

# 坚持党对军队绝对领导是我军的立军之本和强军之魂

——学习习近平系列重要讲话精神

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**[摘要]** 坚持党对军队绝对领导是我军的立军之本和强军之魂,这是中国近代历史发展和创建新型人民军队的必然选择,是马克思主义建军思想的内在要求,是建设强大人民军队的根本政治保证,具有坚实的历史、理论和实践基础。铸牢强军之魂,必须旗帜鲜明地反对“军队非党化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”等错误政治观点。铸牢强军之魂,必须切实打牢官兵听党指挥的思想政治根基,坚决落实党对军队绝对领导的根本原则和制度,大力加强军队各级党组织和干部队伍建设,忠实履行好党和人民赋予的使命任务,始终做到对党绝对忠诚、绝对纯洁、绝对可靠。

**[关键词]** 党的绝对领导;立军之本;强军之魂;强军目标

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习近平站在实现中华民族伟大复兴中国梦的战略高度,指出建设一支听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的人民军队,是党在新形势下的强军目标。听党指挥是强军之魂,决定军队建设的政治方向。新形势下,实现强国梦强军梦,全军官兵必须坚持党对军队的绝对领导,铸牢听党指挥这个强军之魂,确保部队绝对忠诚、绝对纯洁、绝对可靠,一切行动听从党中央、中央军委和习主席的指挥。

## 一、坚持党对军队绝对领导的历史、理论和实践基础

2012年11月,习近平在中央军委扩大会议上强调:“保证党对军队的绝对领导,关系我军性质和宗旨、关系社会主义前途命运、关系党和国家长治久安,是我军的立军之本和建军之魂。”<sup>[1][p15]</sup>坚持党对军队绝对领导,具有坚实的历史、理论和实践基础。

(一) 坚持党对军队绝对领导是中国近代历史发展和创建新型人民军队的必然选择

近代以来,民族危机和社会危机空前深重,腐败无能的晚清政府、皇权掌控下的军队不仅未能抵御西方列强的侵略,反而成为侵略者镇压人民革命的帮凶。辛亥革命推翻了统治中国几千年的君主专制制度,但仍未能改变中国社会的性质和人民的悲惨命运,革命果实落入袁世凯手中。袁世凯死后,北洋军阀形成了军阀割据局面,政党和政府失去了对军队的领导权,大小军阀之间混战不断,整个国家陷入了巨大灾难之中。经历失败的惨痛教训后,孙中山借鉴苏俄革命的经验,建立了黄埔军校和国民革命军,并尝试用党代表、政治工作制度来保证国民党对军队的领导。孙中山逝世后,国民党及其领导的军队成了蒋介石谋一己之私和镇压革命的工具。事实表明,在半殖民地半封建社会的中国,面对强敌,要实现民族独立和人民解放,必须建立一支强大的并且实现集中统一领导的革命军队,以武装的革命反对

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武装的反革命。皇权下的军队不行,个人掌握兵权不行,资产阶级及其政党也不行。工人阶级及其政党要担负起领导中国革命的重任,必须建立自己直接领导的军队,这是旧民主主义革命向新民主主义革命转变的客观要求,是近代中国社会发展的必然结论。正是确立了党对军队绝对领导这一根本原则和制度,才实现了由皇权和个人掌控军队向工人阶级政党组织掌握军队的转变,保证了军队的高度集中统一,从而把一支以农民为主要成分的军队逐渐锻造成一支忠于党、忠于人民的新型人民军队,为中国革命胜利奠定了基础。

坚持党对军队的绝对领导是创建新型人民军队的必然选择。建党之初,我们党还没有认识到建立武装力量和掌握军队的极端重要性。大革命失败的惨痛教训使我们党深切认识到“枪杆子里面出政权”的深刻道理。南昌起义,标志着我们党走上了独立领导革命战争、创建人民军队、武装夺取政权的道路。但是,中国是一个农民占绝大多数的国家,如何把以农民为主体的军队建设成为一支进步的集中统一的新型人民军队是我们党必须回答和解决的历史性课题。以毛泽东为代表的中国共产党人进行了艰辛探索,1927年9月,毛泽东进行了著名的“三湾改编”,第一次实现了班、排建立党小组,连队建立党支部,营团建立党委,部队一切重大问题都要经过党组织集体讨论决定,解决了党直接掌握士兵群众的重大问题。1929年12月,古田会议第一次以决议的形式确立了党对军队绝对领导的一系列根本原则和制度,初步回答了建设一支新型人民军队的问题。红军长征途中,党中央粉碎了张国焘分裂党、分裂红军的阴谋活动,提出了党指挥枪的原则。全国抗战爆发后,蒋介石企图通过改编红军、以“政令”、“军令”统一为由来控制并吞我们这支革命军队,为此,我们成立了中共中央革命军事委员会,在团以上部队成立了党的军政委员会,遵循民主集中制原则,对各部队实行统一的集体领导,在国共合作抗战的复杂背景下保证了党对人民军队的领导。1945年党的七大后,逐步恢复军队中党的各级委员会,加强了党对各部队的集中统一指挥和集体

