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TRANSLATIONS FROM HUNG CH'I (RED FLAG)

No 22, 1962

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THE LAW GOVERNING CLASS STRUGGLE MUST NOT

BE FORGOTTEN

Following is a translation of an article by Shih Tung-hsiang (2457 2639 0686) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 22, 16 November 1962, pages 12-22.

The law governing class struggle is a universal and basic historical law. Ever since it was scientifically elucidated by Marxist historical materialism, the proletariat and revolutionary people have obtained a powerful weapon for understanding society and its transformation. By means of this weapon they can see through the deceits and tricks of the reactionaries, and pierce through the complex phenomena of history and understand clearly the laws governing historical development and the true nature of historical incidents. By means of this weapon they can get to know their historical position and mission and see clearly that they are proceeding toward the bright road of liberation -- through class struggle and the proletarian dictatorship to step on the road of a classless Communist society.

The Marxist theory of class struggle being incom-

parably important to the liberation of the proletariat and revolutionary people, all counter-revolutionaries and anti-Marxists have fought very hard to oppose it. They have made hundreds and thousands of attempts to refute the theory, declared it to be "unfounded" and "out of date," and endeavored to obscure the class viewpoint among the masses, placing them on the road of "class cooperation" and "class reconciliation."

In refuting the theories of Bernstein and others against the class struggle and their fallacies concerning class cooperation, Marx and Engels solemnly declared: "On the basis of our entire past history there can only be one road ahead of us. During almost 40 years we consistently attached the greatest importance to class struggle, which we regarded as a direct dynamic force of history, and especially to the struggle between the capitalist and proletarian classes, which we regarded as a powerful pillar of modern social transformation. Therefore we decidedly cannot walk together with those who energetically seek to eliminate this class struggle from our movement." [See

Note] This manifest insistence on the part of Marx and Engels on the attitude of class struggle is the model for every revolutionary Marxist. We would go astray in our

revolutionary orientation, if we were to deviate from this attitude.

[Note]: Ma-k'e-ssu En-ke-ssu Wen-hsuan (Selections from Marx and Engels), Vol II, page 485.

### I

Marxists must employ the viewpoint of class struggle and the method of class analysis to observe social life and study social problems. Comrade Mao Tse-tung said: "Through class struggle some classes are victorious and others are eliminated. This is history, the history of several thousand years of civilization. The explanation of history from this viewpoint is known as historical materialism, and what is contrary to this viewpoint is historical idealism." [See Note] Only by the observation and analysis of problems from the standpoint and with the method of historical materialism can we understand the essence of the development of social history. Other viewpoints and methods can only lead people into confusion and decidedly cannot bring any useful results.

[Note]: "Discard Illusion and Prepare for Struggle," Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), People's Publishing Agency, 1960, Vol IV, page 491.

Owing to limitations of the times and classes, historians before Marx had not been able to understand the basic facts of class distinctions in society and apply the

method of class analysis to the understanding of social phenomena. All they could sense in the face of complex historical facts was surprise and misgiving. They could not discover the laws governing historical development nor merely manufacture unscientific and subjective standards to explain history. In general they sought to explain the phenomena of social history by means of people's motives in thinking. For example, why, it was asked, is there religion in society? The answer was that man has his religious "nature." Why is there war? Because man has the "instinct" for war. Why is there conflict and struggle between different groups of people? Because this group has one intention, and another group another. And there were other questions of a similar nature. It all demonstrates that this way of explaining history is the simplest of all, but this method leaves man's understanding of history in the midst of very superficial phenomena, cannot enable him to take a single step forward, but on the contrary place him in greater confusion than before.

It is a fact that society is composed of men and that their activities are controlled by varying thinking. But the mere grasp of this point is of no assistance at all to the understanding of the essence of society nor does it give a correct explanation of social history. The



Questions are why in different social periods men have different thinking and why in the same society some men have one sort of thinking and others have another and what is good to some is evil to others. "In social life the various kinds of men's thinking cannot have the same effect nor can all of them be realized. Why can the thinking of some in this period be realized and why cannot that of others? Why can certain thinking have a clear effect on historical development and why cannot other thinking? Why does history frequently give rise to circumstances under which men, by carrying out activities according to a certain form of thinking, bring results entirely different from those which were originally expected? To give a scientific explanation of all this, we must give the reply that it depends on what dynamic force lurks behind the motives of men's thinking and what sort of inevitability exists.

The class analysis of Marxism is the most profound method for analyzing social phenomena, because it exposes the material basis of all men's historical acts. Marxism reduces all individual activities to class activities determined by given relations of production under a given formula of production, and derives from the varied and complicated phenomena of society its essence and the laws governing it. All struggles in history, whether they arise in

[the political, religious, or philosophical sphere or in any other sphere of ideology are in practice direct or indirect manifestations of class struggle in society.

Said Lenin: "Marxism has pointed a basic line to us, so that we can discover a law from the perplexing and confusing conditions. This line is the theory of class struggle. Only by studying the sum-total of the ideas of all members of one or several societies can we make a scientific judgment on the results of the ideas. The reason why there are various contradictory ideas is because the living conditions of the various classes into which society is divided are different." [See Note]

[Note]: "Carl Marx," Lien-ning Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), People's Publishing Agency, Vol XXI, page 39.

Although the various idealist methods of analysis of society have met with their thorough bankruptcy since the birth of the scientific Marxist theory of class struggle, the mistaken viewpoints which have been discredited may still reappear once the basic conditions producing them still exist in society. Today the various idealist historical viewpoints which oppose class analysis have not yet run their course, and the various anti-Marxist tides are still incessantly and by varied means boosting them in opposition to the method of class analysis. In so doing—

[their aim is not at all the understanding of society but the creation of confusion in men's understanding of social phenomena, in order to help the reactionary forces prolong their existence.

In the observation of the various social problems facing us, modern revisionists frequently deny the existence of classes by using the argument of the "common human nature" and in general replace class struggle with "social progress." In analyzing the modern world, the Yugoslav revisionist "theoretician" says that "from its essence mankind is united, the only obstacles to the realization of its unity being the disunity of society and thinking and the lack of confidence between man and man." They basically brush aside the fact that society is divided into classes and that various conflicts and struggles are produced by them. They attribute the opposition of the various classes to "irrational" "prejudices." It is said that these "dogmatic class" prejudices "obstruct the cultural association of mankind," and that men should "in a progressive spirit resolve the contradiction between society and ideology." [See Note] These rebels against Marxism-Leninism are completely following in the footsteps of the modern capitalist class in toying with "human nature," "unity of society," "confidence between man and man," "ra-

"rationality," and "progressive spirit." With these empty words in total disregard of the existence of classes, these revisionists have banished class struggle as a "dogmatic prejudice."

[Note]: Lu-ti Su-p'ei-k'e, Eh-shih-shih-chi tsai Pien-hua ho I-shih-hsing-t'ai Fang-mien ti Pien-hua, (Changes in Culture and Ideology in the Twentieth Century).

One of the clearest manifestations of this fallacious idealist viewpoint of revisionism is in the "analysis" of the problem of modern warfare. In a Yugoslav textbook on "historical materialism" which is really on "historical idealism," it is said that war originates from the "possibility of winning more by means of war than by means of peace."

[See Note] It does not make any difference who wants to win anything and from whom. Then, is imperialism the cause of war? Not necessarily, because according to the revisionists, whoever can win more by war than by peace will start a war. Precisely on the basis of this logic the revisionists have declared that because of the very destructive nature of modern warfare and because the one who starts a war cannot win more by means of it, nobody wants to fight.

[Note]: I K'o-sang-no-wei-ch'i, Li-shih-wei-wu-chu-l, (Historical Materialism).

In his interview with the American correspondent, Pearson, Tito pretended to be a first-year primary school

boy and asked: "Why do people fight today? What are the problems that have caused them to fight? Why do people still want to kill one another in future...?" This rebel seemed to know nothing about the existence of imperialism and violent class struggle in the world. But the danger of war still exists. How is this to be explained? Tito said that "among wise people" "there is no reason at all to entertain the thinking about war" and that war is the result of the pressure brought by unintelligent "military circles" to bear on the various governments. From this reasoning it seems that the danger of modern war is traceable to the lack of intelligence on the part of the ruling circles of certain big Powers and that if they are made more intelligent, permanent peace will be brought about. Thus we are led back to the ancient fable that when the chief of chiefs of a certain big country had a wicked thought, the whole world was in danger of being destroyed; and that, on the contrary, if during a period of tension the chief of chiefs had some "intelligence," he could save mankind from the abyss of extinction. Under these circumstances how can the development of the international situation be subjected to any law? What could the people of the world do other than put their hands on their foreheads and wait and pray for the determination of their fate by those "intelligent" or

"unintelligent" chiefs? How could there be any struggle for peace?

