the job and cadres' training schools, we should make it a central task to study the practical problems of the Chinese revolution under the guidance of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. We should go away with the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation." (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung, Vol. III, p. 303) While Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that the study of the practical problem of the Chinese revolution should be made a central task, Comrade Yang Heliu-chien says that having theory serve politics must not be regarded as a regular practice. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says that the method of studying Marxism-Leninism statically and in isolation must be thrown away with, yet Comrade Yang Heliu-chien contends that the study of theory also involves the question of serving theoretical research itself. Are they not exactly contradictory to each other?

A rectification campaign is a general Marxist education movement when the whole Party, through criticism and self-criticism, studies Marxism and adjusts its style of thinking and style of work. As practice shows, this is a practical and effective method of study, a method that applies equally to the Party school. If we say that no rectification campaign should be permitted in the Party school, does it mean that the report "Adjust the Party's Style of Work" which Comrade Mao Tse-tung made at the Central Party School in Yenan on February 3, 1942, was also wrong? Our rectification campaign carried out at that time was an ideological revolution of the Party, a great campaign of historical significance for rectifying the ideas of cadres and Party members and changing their style of work. As experience proves, theoretical studies must be linked with rectification drives. Self-education along Marxist-Leninist lines through adjustment of the style of thinking of the students is a spiritual battle for ideological construction and for theoretical practice. For this reason, in the course of study, we must set aside a period of time for carrying out a rectification campaign. Only in this way shall we be able to link our cognition of the world and the transformation of it; and only in this way can we link the transformation of the objective world with that of the subjective world.

In addition to openly opposing the rectification campaign on many occasions, Comrade Yang Heliu-chien, in order to deceive the masses, moved from time to time to talk with affected comrades about rectification campaigns. But he does not genuinely propagate the rectification campaign of the Party. Instead, in the name of rectification campaign, he slandered the Party Central Committee and Comrade Mao Tse-tung, tried to sell his anti-Marxist viewpoint, and carried out sectarian activities. It can thus be seen that he is well adept at opposing correct ideas and attacking the right style of work through the camouflage of rectification campaign.

In short, in opposing theory's serving politics, Comrade Yang Heliu-chien opposes the general proletarian politics. Instead, he tries to attack the general proletarian politics in order to uphold firmly the union of theory with reality and the adoption of an attitude in harmony with the Thought of Mag Tse-tung; it is necessary to remove, with resolution and thoroughness, all the harmful influences spread by Comrade Yang Heliu-chien.