领导。新中国成立后,我们党及时而富有远见地将武装力量的领导和建设纳入国家制度体系,使之成为符合我国国体、政体要求的基本军事制度,成为中国特色社会主义政治制度的重要组成部分。历史充分证明,党对军队的绝对领导,是建军之魂、胜利之本,是我军发展壮大须臾不可离开的法宝。

(二)坚持党对军队绝对领导是马克思主义建军思想的内在要求

马克思主义认为,军队作为执行政治任务的武装集团,是一定社会阶级斗争的产物,是一定阶级及其政党的工具。无产阶级只有掌握军队,才能推翻资产阶级统治,取得无产阶级革命胜利。因此,无产阶级政党领导军队是无产阶级革命事业取得胜利的基本前提,也是保持军队无产阶级性质的重要条件。中国共产党人在长期的革命和建设实践中丰富和发展了马克思主义军政关系理论,把党与军队的关系提高到绝对领导的高度,作为人民军队建设的根本原则。毛泽东指出,军队是国家政权的主要成分,谁想夺取国家政权并想保持它,谁就应有强大的军队。改革开放以来,我们党对这一建军原则和制度在理论认识上有了新的发展。邓小平对新的历史条件下人民军队的性质进行了科学定位,强调“我们的军队始终要忠于党、忠于人民、忠于国家、忠于社会主义”。<sup>[2](p.334)]</sup>江泽民首次把党对军队绝对领导提升到“军魂”的高度,强调“党对军队的绝对领导是我军永远不变的军魂”。<sup>[3]</sup>胡锦涛从国家政治制度的高度确立了这一基本军事制度的地位,提出“党对军队的绝对领导,是我军建军的根本原则和永远不变的军魂,是我国的基本军事制度和中国特色社会主义政治制度的重要组成部分,是党和国家的重要政治优势”。<sup>[4](p.201)]</sup>党的十八大以来,习近平多次强调,坚持党对军队绝对领导是我军的军魂和命根子,永远不能变,永远不能丢。<sup>[5]</sup>

坚持党对军队绝对领导是立军之本和强军之魂的论述,是对马克思主义党军关系理论的丰富发展。坚持党对军队绝对领导关系我军的性质和宗旨。习近平指出:“我们党是马克思主义政党,是全心全意为人民服务的政党,只

有坚持党对军队绝对领导,才能从根本上保证人民军队的性质。如果丢了这一条,军队就会变质。”<sup>[6](p.25-26)</sup>坚持党对军队绝对领导关系党的执政地位。党要长期执政、执好政,靠纲领路线正确,靠人民群众支持,靠执政能力提高,也要靠军队提供重要力量保证。军队是政权的重要基石,军队坚决听党指挥,党才能掌握国家政权,巩固执政地位,保证社会主义江山永不变色。坚持党对军队绝对领导关系国家的长治久安。军权问题关乎国家的治乱兴衰,军队一旦掌控不好,如脱缰的野马,国家就会乱,人民就会遭殃;军队得到有效掌控,国家就稳定,人民就安宁。当前,我国的安全和发展形势更趋复杂,维护国家统一和社会稳定的任务艰巨繁重,需要强有力的军事安全保障,要求军队坚决服从党的领导,捍卫、巩固和发展来之不易的稳定局面,为全面建成小康社会、实现中华民族伟大复兴提供重要力量支撑和坚强安全保障。

(三)坚持党对军队绝对领导是建设强大人民军队的根本政治保证

习近平指出:“八十多年来,我军之所以能始终保持强大的凝聚力、向心力、战斗力,经受住各种考验,不断从胜利走向胜利,最根本的就是靠党的坚强领导。”<sup>[6](p.26)</sup>强军必先强魂,魂固方能军强。新形势下,建设一支听党指挥、能打胜仗、作风优良的人民军队,最根本的是始终坚持听党指挥这个强军之魂。