The modern revisionists who have rebelled against the theories of Marxism-Leninism on historical materialism and class struggle have forgotten that history is from beginning to end the history of class struggle and that the fate of history is held in the hands of the people who are engaged in the struggle. Imperialism is the origin of modern war. The preservation of peace does not depend on the "intelligence" of certain powerful heads of state, but on the mobilization of the peoples of the world to carry on a continued and tireless struggle. The acute struggle in which the peoples of the whole world are now engaged against the imperialist reactionaries on the problem of peace or war is a manifestation of this class struggle. To depart from the Marxist method of class analysis and talk about the intelligence or unintelligence of chiefs of big Powers can only create confusion on the problem of peace or war and cannot open up the correct road to the preservation of peace.

## II

Owing to the different positions occupied by different classes in the struggle, their attitude toward the class struggle is different.

The exploiting class which is in the ruling position!

always tries to cover up the substance of the class struggle and becloud the oppressed and exploited class by means of the "super-class" theory. Despite the exploiting class's day-in and day-out struggle against the oppressed and exploited class, it does not permit the latter to engage in the same struggle against itself, the pretext being that such a struggle is abnormal and a misfortune of society. For example, the capitalist class recognized the class struggle when it was powerless and subjected to the limitations and oppression imposed by the forces of feudalism, and capitalist thinkers even regarded the class struggle against the forces of feudalism as a motive force for historical development. On the other hand, when the capitalist class won its victory against the forces of feudalism and gained its ruling position, it made a volte-face at once, covered up the fact of class struggle, and described the society under its rule as most normal and most rational and the class struggle damaging to the order of its rule as a destructive act. The more decadent and reactionary this class became, the more cruel were the measures taken by it to suppress the opposition of the oppressed and exploited class and everything possible was done to cover up the substance of the class struggle ideologically and "theoretically."

Under the capitalist system and in the acute struggle between the proletariat and the capitalist class, the petty capitalist class is frequently afraid of class struggle and regards it as cruel and unnecessary. This is because the petty capitalist class is a transitional class which is economically unstable and cannot constitute a strong independent force in the struggle. When a serious class struggle takes place, this class is frequently bewildered and shaken up and dreams of the rapid conclusion of the class struggle and class reconciliation. In the course of China's democratic revolution the broad masses of the petty capitalist class have been able to participate actively in the revolutionary struggle led by the proletariat, thanks to the oppression of imperialism, feudalism, and bureaucratic capitalism. But certain of them are easily susceptible to the influence of the capitalist class and display a vacillating attitude in the struggle. Especially when the struggle becomes acute, they frequently show the sentiment of fear causing them to wish to escape from the class struggle. When the stage of the Socialist revolution is reached, the petty capitalist class, under the strong leadership of the proletariat, can step on the road to Socialism, but certain of its elements, who tend toward spontaneous capitalism, may think of taking the road of capitalism whenever the



opportunity presents itself. When the proletariat and the capitalist class are engaged in a class struggle on the economic and political ideological fronts, those elements of the petty capitalist class who do not as yet have a firm determination to reform themselves frequently show the sentiment of fear causing them to wish to escape from the class struggle.

From the standpoint of the proletariat class struggle is an entirely normal phenomenon in a class society, in which only the class struggle of the revolutionary class can advance the motive power of social development. Every decaying social system and reactionary social class in history is overthrown by the revolutionary forces of the broad masses in a class struggle. Without class struggle a reactionary class cannot be brought down, the old system cannot become extinct, the new society cannot be born, and mankind cannot make progress. The proletariat is the most advanced and most revolutionary class. Its class interests and those of its social development coincide. It can lose nothing in the class struggle, but can only gain its liberation through a class struggle. So, those who are engaged in it have no misgivings or fear at all, but are full of confidence in their victory. The proletariat clearly recognizes that the class struggle objectively exists and does not change with the change of the human will. In other

words, it is inescapable. Even if the human will tries to escape from it, it is impossible. The only plausible course to adopt is to lead it to victory.

Class struggle has not been "manufactured" by Marxists (anti-Marxists frequently charge Marxists with this crime). It is unnecessary for Marxists to "manufacture" class struggle, because it already exists in a class society. The special quality of Marxism is that it does not try to avoid nor is it afraid of class struggle. It does not have the illusion of escaping from class struggle by reconciling or "extinguishing" it, but on the contrary it stands in the advanced position of the proletariat and accelerates the progress of society in accordance with the law governing class struggle.

Whenever a class struggle becomes acute, different attitudes are likely to be shown by different kinds of people. At present, when a violent international class struggle is going on, imperialists and the reactionaries of all countries are exceedingly afraid of the growth of the Socialist camp, the rise of the revolutionary struggle in colonies and semi-colonies, and the development of the peaceful, democratic, and Socialist activities of the peoples of all countries. They use their military strength to carry out their policies of reaction and aggression, oppose the various

[Socialist countries, and suppress the revolutionary movements of the oppressed nationalities and peoples. On the one hand they wield their nuclear weapon and attempt through nuclear blackmailing to frighten the peoples of the world from their class struggle; and on the other hand, they resort to all kinds of deceitful propaganda to benumb the people and attempt to convince them that the class struggle can be eased and extinguished or even that it has already been eased and extinguished. Modern revisionists are in the service of these attempts of imperialism. In obedience to the wishes of imperialists, they try to manipulate the extreme fear of the petty capitalist class for class struggle by spreading the propaganda on the dreadfulness of the struggle and the illusion about the reconcilability of the classes.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists say: "Deep knowledge has provided the means of experience and intelligence -- first of all the formula of persuasion for the possible solution of contradictions, and through this formula irreconcilable contradictions can be turned into reconcilable ones." [See Note] According to them, although the contradictions between the imperialist and Socialist camps are irreconcilable, they can become "reconcilable" if people are a little wiser. Also, the contradictions between the capitalist class and the proletariat, though originally

Irreconcilable, can become "reconcilable," if people get a little wiser. The same thing is true of contradictions between imperialists and colonialists on the one hand and the peoples of colonies or semi-colonies on the other. The object of the modern revisionists is to reconcile all irreconcilable contradictions and bring about what they call "economic unification" and "political unification" -- such as will end them up in the hands of imperialism and the capitalist class.