听党指挥决定军队建设的政治方向。对军队来说,政治方向就是归谁领导、听谁指挥,为谁扛枪、为谁打仗的问题。这个问题是一支军队安身立命的首要问题,直接关系这支军队的性质宗旨和兴衰成败。近代以来的农民军、北洋新军以及国民革命军之所以最终归于衰亡没落,说到底都是因为缺乏先进阶级及其政党的领导。唯有我们这支军队,始终置于党的绝对领导之下,以党的先进性贯注军队,使这支以农民为主要成分的军队成为无产阶级性质的、为实现崇高理想而战斗的新型人民军队。我们党把为人民服务这一党的宗旨规定为人民军队的唯一宗旨,使我军真正成为为人民利益而战的军队,从而保证了军队正确的前进方

向,获得了不竭的力量源泉。我们党用与时俱进的先进理论武装官兵,引领部队建设,使军队能够紧跟时代步伐,把握正确航向。

听党指挥引领我军从胜利走向胜利。听党指挥,是我军生命之所系,力量之所在。过去,我们在十分艰难的条件下,能够以劣胜优、以弱胜强,取得革命胜利,最根本的是靠党的坚强领导。当前,我们要推进军队现代化建设,打赢信息化条件下的局部战争,实现强军目标,仍然要靠党对军队绝对领导。只有坚决听党指挥,才能依靠我们党的政治智慧去赢得政治上全局上的主动,把党的政治优势转化为军事优势;才能把党严密的组织力、高效的执行力凝聚成无坚不摧的战斗力,转化为制胜能力;才能用我们党进步的政治精神贯注部队,激发英勇无畏的战斗精神和坚忍不拔的意志品质,转化成战胜敌人和困难的强大动力;才能把我们党的强大号召力动员力变成战胜一切敌人的深厚伟力。这是我们的根本政治优势,是人民军队克敌制胜的根本法宝,永远都不会过时。

## 二、铸牢强军之魂必须旗帜鲜明地反对“军队非党化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”等错误政治观点

当前,意识形态领域斗争尖锐复杂,各种错误政治观点对军队的影响不可低估。习近平告诫全军:“各种敌对势力总是幻想着在我军这座钢铁长城上打开缺口,千方百计对我军进行意识形态渗透,极力鼓吹‘军队非党化、非政治化’和‘军队国家化’,说到底就是妄图使我军脱离党的领导。”<sup>[1](p.90)</sup>铸牢强军之魂,必须充分认清“三化”等错误政治观点的实质和危害,坚决抵制其渗透和影响。

(一)充分认清“军队非党化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”错误政治观点的实质

“军队非党化”掩盖了政党政治的本质,歪曲了军队与政党特别是执政党的内在联系。所谓“军队非党化”,主要是鼓吹军队不为某一政党所有,政党不在军队中建立自己的组织,军人不允许加入某个政党等。持这种论调的人,



只看到了西方国家军队与政党关系的表象,没有看到政党政治的本质。在政党政治条件下,军队作为国家机器的重要组成部分,必然与政党发生密切关系。马克思主义认为,国家具有阶级属性,阶级通过政党来代表,国家通过政党来执政,军队也必然要由政党来领导,并成为维护本阶级利益的有效工具。执政必执军,中西方国家概莫能外,区别在于掌控军队的方式不同。与我们党直接领导军队不同,西方国家政党采取间接领军的方式,通过政府这个中介环节,在两党或多党制度下通过党派“轮流坐庄”来实现。由于执政党掌握政府,决定了政府对军队的领导,在本质上仍是执政党的领导。“军队非党化”的实质和要害是,它企图使军队脱离我们党的领导,使党放弃对军队独立、直接、全面、统一的领导。

“军队非政治化”割裂了军队与政治的必然联系,掩盖了军队的阶级性。所谓“军队非政治化”,主要是鼓吹军队保持政治中立,不代表、不支持任何一种政治观点或政治党派,不介入党派政治斗争等。这是西方国家为避免军队陷入党派纷争而作出的一种制度设计,并没有改变军队的政治属性。马克思主义认为,军队起源于私有制、阶级和国家,是适应政治和政治斗争需要而产生的,是实现统治阶级政治意志的工具,具有鲜明的政治性。在政党政治框架中,国家是由代表统治阶级利益的政党来执政的,军队是通过完成执政党赋予的政治任务而为统治阶级服务的。因此,政治是军队的天然属性,世界上没有超越阶级、政治和政党的完全“中立”的军队,也不可能真正做到“非政治化”。

“军队国家化”把军队的政治属性与国家属性对立起来,割裂了党领导军队与国家领导军队的统一性。军队自产生以来,就与国家紧密联系在一起,军队是国家政权的重要组成部分。在政党政治条件下,国家是占统治地位的阶级的国家,国家通常是由执政党领导的,军队总是直接或间接地体现执政党意志,所以国家领导军队和党领导军队是一致的。我国是党领导的人民当家作主的社会主义国家,党的军队、人民的军队、社会主义国家的军队是高度

一致的,军队是党领导的,也是国家领导的。当然,与国家领导军队相比,党领导军队更具有本源性和基础性,因为党是整个国家的领导核心,强调党领导军队就抓住了这种领导体制的实质。“军队国家化”的实质和要害在于,它企图使军队脱离党的领导轨道,乱我根基。

(二)深刻认识“军队非党化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”错误政治观点的严重危害

西方敌对势力鼓吹“三化”的目的很明确,就是企图在我党与军队的关系上打开缺口,千方百计想把我军从党的旗帜下拉出去,改变我军性质,从而“化”掉我们党的执政地位,“化”掉社会主义国家的性质,颠覆我国的社会主义制度,打断中华民族伟大复兴的历史进程,最终达到搞垮我们国家的目的。这是一场严肃的政治斗争。20世纪80年代末,苏联戈尔巴乔夫上台后,大搞“新思维”,在军队中取消政治机关,默认一切政治组织有权在军队存在,导致苏共失去了对军队的领导权,进而导致政权坍塌。历史告诉我们:“兵权之所在,则随之以兴;兵权之所去,则随之以亡。”如果听信他们那一套,搞什么“军队非党化”,在军队中不能有我党党员,不能建立党的组织,就会动摇党领导军队的组织基础;如果搞什么“军队非政治化”,军队保持所谓的政治中立,在党和国家面临重大考验时袖手旁观,那么国家政治安全和社会稳定就得不到有效保障;如果搞什么“军队国家化”,执政的中国共产党不领导军队,那么其他政治势力就会趁虚而入,插手和掌控军队,军队就会变质,沦为个人或狭隘利益集团的工具。如果我们丧失政治警惕,听信他们的论调,就会落入敌对势力精心设置的陷阱,自毁长城,苏东剧变的悲剧就会在我们身上重演,国家就会出大的乱子,人民就会遭殃,几代中华儿女为之牺牲奋斗的中国梦就会成为泡影。因此,我们要深刻认识其危害性,坚决抑制其渗透影响。

(三)坚决抵制“军队非党化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”错误政治观点的渗透影响

敌对势力鼓吹“三化”,与他们一贯的险恶用心是一致的,具有极大渗透性和危害性。我们要时刻保持清醒的政治头脑,对“军队非党

化、非政治化”和“军队国家化”等错误政治观点,要旗帜鲜明地反对,理直气壮地进行批驳,戳穿其本来面目和险恶用心,坚决抑制和防范其渗透影响。习近平要求我们:“对意识形态领域斗争,要保持高度的政治警惕性,自觉坚定理想信念、站稳政治立场、保持政治定力、严守政治纪律,始终与党同心同德。”<sup>[1](p.173)</sup>我们要按照习近平所要求的,加强军魂教育,强化官兵政治意识、政权意识,坚决抑制“三化”等错误政治观点的影响,始终同党中央、中央军委保持高度一致,坚决听从党中央、中央军委指挥,在这个根本原则问题上,要头脑特别清醒、态度特别鲜明、行动特别坚决,决不能有任何动摇、任何迟疑、任何含糊。

### 三、铸牢强军之魂必须始终做到对党绝对忠诚、绝对纯洁、绝对可靠

习近平反复强调,我军作为执行党的政治任务的武装集团,必须把听党指挥作为军队建设的首要政治要求,确保军队绝对忠诚、绝对纯洁、绝对可靠,从思想上政治上组织上牢牢掌握军队。这“三个绝对”,深刻阐明了听党指挥的本质内涵和标准要求,为广大官兵听党话、跟党走明确了根本遵循。