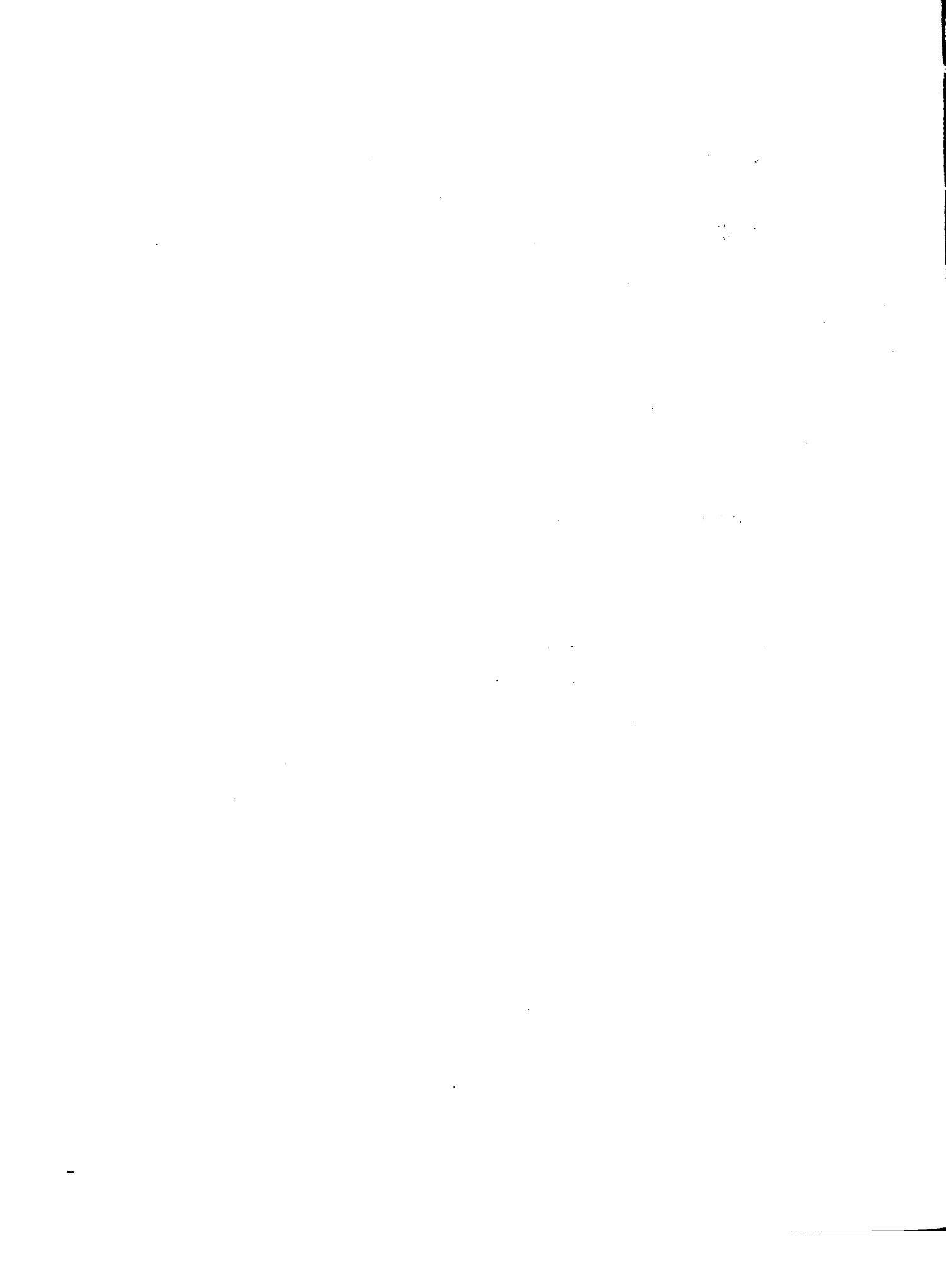
Note: Ao Man-ti-sh'i: P'u-t'ung-she-hui-hsueh Kai-lun (Principles of General Sociology), Chap IX.

The modern revisionists describe the just struggle of the oppressed nationalities and peoples as a misfortune of society and ask the proletariat and revolutionary people to abandon their class struggle for the sake of peace and happiness. If the people really acted in accordance with their thinking, it would indeed be a misfortune. For the hope for the victory of the peaceful Socialist work of the whole world rests on the resolute class struggle in which the proletariat and revolutionary people are engaged against imperialism and the reactionaries of all countries, and the abandonment of the class struggle would be tantamount to the abandonment of the bright future of all mankind and the permanent subjection of the proletariat and the peoples of the whole world

to the exploitation and enslavement of imperialism and the reactionaries. Despite the market that the deceitful propaganda of the revisionists still has among the petty capitalist class and aristocratic workers, the broad masses of the proletariat and revolutionary people cannot be fooled by it. For the peoples of the whole world are being educated by the facts of class struggle, and from this struggle they will find their true road of liberation.

### III

For several thousand years many people have had the illusion of establishing an ideal social system under which the entire mankind can lead a happy life. Such was the idea of the "commonwealth" in China and such was the thinking of the "utopia" abroad. However, the point in common in such thinking was the mere existence of a pious wish without any realistic basis. Although at the beginning of the 19th century men like St. Simon, Fourier, and Owen in Europe had the idea that capitalism would be replaced by Socialism, they could not link up Socialism and class struggle. They even entertained the illusion of persuading and enticing the capitalist class to help them organize what they imagined to be a Socialist society. Therefore their Socialism was merely illusory. As Lenin said, "away from class struggle Socialism is empty talk or juvenile illusion." [See Note]



Note: "The Socialism of the Petty Capitalist Class and the Socialism of the Proletariat," Lieh-ning Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), Vol IX, page 431.

The epoch-making revolutionary contribution of Marx and Engels in the history of Socialist thinking was their coordination of the class struggle of Socialism with that of the proletariat, thus pointing a concrete path for the realization of Socialism and developing Socialism from an illusion into a science. They proved that Socialism is not merely a pious wish but the inevitable result of the social development of mankind in accordance with an objective law. On the basis of this law governing social development Marxism has caused people to point out with conviction that the capitalist society is the last class society in history and the capitalist class the last exploiting class in history; that the splendid classless Communist society is brought about with the most thoroughly revolutionary social force of the proletariat in a capitalist society after the overthrow of the rule of the capitalist class through class struggle, after the establishment of the rule of the proletariat, viz., the proletarian dictatorship, and after the extinction of all classes during the transitional period of the proletarian dictatorship. This is an objective law which does not change with the change of the human will.

This is the sole realistic road leading to a Communist so-

Society.

Could a classless Communist society be established without a proletarian revolution and dictatorship? All revisionists have tried their utmost to suggest this road. Old revisionists such as Bernstein and Kautsky were of the view that Communism might be brought to pass through the capitalist parliamentary system and system of "democratic elections." At present the modern revisionists have been trying to sell this stale commodity in a modified form.

The Yugoslav modern revisionists say: "The democratic organs of the capitalist class can be utilized by the forces of Socialism to strengthen their own influence on the political power of the state and carry out and consolidate certain measures which can bring the relations of the social economy of capitalism near to Socialism, e. g., the realization of nationalization...etc." [See Note 1] "In these countries which have advanced democratic traditions and which have established strong democratic organs under their systems of state political power, each political victory scored by the working class in these organs can bring it face to face with problems of Socialist construction." [See Note 2] "The period of transition" to Communism "can start within the limits of capitalism." [See Note 3] It is very obvious that the object of all these observations is



to induce the working class to worship the democratic system of the capitalist class and cause it to sink deep in the illusion that Socialism can be established without a proletarian revolution, without the destruction of the capitalist state machine, and with reliance on the capitalist state system.

[Notes 1 and 3]: I K'o-sang-no-wei-ch'i, Op Cit.

[Note 2] Ai K'a-te-erh, Wo-kuo She-hui-chu-i Chien-she Wen-t'i (Problems of Socialist Construction in Our Country, Vol II).

Having deviated from Marxism-Leninism, modern revisionism can easily take the line of least resistance and go along with the rebels to the bitter end. The Yugoslav modern revisionists declare that the establishment of Socialism is basically not in need of the working class and that the work can be done by the capitalist class alone. They say: "Economic and social development has forced the ruling circles of capitalism to adopt measures and create organs in economic and social life which are similar to those adopted and created by Socialism in its transitional period." [See Note]

[Note]: Fu Pei-k'o-wei-ch'i: She-hui-chu-i shih i-ko Shih-chieh-hsing ti Kuo-ch'eng (Socialism is a World Process).

They also state fantastically that the great victory of Socialist thinking has induced the "entire mankind," in-

cluding those capitalists who have opposed Communism before, to recognize the splendor of Communism and be willing to take the road of Communism. "Today it is very difficult to find a stubbornly immutable capitalist thinker, who would arbitrarily say, as in the past, that the capitalist system is the best and the eternal one." [See Note 1] "It can be said that even the capitalist himself has violated his own intention and ideology and been attracted to the new social system." [See Note 2] Therefore, from their point of view, a country like India which is under the dictatorship of a large capitalist class and large landlords is "engaged in Socialist construction," and the state monopoly capitalism of imperialist countries has already given signs of "factors of Socialism." [See Note 3]

[Notes 1 and 3]: Pei-lo-wei-ch'i, Cheng-chih-ching-chi-nshueh (Political Economy).

[Note 2]: I K'o-sang-no-wei-ch'i, Op Cit.

In their view both the Labor and Conservative Parties of Britain have carried out Socialist policies, because the latter "has written into its own platform all results of Socialism attained when the Labor Party was in power." [See Note 1] Therefore they say that regardless of national and class lines, "mankind is through various paths irresistibly penetrating into the Socialist age." [See Note 2]

Note 1: Ao Man-ti-ch'i, Op Cit.

Note 2: Nan-ssu-la-fu Kung-ch'an-chu-i-che Lien-neng Kang-ling (Program of the Yugoslav Communist League).

All this is out-and-out deceit.

Here the substance of the problem is whether it can be recognized that capitalism can also establish Socialism and that Socialism can be established by reliance on the state system of the capitalist class.