(一)切实打牢官兵听党指挥的思想政治根基

抓听党指挥,必须抓好思想武装。思想上坚定,政治上、行动上才能坚定。只有深扎听党话、跟党走的思想根子,才能确保官兵高度自觉地听党指挥。坚决听党指挥,最根本的是要加强科学理论武装。政治上坚定,关键要理论上坚定。用马克思主义理论特别是中国特色社会主义理论体系武装官兵头脑,使部队始终保持坚定正确的政治方向。只有懂得了马克思主义理论,领会了贯穿其中的立场、观点、方法,才能心明眼亮,才能坚定理想信念,才能在纷繁复杂的形势下坚持科学指导思想和正确前进方向。坚持用党的创新理论武装官兵,引导官兵明辨是非界限,以理论清醒保证政治坚定。坚决听党指挥,要持续培育当代革命军人

核心价值观。习近平强调,培育“忠诚于党、热爱人民、报效国家、献身使命、崇尚荣誉”的当代革命军人价值观,是军队思想政治建设的基础工程、铸魂工程,必须坚持长期抓、反复抓。只有不断深化培育,才能把听党指挥的政治要求融入官兵血脉,内化为价值追求,外化为自觉行动。坚决听党指挥,要深入开展理想信念教育,大力发展先进军事文化,加强和改进思想政治工作,引导官兵坚定对马克思主义的信仰、对中国特色社会主义的信念、对改革开放和社会主义现代化建设的信心、对党中央的信赖,培养革命军人忠诚可靠、英勇无畏的精神。坚决听党指挥,要深入进行党史、军史和我军优良传统教育,坚定官兵听党指挥的政治自觉和政治自信,把红色基因一代代传下去。另外,还要有的放矢地加强意识形态工作,深入开展军魂教育,增强官兵的政治免疫力。大力加强思想道德建设,引导官兵做道德高尚、灵魂纯洁的人。强化党性观念,坚决抵制各种错误思潮的影响。

(二)坚决落实党对军队绝对领导的一系列根本制度

听党指挥的根本原则,是通过一系列根本制度来实现的。在长期的革命斗争实践中,我们党形成和确立了一整套严密科学完整的领导制度,主要包括:军队的最高领导权和指挥权属于党中央、中央军委;坚持民主集中制的组织原则;实行党委统一的集体领导下的首长分工负责制;团以上单位设立党的委员会、政治委员和政治机关制度;支部建在连上制度。新形势下,铸牢强军之魂,必须以强烈的政治责任感,坚决贯彻执行好这些制度。就军队整体来讲,最核心的就是要始终坚持和自觉维护党中央和中央军委的最高领导权和指挥权。党中央是全党的最高领导和决策机构,中央军委是党在军队中的最高领导机构。听党指挥,就要服从党中央和中央军委的领导,坚决维护党中央的权威,始终同党在思想上、政治上保持高度一致,模范地贯彻执行党的理论、路线、方针政策,贯彻党的主张和意志,遵守党的章程和纪律,自觉为实现党的目标任务而奋斗。就各级党组织而言,最重要的是坚持党委统一的

集体领导下的首长分工负责制。坚持这一制度,就是要确保一切组织和人员无条件置于党委的统一领导之下,不得脱离党委领导,各自为政,更不能凌驾于党委之上;一切重大问题都必须按照民主集中制的原则,由党委民主讨论,集体作出决定,个人不得专断。习近平在全军政治工作会议上指出,各级党委要把落实党对军队绝对领导的制度作为第一位责任,把党领导军队一系列制度贯彻到部队建设各领域和完成任务全过程,确保党指挥枪的原则落地生根。就官兵个人来讲,就是要敢于同破坏党领导军队根本制度的各种错误思想和行为作坚决斗争,自觉地在思想上、政治上与党中央和中央军委保持高度一致,在教育、训练和日常生活中,把自己置于党组织的领导和监督之下,遵守党领导军队的各项制度规定,努力完成党组织交给的各项任务。