Since a Communist society is a most splendid society, is it not possible to induce the capitalist class to aspire to it? The answer is negative. The principles of Communist society are "from each according to his ability and distribution according to need," and the principles of Socialism are "from each according to his need and distribution according to work." These principles are diametrically opposed to all systems of exploitation and cannot be accepted by the exploiting class. The realization of these principles is the elimination of all phenomena of receiving without working. By accepting these principles the exploiting class would abandon its exploitation and recognize its own extinction, so what is splendid to the proletariat and the working masses is not so to the capitalist class.

The capitalists truly have many mistaken ideas about

the Socialist and Communist society and they purposely disparage Socialism and Communism by means of many fallacies. It must not be supposed that they will be convinced when all the misunderstandings are clarified. In fact, the capitalist class clearly understands the attitude of Communism toward it and understands that the first premise of Communism is to overthrow the capitalist rule and deprive the capitalist class of its ownership of production materials. It is precisely for this reason that the capitalist class resolutely opposes Communism.

As stated by Comrade Mao Tse-tung, when he discussed the future adoption by the whole world of the truth of Communism, "The capitalist class does not welcome this truth, because it is unwilling to be overthrown. To be overthrown, ... from the point of view of the overthrown, is painful and unthinkable." [See Note] After the overthrow of the reactionary ruling class by the revolutionary people, the latter, on the one hand, compel it to reform itself through work and, on the other, must understand that it would never accept its defeat and would create disturbances whenever the opportunity presents itself. Under these circumstances, if the people slackened their vigilance and had the illusion that the capitalist class would automatically accept its defeat, they would be playing into its hands.

Note 7: "On the Democratic Dictatorship of the People," Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), Vol IV, pages 1473-1474.

So long as the capitalist rule has not been overthrown, the democratic system of any capitalist country cannot be free from the measures of capitalist rule. Basically it cannot tolerate the construction of Socialism by the proletariat, much less can the capitalist class itself be expected to take any Socialist measures. The modern revisionists talk glibly about "advanced democratic traditions" and "strong democratic organs," but they do not say a single word about the distinction between capitalist and proletarian democracy. Therefore their whole exposition, no matter how many times the word "Socialism" is affixed, is no different from that of professional defenders of capitalism employed by monopoly capitalists.

Is India constructing Socialism? In practice it is the dictatorship of the large capitalist and landlord class that it is building up. The Indians not only are incapable of carrying out such tasks of democratic revolution as land reform and opposition to foreign monopoly capital, but are increasingly falling under the influence of US imperialism. We see in India a large amount of capitalism and feudalism, and where can we find any Socialism? It is no longer anything new for the capitalist class to greet the masses

With the label of Socialism. Marxists must be able to detect the real class value of this "Socialist" promise. Said Lenin: "When people can not yet reveal the interests of these or those classes from any moral, religious, political, or social discussion, statement, or promise, politically they have or will always be the stupid victims of others' and their own deceit." [See Note]

[Note]: "The Three Origins and Three Component Parts of Marxism," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol XIX, page 8.

As to the statement that the state monopoly capitalism of imperialist countries has already shown signs of "factors of Socialism," it is also full of confusion and obscurity. This statement is intended deliberately to confuse the different class substance of state capitalism in countries of proletarian dictatorship and in imperialist countries. In the former the economic elements of state capitalism can exist in a given period. The capitalism of these countries has its Socialist factors. But as Lenin said, "The state capitalism of countries where political power belongs to capital and the state capitalism of proletarian countries are two different concepts. In capitalist countries state capitalism...is beneficial to the capitalist class and is opposed to the proletariat." [See Note] Only after the seizure of state political power from

[ the capitalist class by the proletariat can the state capit-  
italism of a capitalist country be transformed into Socialism.

Note: "Third Congress of the Communist International,"  
Complete Works of Lenin, Vol XXXII, page 477.

The only road to the realization of Socialism is through proletarian revolution and dictatorship, and the only class that can undertake the historic mission of leading this revolution is the proletariat. No other class can undertake this mission. The modern revisionists say that they regard as "sectarianism" the conception that only the proletariat can lead the Socialist revolution and construction. This is shameless fabrication. The leading position of the proletariat has been prepared by the whole historical development of capitalism and determined by the class status of the proletariat.

In its struggle for the construction of Socialism and Communism the proletariat must associate itself with all oppressed and exploited revolutionary peoples, enter into intimate alliances with them, and unite with all those who can and must be united. The ultimate aim of the proletariat's Socialist and Communist activities is the liberation of all mankind, and not the search for the selfish interests of one single class. There is no sectarianism involved here.

If we separated Socialism and the proletarian revolu-

tion and dictatorship, this sort of "Socialism" would become entirely innocuous and even beneficial to the capitalist class, and capitalists, including large capitalists, would be pleased to stand under the banner of this kind of "Socialism." But this "Socialism" would be totally meaningless to the proletariat and all oppressed and exploited peoples who demand their liberation.

The founders of Marxism associated Socialism with the proletarian revolution and dictatorship and enabled Socialism to develop from an illusion to a science. In his struggle against revisionism Lenin especially insisted on the dictatorship of the proletariat as a touchstone for Marxists and denied that this dictatorship is rebellion against Marxism. We cannot permit the modern revisionists to remove from Marxism-Leninism the viewpoint of class struggle and the principle of the proletarian dictatorship and turn Socialism into something with which the capitalist can deceive people.

#### IV

The proletarian dictatorship is a transitional stage, and its historic mission is to eliminate all classes through class struggle so as to enter into a classless Communist society, prior to which there must always be class struggle. Said Lenin: "The transition from capitalism to Communism is an integral historical period. So long as this period has



not concluded, the exploited inevitably harbor the hope for their restoration and convert this hope into action looking toward it." [See Note 17] He said further: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a stubborn struggle carried on by the proletariat against the forces and traditions of the old society, viz., a bloody and bloodless, forceful and peaceful, military and economic, educational and administrative struggle." [See Note 27] Therefore in the whole transitional period the proletarian dictatorship and class struggle must be insisted on.

[Note 17]: "The Proletarian Revolution and the Rebel Kautsky," Ibid, Vol XXVIII, page 235.

[Note 27]: "The Juvenile 'Leftist' Disease in the Communist Movement," Ibid, Vol XXVI, page 26.

In the transitional period the possibility of the restoration of capitalism also exists, and the total elimination of this possibility is a long-term struggle. This is because in the first place the lengthy rule of the capitalist class has bestowed on it the great potential for resistance after its overthrow. It has the support of all international reactionary forces, wide social contacts, a comparatively high culture and rich experience in class struggle, the political experience of ruling the people and operating the reactionary state machine, and many-sided influence in society.

Secondly, there still exist in society a portion (a large portion in some countries) of small producers, who, prior to their thorough transformation, always have a dual character to a certain extent. Some of these are liable to vacillate and spontaneously step on the road of capitalism whenever the opportunity presents itself. This is the last basis for the restoration of capitalism. To transform the small producers, it is first of all necessary to convert the individual economy into the collective Socialist economy and consolidate and develop this economy incessantly. This requires a long time, and even a longer time is needed to bring about the thorough transformation of the habitual forces of small producers that have been formed in history.

Thirdly, after the complete abolition of the private ownership of production materials there will exist for a long time the influence of the capitalist class in the political and ideological spheres, and there will still exist a long-term class struggle. Those who have the capitalist or petty capitalist ideology will always stubbornly express themselves on political and ideological problems by all means and resist -- even oppose -- the ideology of the proletariat. This struggle at times can even develop a high degree of violence.

Fourthly, when imperialism and other reactionary forces still exist internationally, these forces will always endeavor to carry on subversive and destructive activities by making use of all such conditions and opportunities as can possibly be made use of in Socialist countries. On the other hand, certain reactionary elements in those countries who are unwilling to become extinct will sell themselves to imperialism and become its running dogs.

The modern revisionists not only spread the propaganda that the proletariat can construct Socialism without seizing the political power, but say that countries in which the proletariat has already seized the political power do not have to establish the dictatorship of the proletariat. They ask us to abandon the basic viewpoint of Marxism regarding the proletarian dictatorship and ignore the class struggle in the period of this dictatorship. As especially stressed by Lenin when he carried on his struggle against the revisionists of the Second International, "opportunism does not recognize the existence of class struggle precisely with regard to the most important problems, viz., in the period of the transition from capitalism to Communism and in the period in which the capitalist class is being overthrown and thoroughly eliminated." [See Note]

[Note]: "The State and Revolution," Ibid. Vol XXV,

For example, certain revisionists regard the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship after the proletariat's seizure of political power as an extraordinary method consistent with the conditions of an undeveloped country. They say: "The victory of the October Socialist Revolution and the establishment of the Socialist system in the USSR...were brought about under the conditions of war in a country lacking democratic traditions and with a backward economic development and low culture among the broad masses of the people." This caused "the USSR to retain a strict form for its system of state control" and "to adopt an acute form of the dictatorship of the proletariat and system of state administrative control." [See Note] In their view the same thing is true of the Socialist Revolution in China.

[Note]: Fu Pei-k'o-wei-ch'i, Op Cit.

These revisionists confuse the people and deliberately refuse to regard the dictatorship of the proletariat as the suppression of the capitalist class and all the forces of reaction against Socialism. On the contrary they speak of it as a cruel means of compelling the working people to establish Socialism. This viewpoint is a wicked distortion of the proletarian dictatorship and is a reflection of the hatred of the overthrown and suppressed reactionary ruling

circles for the proletarian dictatorship. As a matter of fact the proletarian dictatorship is the fullest democracy practiced vis-a-vis the working people and a dictatorship against the exploiters. Said Lenin: "The dictatorship of the proletariat is a democratic system provided for the first time in the period of transition to Communism and enjoyed by the people, the great majority of the people, and at the same time the necessary suppression adopted against the minority, viz., the exploiters." [See Note]

[Note]: "The State and Revolution," Ibid, page 449.

Certain revisionists say that after the abolition of the system of private ownership of production materials the class struggle between capitalism and Socialism no longer exists, that there is no longer any danger of the restoration of capitalism, and that the functions of the dictatorship of the proletariat no longer have any validity. This is also a very harmful viewpoint. For the reasons stated above even when the Socialist Revolution is carried out in the economic realm, this does not mean its consummation in the political and ideological spheres or the total elimination of the possible restoration of capitalism in social economy. If we overlooked this point and abandoned the class struggle, the latter possibility would be in danger of becoming a reality.

The experience of the history of the Socialist Revolution proves that in countries in which the proletariat has seized the political power the danger of the restoration of capitalism exists in practice. The Hungarian Incident of a few years ago was a clear example of the attempt at restoration made by the forces of domestic capitalism in collusion with foreign imperialism. And in Yugoslavia the restoration of capitalism became a fact, which constitutes a serious lesson. When modern revisionists do their utmost to spread the propaganda that at the Socialist stage the class struggle has been extinguished, that the dictatorship of the proletariat is no longer necessary, and that the danger of the restoration of capitalism no longer exists, it is precisely then that they are in practice opening the road to the restoration of capitalism, because they are attempting to bring about the massive development of capitalism when the people are relaxing their vigilance in their class struggle.

The proletarian dictatorship is the last class struggle in history. The conclusion of this struggle will be the conclusion of class struggle in the history of mankind. Thenceforth a higher class of human society which has really shaken off its pre-historic conditions will rapidly press forward in the struggle between such contradictions as renovation and conservatism, advancement and backwardness,

the positive and the negative. An old Chinese saying is to the effect that "those who walk 100 miles have done only half when they have finished 90." This is because the last ten miles are the most difficult and have a greater significance so far as the final destination is concerned. The same thing can be said of the Communist activities of the proletariat. If we can see only the class struggles in our several thousand years of history and cannot see the class struggle in the transitional period, and if we have carried on the class struggle hundreds of times and fail to fight to the finish when the victory of Communism is approaching, then we shall be in danger of rendering all our bygone effort fruitless. All Communists must persist in their class struggle until the thorough elimination of capitalism and the realization of Communism.

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Today in the international sphere the US imperialists are redoubling their effort to implement their plan of aggression and war aiming at the hegemony of the world, the reactionaries of all countries are openly serving their interests, and the modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique are even more sordidly rebelling against Communism and meeting the requirements of imperialism. Domestically the reactionary ruling class which has been de-

posed always tries to win its restoration, the influence of the capitalist class and the habitual forces of the old society still exist, and the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of a portion of the small producers still hold sway. Exactly as pointed out by the Tenth Plenary Session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Party, "under these circumstances the class struggle is unavoidable. This is an historical law elucidated long ago by Marxism-Leninism, a law which we must not by any means forget.

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REVISIONIST THINKING OF CLASS RECONCILIATION  
SEEN FROM THE STANDPOINT OF LITERARY ART

Following is a translation of an article by  
Li Shu-chih (7812 1659 0037) in the Chinese-  
language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag),  
Peiping, No 22, 16 November 1962, pages 22-27.7

In certain plants of the US and other capitalist countries the capitalist class is taking measures of so-called "benevolent relationships" to benumb the class consciousness of the masses of workers. It is adopting various cunning means of covering up the class distinction between the capitalist and the worker, in order to "influence the worker's psychology and feeling," create among his ranks the so-called "healthy psychological atmosphere" for which they have asked, and cause them to regard the relationships of opposition between the two classes as "benevolent relationships." In the opinion of the capitalist class, so long as the heads of workers are filled with the conception of such "benevolent relationships," the class distinction, contradictions, and struggle between the worker and the capitalist, which it is said "appertain to psychology and feeling," can

be "eliminated."

This is a form of psychological warfare by the international capitalist class against the working class. In carrying on their political and economic attack on the masses of workers the monopoly capitalists can never forget the ideological front. Evidently the working class should also not forget this front.

In the realm of literary art the modern revisionists are carrying out activities similar to that of covering up and obscuring the class distinction, i. e., removing the barriers between revolutionary characters and their opposites, reactionary characters, in Socialist literary art and erecting between them "benevolent relationships."

In the revisionists' discussions on literary art there is the so-called "principle of portraying people through spontaneous human nature," which is at the service of this work. This "principle" advocates the portrayal of the "weaknesses of human nature" in the heroes

in Socialist literary art or inhibits the portrayal of heroes who have not been "worm-eaten." It advocates the portrayal of "good points of human nature" in villains or "the humanitarian description of those who are not humanitarian."

Under the control of this "principle" a certain

production describes a woman Communist as capable of suddenly discovering in a fascist military officer "man's fascination," witnessing the rise from her own heart of the "natural power of human nature," and under the pressure of this "natural power" falling in love with him and presenting a touching tragi-comedy. Other works, in describing reactionary elements and bad characters, can also present in them "man's fascination," "poetic clouds," and "the process of the growth of human nature." In these productions the "weaknesses of human nature" in heroes gets across to villains, and the "good points of human nature" in villains get across to heroes. The distinctions between them are wiped out, and "benevolent relationships" are established between them. The characters in these works are thus neither heroes nor villains, but are both heroes and villains of a splendid kind.

Modern revisionists regard as "human" these productions which in practice do not distinguish friend and foe. They are said to be excellent works which can stimulate the souls of "all the people." Thus the modern revisionists seek to entice more authors to eliminate the boundaries between heroes and villains in Socialist literary productions.

The affirmative and opposite characters in literary productions are the reflection of class distinctions and struggles in real life and the struggle between the advanced and backward. In real life there are the advanced revolutionary class and advanced revolutionaries and the backward reactionary class and backward reactionaries. Therefore revolutionary productions cannot but reflect these objective facts. The forms of affirmative and opposite characters in literary works represent the attitudes, viewpoints, thoughts, and feelings of the authors, and by describing the forms of their characters authors indicate what they endorse and what they oppose, what they sing of and what they expose. Revolutionary authors cannot help giving their likes and dislikes and what they endorse and what they oppose in real life. Therefore they cannot help clearly describing their heroes and villains in their works.

To obliterate the distinctions between affirmative and opposite characters, it is necessary to prove the following: (1) There are no affirmative and opposite characters in real life. (2) Revolutionary authors should not have definite views on right and wrong, likes and dislikes, viz., definite attitudes toward social life and all kinds of people. The views of the modern revisionists on literary art are precisely based on these points. To prove these points!

which basically hold no water, they can only seek their weapons from the stale thinking of the capitalist class and make a large number of muddled statements in total contravention of Marxism-Leninism.

The modern revisionists say that people in real life have innumerable colors, and only "dogmatists" say that there are only seven colors in "man's spectrum." They also state that since people are so complicated and have a mixture of good and bad points, which are difficult to clarify, authors should only portray their complexity and not their class character and merits and shortcomings.