(三)大力加强军队各级党组织和干部队伍建设

新形势下,要着力做好:第一,建强班子,充分发挥党委的核心领导作用。坚持党对军队的绝对领导,必须抓住党委建设这个关键,不断强化其政治责任,着力在坚定理想信念、提高能力素质、落实民主集中制、改进工作作风、坚强党性原则上下功夫,强化集体领导,提高决策水平,浓厚原则空气,增强班子团结,建设一支能带兵打仗、能打胜仗的党委班子。第二,抓住关键,充分发挥党员干部的骨干作用。干部队伍是党的骨干力量,其状况如何直接关系到党在广大官兵中的影响和威信,关系党委决策指示的具体贯彻落实。选好人用好人,是坚持党对军队绝对领导的组织保证和关键所在。习近平在全军政治工作会议上提出:“军队好干部的标准,就是要做到对党忠诚、善谋打仗、敢于担当、实绩突出、清正廉洁。坚持党管干部、组织选人,坚持五湖四海,坚决整治用人风气,纯洁干部队伍,真正把好干部选出来、任用好。”<sup>[7]</sup>真正做到坚持从政治上考察和使用干部,确保枪杆子始终掌握在忠于党、经得起风浪考验的可靠人手中。第三,打牢基础,充分发挥党支部的战斗堡垒作用。基层党支部是保证党对军队绝对领导的最基础的环节,是保证基

层部队完成各项任务的战斗堡垒。当前,要积极推进基层党支部建设,加强党支部对部队的思想政治领导,确保政令、军令畅通,发挥党支部在基层单位的核心领导作用。要提高党支部书记的政治素质和工作能力,提高基层党员的能力素质,充分发挥党员的先锋模范作用,真正把党对军队绝对领导落实到基层。

(四)忠实履行好党和人民赋予的使命任务

党对军队的绝对领导,不仅是一个理论问题,更是一个实践性问题。军队履行好党所赋予的使命任务,既是坚持党的绝对领导根本目的之所在,也是坚持党的绝对领导最实际、最有力的体现和实践检验。党的任务从根本上决定着军队的使命任务。进入新世纪新阶段,着眼实现党的三大历史任务,党和人民赋予了我军“三个提供、一个发挥”的历史使命。当前,面对复杂严峻的国家安全形势,习近平强调,军队要增强忧患意识、危机意识、使命意识,要自觉担当起维护国家主权、安全、发展利益的重大责任,为实现中国梦提供坚强力量保证。要坚决完成宪法赋予我军的神圣职责:对外要抵御侵略、捍卫国家主权和领土完整,对内要防止敌对势力的颠覆破坏,保卫人民的和平劳动。军队要切实以不辱使命的出色表现彰显坚持党的绝对领导的有效性。

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**Grasping the Correct Direction to Deepen All-sided Reform:** To deepen all-sided reform is one of the important strategic decisions made by the new central leadership group with Xi Jinping as the General Secretary. Grasping the correct direction on all-sided deepening reform must hold high the great banner of socialism with Chinese characteristics and adhere to the socialist theoretical system with Chinese characteristics as guidance. We must take the socialist road with Chinese characteristics and improve the system of socialism with Chinese characteristics, uphold the Party's leadership led by the socialist core values and consciously resist any scheme to change socialism with Chinese characteristics. (TANG Zhou-yan)

**The Thinking about Several Problems on the Reform of Rural Property Right System:** It is a major topic concerning the major directions to promote the reform of rural property right system and an important realization form to maintain the rights of farmer and strengthen rural collective economy in new historical time. We should clear up the several problems on the reform of rural property right system. At the same time, it needs top-level design and keeping the bottom line to promote the reform of rural property right system. We should handle well about community questions and solve historical problems actively yet prudently to promote the reform of rural property right system. (FANG Zhi-quan)

**The Path Selection of Farmers' Transformation into Urban Inhabitants: Transfer the Land but Don't Give up Ownership:** New-type urbanization is not the urbanization of land but the urbanization of population. The core of new-type urbanization is farmers' transformation into urban inhabitants. At present, there are two paths to farmers' transformation into urban inhabitants: one is "leaving home but holding soil" the quasi-urbanization, the other is "giving up land and ownership" the passive urbanization. The former is mainly due to the existing household registration system, and the latter is mainly due to the existing land requisition system. Neither is the result of farmers' own choice. Farmers own choices are the third urbanization path to "transfer the land but don't give up ownership." To embark on the third path, both the rental system and agricultural land stock cooperative system are better implementation forms, but needing deepen the reform of the land and household registration system as a precondition. (CHEN Xue-fa)