Of course, according to their complexions and individualities, people really have many "colors." However, the difference between the viewpoint of Marxism-Leninism and the vulgar social viewpoint lies in the ability of the former to indicate people's class essence and distinctions found in the very complex phenomena of society. Marx said: "All acts of capitalists are functions of capital." Whether in their complexions, individual characteristics, or habits of life, capitalists may have complicated distinctions; but whatever their differences, when they exercise their functions of capital, they are still capitalists. In real life it is truly difficult to see at one glance the essence of social classes. People of different classes have

their mutual influence, there may be differences between people's expressions and essences, and in their production and class struggles there may be different developments and changes. All these have to be taken into account and concretely analyzed by men of letters. However, precisely because of the necessity for clearly ascertaining these complicated conditions, men of letters must have the class viewpoint, adopt the method of class analysis, and look at the main currents and essences. Otherwise they would be confused and commit mistakes in the maelstrom of complicated conditions.

Lenin said that if professional differences and class differences, differences in modes of life and differences of the various classes in the entire social system of production, are confused, this would tend in practice toward the obliteration of classes and elimination of the class struggle. In effect the modern revisionists purposely utilize the complicated conditions of people and reiterate the stale and outmoded statements that "the class distinction is the floating surface" and that "the basic differences between man and man are the spirit," to confuse authors, especially young authors who lack the experience of class struggle, and tempt them to deviate from the class viewpoint and that of class struggle.

In portraying their characters, authors should pay attention to the complexity of their personalities and try their best to describe them richly and vividly without simplification. So, authors should carefully observe the behaviors and individual characteristics of people, including their voices, expressions, and laughter, in real life. However, if attention is solely focused on details and the social essence of people is not firmly grasped, if there is no analysis of the complex class relationships and no representation of types of class psychology and complexions, forms of characters with historical depth cannot be created and even mistakes may arise -- mistakes with regard to the people portrayed and their characterization. The reason why certain works boosted by modern revisionists can describe class enemies as gentle and amiable "lovers" of revolutionaries is because they have brushed aside the social personality and class essence of our class enemies.

Revolutionary men of letters can only, as demanded by Engels, make an effort to ascertain the social essence of people from their social environment and individual characteristics and portray them as typical and with clear personalities. Revolutionary men of letters should decidedly not, as demanded by modern revisionists, brush aside the class essence of people, mix up good and bad, benign and

evil characters, turning them into strange, confused, and inexplicable personalities.

Modern revisionists say: "After all man is man, whatever class he belongs to." They have given a definition of "man's inherent nature," stating that "like any other living thing, man strives hard to satisfy his own requirements and seek happiness." In their view, "all men," especially in the face of the "strange shadow of the mushroom-like cloud" and the "ghost of nuclear destruction," have nothing left but their "man's inherent nature" as a result of the loss of their class character arising out of their attempt to escape destruction. In other words oppressed and exploited people no longer carry on class struggle to seek liberation, but only ask for "reasonable cooperation," embrace one another, and endeavor to save their skins. So, modern revisionists ask authors to adopt the practice quickly of portraying, in accordance with the "principle of portraying people through spontaneous human nature," the "reasonable cooperation" of "all men," "the universal love of all men," and how "all men" satisfy their requirements and seek their happiness.

But unfortunately modern revisionists, in the face of the "strange shadow of the mushroom-like cloud," have been extremely frightened and lost their class sense of life



preservation, there being nothing like "reasonable cooperation." If under the threat the "strange shadow of the mushroom cloud" exploiters stopped their exploitation and oppressors their oppression, so that the exploited and oppressed would no longer have to carry on their struggle against exploitation and oppression, then the "strange shadow of the mushroom-like cloud" would become the instrument for bringing about the world commonwealth.

Of course this is not the case in fact. On the one hand people like Kennedy are doing their best to manufacture the terror of the "mushroom-like cloud" and blackmailing the revolutionary people. On the other the exploited and oppressed people are all tensely engaged in their struggle to eliminate the "strange shadow of the mushroom-like shadow" and the reactionary forces that threaten the people with the "strange shadow." Under the menace of this "strange shadow" the peoples of the world are clearly divided into two camps. Are these not the plain facts?

So far as the pursuit of happiness is concerned, people cannot help discovering from real life that there are two kinds of happiness. First, people who worship the dollar enjoy the happiness of parasitic life and build their happiness on the basis of "causing others to suffer."

Secondly, there are those who, being loyal to the principle

[of overthrowing the system of exploitation and struggling for the realization of the lofty thinking of Communism, build their happiness on the basis of "causing others to share the happiness." People of different classes entertain different views on happiness and seek it by different means. Are these not the plain facts also?

Modern revisionists brag that they "respect man" and "boost the value of man," but in fact they have devalued man to the state of mere biological man, with nothing but primitive fear and with nothing but the urge to eat and drink when hungry and thirsty. On this point modern revisionists are at one with the capitalist class which preaches various class viewpoints against Marxism-Leninism. They have removed from man his social nature and regard him merely as a biological man. Of course, under these circumstances man's class character is completely swept aside.

The cleavage between affirmative and opposite characters in literary productions, like the class distinction and struggle in real life, cannot be eliminated by the "definition" of "man's inherent nature" laid down by the idealism of the capitalist class. Modern revisionists, who advocate the "theory of human nature" and "class reconciliation," can only follow behind the anthropocentrists, "true Socialists," and humanitarians, who have long been

criticized by Marx and Engels, and shout such empty talks as "Unify all men with love" and "Love one another and kiss one another."

Said Lu Hsun (7627 6598): "Men who are born in a class society but want to be super-class authors, who are born in a fighting era and want to be independent of the fight, who are born now but want to write for the future -- these men are psychological shadows, not found in the realistic world. To be such men is exactly like pulling one's own hair and trying to leave this earth. They cannot leave and are worried..." Modern revisionists are exactly such men.

To prove that revolutionary authors should not have a definite attitude and viewpoint on social life, modern revisionists sing in various tunes that authors should not be cool and unconcerned toward "men" and "cruelly" doubt "men," but should treat "all men" and trust "each man" with tenderness. They also say that only thus can authors vivify their characters.

It is all very well to vivify characters. But to do so, it requires many conditions, such as experience of living, level of understanding, the capacity for artistic expression, degree of familiarity with the characters, etc. Only tenderness cannot solve any problem. As to tenderness toward "all men" which they call for, it is in practice im-

[possible. Lenin said aptly that no living man can help standing with this or that class, being happy about the victory of this or that class, sorry for its defeat, and feeling angry about men who antagonize this class and who impede its development by spreading backward viewpoints and other men. To ask the impossible of an author is practically wanting him to fabricate characters in accordance with the formula of the "theory of human nature" and paint on various characters the color of humanitarianism, so that they all can live and act according to the "theory of human nature" and the forms of characters will ultimately become mere illustrations of the "theory of human nature." It is said that the literary portrayal of "universal human nature" can develop the special attribute of literary art in making "all men" familiar to one another and share their weal and woe, in order to bring about the conformity of "all mankind." It is very evident that modern revisionists call for literary art based on the "theory of human nature" only because they want it to render the service of advocating class reconciliation and class cooperation.

The feelings of authors are also definitely a condition for the portrayal of characters. For example, if an author is a true lover of revolution and a true hater of reaction, his enthusiasm overflows when writing about a

revolutionary and he is filled with righteous indignation when writing about a reactionary, and coupled with other conditions, he can thus vivify his description of characters. On the contrary, if the author does not love the revolutionary very dearly or hate the reactionary very bitterly, other things being equal, this point alone will seriously affect the vivid description of his characters. After all Lenin was right in saying that to talk about something harmful without feeling angry and to talk about something lovely without feeling enthusiastic would be dry and uninteresting.

It can thus be seen that so far as the feelings of authors alone are concerned, the vivid portrayal of characters depends, not on indiscriminate tenderness toward "all men," but on a clear class viewpoint and the distinction between love and hatred. The prescription of modern revisionists for the vivid portrayal of characters is empty talk for deceiving people. They attempt, by means of their own tiring and fear of class struggle, to seduce revolutionary authors to the crossroads of class reconciliation and convert them into "strange" beings without a definite attitude, without the sense of right or wrong, without the ability to distinguish the good from the evil, and with the indiscriminate love and appreciation of all men. Thus they expect to eliminate the revolutionary attitude and viewpoint of revolu-

vicious men of letters, so that they will not praise the advanced and revolutionary heroes and expose and criticize the backward and reactionary villains.

What they praise and expose concerns the basic attitudes of authors. In literary art the attitudes, world conceptions, likes and dislikes of authors, and the thoughts they wish to express are represented by the heroes and villains created by them. If we want authors to refrain from the praise and censure of their characters, we only imply that they should abandon their class character. Engels long ago called on proletarian authors to praise the "obstinate, overwhelming proletarian of the peaceful revolution." He also made the critical comment that after the proletarian class had awakened and commenced its struggle, working people should no longer be portrayed as the passive masses. Lenin also made this strong appeal: "Down with the nonpartisan literary man! Down with the literary man transcending over men!" Similarly Comrade Mao Tse-tung told us that if we were capitalist men of letters, we should not praise the proletariat but should praise the capitalist class and that if we are proletarian men of letters, we should not praise the capitalist class but should praise the proletariat. Revolutionary authors must praise the revolutionary struggle

of all the masses of the people, expose all forces of darkness preying on the masses of the people, and disclose the cruelty and deceit of the people's enemy and his inevitable defeat. What revolutionary writers should expose are only aggressors, exploiters, oppressors, and the evil influences left by them among the people, and never the masses of the people. There should be criticism of the people's defects, but this must be done really on the basis of the people's standpoint and in language filled with enthusiasm for the protection and education of the people, without any intention to ridicule or even antagonize them.

If we treated our comrades like enemies, we would assume the position of our enemies ourselves. The facts prove that in the domain of revolutionary literature, once a production glorifying the enemy and caricaturing the people emerges, it receives the acclaim of imperialism and its running dogs. True revolutionary writers should never permit their productions to agonize the friend and gratify the foe. This is a well-established principle which should always be remembered.

The history of the development of literary art also tells us that the advanced class writers of every age put their own thinking into their literary works and on the basis of real life, create their own

heroic characters, to set examples for the living and ideals of people. At the same time, out of their own anger and hatred they create villains, to be whipped, ridiculed, and criticized, and to serve as a warning for people. The cleavage between such heroes and villains and their arrangements reflect the class character of the works involved. If the positions of the said characters were reversed, the class character of the productions would immediately undergo a change.

For example, in the history of Chinese literature there was a novel with the title of Shui-hu (Within the Four Seas All Men are Brethren), which praises its heroes, namely, the heroes of Liang-shan, and which lashes out at its villains, namely, the corrupt officials, landlords, tyrannous rowdies, and feudal emperors and kings. This is a revolutionary production. Opposed to it is Tang-k'ou Chih (Chronicles of Rebel Destruction), which presents landlords, tyrannous rowdies, and feudal emperors and kings as heroes and the heroes of Liang-shan as villains. This is a reactionary work. The difference between heroes and villains in these two novels has determined the different class character of the two works.

The heroes of proletarian literature,



[especially heroic characters, are invariably the advanced elements among the proletariat and revolutionary people and can represent proletarians with the revolutionary ideal. In proletarian literature the enemies of the revolutionary people can only assume the status of villains. In contradistinction to proletarian literature, the heroes in the modern reactionary literature of the capital class are always reactionary elements, blood-sucking devils, rascals, swindlers, murderers, the crazy lewd, the degenerate, and the dispirited. These characters are "heroes" in the eyes of the reactionary capitalist class which is proceeding toward extinction. On the other hand in such literature the revolutionary people are always presented as villains. The two kinds of literature are uncompromising with regard to the position of their characters. This shows how serious this problem is.

Modern revisionists say that they stand with the proletariat but that they wish to change the respective opposites of praise and criticism in proletarian literature and portray the forms of heroes and revolutionaries in such a way that they can place themselves in the embrace of their enemy and describe the forms of reactionary elements and bad characters in such a way that they appear both "beautiful" and "benign." They also vociferously declare that

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heroes who have not yet been "worm-eaten" should not be presented and hope that all proletarian heroic characters are full of signs of worm-eating. It is evident that in painting white noses on the faces of revolutionaries and giving reactionaries good-looking make-up, modern revisionist literature, on the one hand, reflects the rebellious attitude of modern revisionism in practical political life and, on the other, exposes its attempt to convert Socialist into capitalist literature and proletarian into capitalist men of letters and, through the literary works manufactured by it, to spread poison, propagandize the thinking of class reconciliation, confuse the revolutionary awareness of the masses of the people, and muddle the boundaries between friend and foe and between classes.

The eyes of the masses of the people are bright as snow. Those of proletarian and revolutionary writers are also bright as snow. The evil attempt of modern revisionists is doomed to utter failure.

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## THE FARMER

Following is a translation of an article by Chang Ch'ing-t'ien (1728 1937 3944) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-oh'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 22, 16 November 1962; pages 27-32.

In this village whenever the name of Wang Lao-erh (3769 5071 0059) is mentioned, everyone says that he is a real farmer. Wang is a native of Sha-ho-pei. In the year of the flood he shouldered a set of firewood baskets and moved to settle down in this cotton-producing country. He had two sons and two daughters. The eldest son was a militiaman and was sacrificed in a tunnel in the war with the Japanese devils. The second son joined the Liberation Army and during the Shih-chia-chuang campaign was killed outside the trench. The two daughters were both locally married, the elder to a production team captain in Tung-wang-chuang, with a boy by the name of Man-tun (3341 0937), and the younger to a Party Branch Secretary in Hsi-wang-chuang, with a girl by the name of Hsiu-hua (4423 5363). Man-tun is one year older than Hsiu-hua, and both go to the

junior middle school of the Nan-wang-chuang Commune. They sat their breakfasts and dinners at their grandfather's.

The grandfather regards the two youngsters as pearls in his eyes, frequently saying to them: "Study hard. When farmers learn to read, they are like tigers with wings added to them." Man-tun likes to hear this, but Hsiu-hua disagrees. Once they were again talking about this, when Hsiu-hua shook her pigtail and said with an expression of bore: "Grandpa, whenever you open your mouth you talk about your farming. You have been in it all your life, and your back has been bent by the work. Isn't it enough?" The old man replied: "Farming is the best of 72 professions. The tallest skyscraper starts from the ground floor, and for the construction of the mansion of Socialism the first thing to have is an abundance of grain. Could you do construction work with an empty stomach? We have been farmers for generations, and does a little maid like you look down on farmers?" Blushing, Hsiu-hua rejoined: "Who looks down on farmers? It's just a matter of opinion." Said Man-tun: "People think of going up to the sky!" Hsiu-hua immediately continued: "Do you wish to go down into the ground?" "What is this all about going up to the sky and down into the ground?" inquired Grandpa, perplexed. "Others think of flying airplanes, shooting rockets, and traveling to Mars, thus be-

"coming scientists!" said Man-tun derisively. "What about you?" said Hsiu-hua immediately without showing any weakness. "You dig your food from the good earth and dream of becoming an agricultural scientist at once!" Grandpa took over and said: "You go up to the sky and let him go down into the ground. Go your own way, both of you." Making a face, Hsiu-hua said: "You just know how to defend him!"

The two youngsters have their own ideas. If we say that Wang Lao-erh is fond of Hsiu-hua, we would be more correct in saying that he likes Man-tun better than her. Hsiu-hua is like a bee, flying among flowers and buzzing around one's eyes. Man-tun is like an ant, always busy, making no noise, and attracting no attention. Hsiu-hua is fond of singing, dancing, and day-dreaming, and is very fickle. Grandpa says that she lives in the clouds, now blowing, now raining. Man-tun loves work and studies hard and thoroughly. Grandpa says that he is a hard-working boy.

The old man's two daughters have different ideas about their children. The elder daughter loves Hsiu-hua dearly, saying that she is clever, ambitious, and promising. The second daughter is fond of Man-tun, saying that the boy is honest, intelligent, and substantial. The sisters have both decided on the wedlock of the two, although they never say a word about it. Wang Lao-erh fully intends to bring

about the match. He has not said anything, because the children are still young and their intentions are unknown.