**The Recognition to Peasants' Ability of Self-represent and Self-organize:** The logical premise in the modernization of rural governance is how to recognize peasants. Traditionally, peasants are believed incapable to self-represent and self-organize themselves. So they should be represented and organized by others. After the founding of new China, success has still been lacked in organizing the peasants into communes and changing peasants. After pushing household contract responsibility system, Chinese peasants went to the self-organizing road again. At present, the traditional peasants' organization mechanism and the way to organize peasants by force are very weak. However, the new organization mechanism has not been established. China should make introspection about peasants' self-organization and being organized. The way of their self-organization may not be effective but we can't say it's advanced or out-dated. We should accelerate the progress of land ownership to create conditions for establishing service cooperation organization owned by peasants themselves. The modernization of the rural governance system of China needs updated Marxist peasant theory developing with time. (ZHU Xin-shan)

**Gap between Peasants in the East and West in Social Transition: A Comparison of Zhejiang and Sichuan:** Peasant differentiation, inevitable in the process of modernization, is a social issue that we must pay attention to in development of the west regions. The social structure in rural areas has dramatically changed. A big difference exists between the farmers of the Zhejiang and Sichuan, two representatives of the east and west of China. Non-agricultural degree of Sichuan is lower and the gap of income and consumption levels larger, which reflect the unbalanced regional development. However, the gap showed a decreasing trend in recent years. Whether in Sichuan or Zhejiang, differentiation of farmers is transitional. Although the degree of farmers' differentiation in Zhejiang is relatively high, the degree of farmer urbanization lags behind and more and more difficult to development. Sichuan as the representative of west China undoubtedly can learn some lessons from peasant class differentiation in Zhejiang. To promote balanced development of the East and West and common prosperity in China, our central government should do more work to improve regional cooperation and support mechanism. (WANG Ya-ming)

**On the China's Governance by Law: A Perspective of Marxist View of Laws:** The Party's Fourth Plenary Session of the Eighteen Central Committee adopted *The Decision of Several Problems about Comprehensively Promote the Rule of Law*, which indicates that the construction of China's governance by law will be ushered into a new era. Doubtlessly Marxist view of laws is the theory source and basis for the construction of China's governance by laws. It will help us to have more confidence in our theory and system. The essence theory of Marxist view of laws explains the relation of form and content and reveals the illusoriness of state will and public will and the standpoint of substance has been kept. To analyze the essence of laws with Marxist view of laws as the guidance can help us understand the meaning of China's governance by laws. (LI Zhen)

**The Basic Design of People's Army — On the Significance of Gutian Conference:** Once Deng Xiaoping said that armies should like armies. What does our army should be like? If you want to answer this question, you can't ignore Gutian Conference. If you don't know Gutian conference, you cannot know the glorious history, politic advantages and excellent tradition of people's army of China. The basic connotation of our army is rooted in Gutian Conference. Gutian Conference basically designed our army in five aspects: the Party's absolute leadership over the Army built, the frame of army's politic work improved, the basic principle of our army for dealing with internal and external relationship established, which had laid a foundation for our army's fine style and military discipline. (WANG Xing-sheng HAN Jin-qiang)

**The Root of Building Army and the Soul of Strengthening Army — On the Spirits of a Series of Important Speeches by Xi Jinping:** Adhering to the Party's absolute leadership over the Army is the root of building army and the soul of strengthening army, which is not only the inevitable choice of China's modern history development and the creation of the new people's army, but also the inner requirement of Marxist army building thought and the fundamental political guarantee for building a powerful army. In order to strengthen the soul of people's army, we should firmly oppose to these wrong political views such as "military non-party, non-politics", "army-

nationalization". Meanwhile, we should lay ideological and political foundation for army to obey the Party's command, resolutely implement the fundamental principle and system of the Party's absolute leadership over the army, vigorously build Party's organizations and cadre team in the army, and faithfully complete our missions that given by the Party and people to ensure absolute loyalty, purity and reliability to the Party all the time.(REN Hui-fen )

**Continuing to Carry Forward Good Traditions and Winning Advantages of Army Political Work — For the 85th Anniversary of Gutian Conference:**Gutian Conference laid a solid foundation for the basic principles of our army political work in theory and proved the distinctive superiority to victory. In informationization time, the world structure is undergoing profound changes and the struggle of ideology is acute and complicated. All these are challenges to traditional political work. We should work hard in three important fields: occupying the network consensus, improving the informationalized level in political work, and improving the combat capability. Only by innovating the political work in informationization time, can we carry forward the fine traditions and advantages. (LI Zheng JIANG Jun-shi )

**Construction of Defense Soft Power in the View of Modernization of National Defense:**Modernization of national defense is important content of the Chinese Dream of the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation. Modernization of national defense not only includes the modernization of defense hard power weapons, such as weapons and equipment, but also defense soft power, such as defense culture. In the global information age, the direct confrontation of defense hard power between the states is becoming relatively weaker, while the role of defense soft power is becoming more and more important. Defense soft power determines the nature and direction of the modernization of national defense. It provides the spiritual power for the modernization of national defense and creates a good environment for the modernization of national defense. At present, China's national defense construction of soft power is faced with many challenges: disturbed by some erroneous ideological interference, such as "military non-party, non-politics", "army-nationalization"; the national spirits of the Great Wall is not stable; the national defense diplomacy idea and practice lack innovation. The realization of the modernization of national defense must have a clear-cut standard against "military non-party, non-politics", "army nationalization" and other wrong thoughts and priority must be placed on the advanced military culture as the core of the cultural construction. We should treat the overall defense national security concept as a guide to the innovation of defense diplomatic ideas and practice. So only this can we create a new situation of defense and foreign affairs to create favorable conditions.(ZOU Xiao-jun LI Zhi-yuan)

**The Evaluation of Chinese Ideological Management in 1980s and the View of "No Deng Xiaoping in Soviet Union":**The development of the present China proves that Deng Xiaoping's management ideas and ways are necessary and correct. The core idea of Deng Xiaoping's management ways for China's social ideological trend is orientate in the category of "national governance." It conforms to the historical dialectics and reached the perfect unification of principle and flexibility of Marxism. The free expression of human spiritual life is one mark of modernization. But the premise does exist in respecting the right of free expression of human spirit, that is, normal social basic order be undisturbed. In this way, Deng Xiaoping's judgments to the problem of social ideological trend based on the deep insight of Chinese society has a meaningful influence in history. Deng Xiaoping has an insight into society thoughts .The flexibility of Deng Xiaoping's judgments is treating wrong ideas differently with "leftism" to avoid making "leftism" mistake. The minor principle needs to obey the truth, but also needs not to be mistreated. (HUANG Li-zhi)

**The Exploration and Thoughts about Ideological and Political Education in the Early Stage of Overall Construction of Socialism :**Based on the study of the overall construction of socialism in the early stage, we propose that handling differences between two types of conflicts is an important prerequisite to mobilize all positive factors in the society, discuss the necessity of a decade of continuous ideological and political education within the scope of the Party and the people in firming confidence in socialist system, talk about the far-reaching impact of advanced examples and models to people's spirit, and further point out the fundamental and overall significance of ideological and political education system construction in political education practice and academic development. (ZU Jia-he)

**Modern Transition and Development of the Shame Culture in Chinese Tradition:**Shame culture is a culture of shame focus on wing mentality. In ancient China, "sense of shame," "shame" is a big end of statecraft. New-democratic revolution and socialist construction period, the Communist Party of China to shame culture of traditional Chinese excavations, sublimation, making it a red revolutionary culture, collectivism and patriotism culture of revolution and socialist construction of China has had a profound affected. With the changing times and the development of market economy, the traditional Chinese shame culture is gradually blurred and digestion. Inherit and carry forward the national spirit and the spirit of the times, traditional Chinese shame culture must implement the conversion of modernity and innovation development.(WU Zhi-yan)

**How Did Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping Treat "Left" Deviation and Right Deviation?:**Mao Zedong and Deng Xiaoping both had many words in treating the problem of "Left" deviation and "Right" Deviation: "Left" deviation and Right Deviation had different forms in different times; there had been "Left" deviation tradition and "Right" Deviation experience in the Party; we object to the deviation no matter what is "Left" or "Right"; the young people should be vigilant about "Right" and so on. At present, we should distinguish the "Left" deviation and left. And objecting to "Left" deviation shouldn't be an objection to any left. We should jump out the vicious cycle of "Left" deviation and Right deviation.(CHEN Ya-lian)

**On "Wading Across the Stream by Feeling the Way":**"Wading across the stream by feeling the way", this formulation, is a proposition that causes the biggest dispute since reform and opening-up. However, the influence of this formulation to reform and opening-up is so profound that no one can avoid it. If we want to get out of the plight, we must know the essence and history of "wading across the stream by feeling the way". Specifically, the thought of "wading across the stream by feeling the way" is "seeking truth from facts" and the practice view of Marxism. "Wading across the stream by feeling the way" is the practice of Mao Zedong Thought and the foot-stone of construction of the socialist theory with Chinese characteristics. (OUYANG Ying)