In 1960 Man-tun and Hsiu-hua graduated from their school. Man-tun had his head close-shaved and went to the commune farm, where he found his grandfather and said to him: "Grandpa, I have decided to take up farming. Please accept me as an apprentice!" Without waiting for a reply, he grasped the shovel and started work. As to Hsiu-hua, after thinking it over and over again, she took the entrance examination of the Agricultural Technical School inside the walls of the hsien and was admitted. When Hsiu-hua received notice from the school that she had been admitted, she flew to the farm and looked for Man-tun. The latter was plowing with a head of cattle, his bare head covered with perspiration like oil and both his legs and feet full of mud. She was taken aback when she saw him hard at work, shouting: "Man-tun! Man-tun!..." Man-tun turned his head and said: "So you are home!" Panting with the notice from the school, she replied: "You see, I have been admitted. Tomorrow there will be a second entrance examination for new students. Make your preparations quickly and go for the exam!" "Have not I told you? I am going to go on with my work here. We each go our own way anyhow." Said Hsiu-hua: "You aren't interested in becoming an agricultural expert? Such a good

chance. If you don't go..." Said Man-tun: "Go away! I am interested in becoming an orthodox farmer." Twisting her mouth, Hsiu-hua said: "To touch cattle tails all your life. What a hard-hearted man!" "What's wrong with that?" replied Man-tun. "Touching cattle tails is not easy! You see, the land I have plowed is like a dragon procession, it's impossible to make it straight." Hsiu-hua stamped her feet and said: "Ah, we want to drive iron cattle and install electric wells, and you want to stick to your cattle tails!" Man-tun sat down on the ground and said slowly: "When you go up a stairway, you ascend one rung after another. How could you climb up to the sky with one single step?" "I have changed my mind about my profession just because of you. But you..." grumbled Hsiu-hua. So saying, she went home. Though Man-tun tried to call her back, she did not budge.

Man-tun turned his head and found his grandfather looking at him from behind. Blushing, he said: "She does not understand me." Tapping him on the shoulder, Grandpa said: "And you, you understand her?" Man-tun shook his head, but suddenly burst forth: "Grandpa, you see...When I plow the ground, I can't make it straight!" "When your heart is straight, then the ground will be straight."

Grabbing the handle of the plow, Grandpa said jokingly:



"When you plow, you have to look at the cattle's horns, and when you drive a carriage, you have to look at the tracks of its wheels. It's not enough to look downward!" He made a noise to the cattle, which gasped and proceeded slowly, leaving a level and straight strip of land. After weighing his grandfather's words, Man-tun tried to remember the lesson thus taught him.

Next day Man-tun accompanied Hsiu-hua to her school with her baggage on his shoulders. On the way she was like a breeze, running briskly ahead, without saying a single word. After reaching the school and everything was arranged for her, she felt sorry to leave him and said: "I will keep you company part of the way home." "Very well," replied Man-tun. So, the two of them went out of the hsien walls, and after leaving Hu-ch'eng-ho, Hsiu-hua twisted her mouth and said: "Let's go this way." Man-tun followed her along the brook. The water was clear and reflected the two figures. Walking under a big willow tree, Hsiu-hua said: "Let's rest a little here. What's the fun of walking all the time?" Hsiu-hua stood along with Man-tun and looked at the blue sky, saying: "In your view, in the future..." Looking at the flat ground, Man-tun continued: "In my view, now..." "How tough! I can't even finish a sentence with you without a parting of the ways!" "Then let's not

"go on talking," Man-tun thought. However, Hsiu-hua turned her head and asked: "Do you still remember what Grandpa said to us several years ago?" "Of course I do," replied Man-tun; "He said that for the construction of the mansion of Socialism the first thing to have is an abundance of grain..." Said Hsiu-hua, "Then it is necessary to have mechanization and electrification..." Man-tun said: "It would be impossible to wait for tractors with our arms folded!" Hsiu-hua stamped her feet and said: "Why can't you be a little less sharp when I am discussing a problem with you?" Man-tun replied smilingly, "What I speak is the truth. What we eat is produced with the farmer's common labor, so is what we wear. To have mechanization..." Without waiting for him to finish, Hsiu-hua swung her pigtail and left. She ran up to the trench of the dyke and disappeared into the rainbow of the sunset. Man-tun stood still, looking toward her familiar shadow and regretfully pondering: "Is it I who do not understand her, or is it she...?"

When Man-tun got back home, Grandpa had already set the table for dinner and was sitting on a stool, weaving a wicker basket. Man-tun sat beside him and said slowly, "Grandpa, tell me how a man can have a future." Raising his head, Grandpa inquired, "What? Did Hsiu-hua say that you didn't have a future?" "No, Sir," Man-tun replied,

I am just wondering if mere aspiration can bestow a future and if honest work cannot give one a future." "Aspiring without working is blind aspiration," replied Grandpa, "and seeing without working is seeing in vain. There is a Chinese proverb to the effect that you can do what you can think of and see far ahead if you stand high enough. Haven't you heard that captain say to his men while training them: 'As the objective is ahead, let's march forward'? Go and eat, and after dinner we shall have a chat."

This talk amused Man-tun very much. He thought that Grandpa is the only one that can understand his inner thought. The teacher said: "A thousand-mile trip begins with the first step." He was convinced that as soon as the objective is set he could gradually advance. After dinner Grandpa handed the newly woven manure basket to Man-tun and said: "Farmer, the first thing is to carry the big manure basket on your shoulder. If you really want to become a farmer, accept this as my legacy."

Taking over the basket, Man-tun could not help feeling extremely happy. He had heard from his aunt that Grandpa had started out with just a manure basket. Since he settled down in this village, he has traveled around with the basket on his shoulder. In winter he puts on a tattered cloth gown, with a strip of blue cloth on his hips. In summer he wears

an old waistcoat and a pair of thin pants. He goes from the Ts'ang-shih Highway to the station and from the latter to Nan-wang-chuang, and all along the highway are his manure piles. One year when his eldest son was burned to death in a tunnel by Japanese devils, he shouldered his manure basket and stood still for a long time before the body. Then he picked manure with all his might and piled it up in front of his son's tomb, from which he took it all home. This went on for three consecutive days, and it was like awakening from a dream. He held the hand of the second son and went to the head of the village, saying: "Let him go. Let him avenge his brother!" He personally led his son's horse and saw him off.

When the news of the son's death in the Shih-chia-chuang campaign got around, everyone was shocked, but the old man repressed his grief and shouldering his basket, went along the Ts'ang-shih Highway straight to Shih-chia-chuang, intending to see the spot where his son was sacrificed. Upon his return, he showed no more sadness and told everyone: "It was worth while. He faced the machine gun of the Japanese dogs with his breast!"

After the land reform, he was allotted some land and housing. He worked harder. His old padded gown was changed into a new fur-coat, and his old tattered waistcoat was

replaced by a new gown, but he still kept on picking manure. Some say: "Getting on in your age. It's time you had some rest." But the old man dissented by saying: "Impossible! If I rested, my frame would fall apart." Others din into his ear. "A man like you doesn't have to worry about his food. How could the public leave you unfed?" He shrugged his shoulders and said: "If everybody became a public charge, what could be done? What are hands for if you don't work?"

Since communalization, he has been seen around with the basket on his shoulder every day. Whenever he catches someone planting, he takes a look at the condition of the land. When someone is cutting grain, he sees that nothing is wasted. In the village an advisory body consisting of old farmers has been organized, and he is made a member. When the hsien calls a forum on farming, he is invited to participate in the discussions. The commune has established an experimental farm and he is asked to give technical guidance. Ordinarily, no matter how bad the weather, he is consulted by many people. The Party Branch Secretary tells Man-tun frequently that any treasure at home would not compare with an old man, i. e., with the experience of Wang Lao-erh. Man-tun wonders why Hsiu-hua can only see his bent back. The boy is determined to become an accomplished farmer like his grandfather. But in addition he wants to be a new

farmer.

It was already a fortnight since Hsiu-hua had gone to school. Man-tun could never forget her and he wanted to write her a letter to explain everything. But he is not like Hsiu-hua, always talking about her plans but being so fickle. He keeps his ambition to himself, and like a seed, the more carefully it is buried, the earlier it starts budding. He hopes for early blossoming and fruition.

One day he suddenly received a letter from her. With a throbbing heart he opened it and found it to contain two pages of close writing. She made a detailed description of conditions in her school. It could be seen that she had fallen deeply in love with that school and wanted to induce him to reconsider the question of entering it. In the letter she wrote with great excitement:

...We were together in senior primary and we were classmates in junior middle school...I don't blame you, and I don't believe you don't like to study... Come along. Although school has been open for a fortnight, they are still talking about another entrance examination.

In addition, let me tell you one of <sup>the</sup> best pieces of news. Tomorrow morning our school expects an expert with practical experience, whom they have asked to lecture on cotton cultivation. Be sure to come and listen in! I'll provide the seat for you. Our school welcomes visitors from other schools who are interested...

"Shall I tell Grandpa?" For the whole night Man-tun

lay awake. This letter was like a stone thrown into his life, causing some disturbance in his thinking, which had just been calmed down somewhat. Next day, after breakfast, he tried to get a leave of absence from Grandpa, saying: "Grandpa, I am thinking of going into town." With a smile Grandpa replied: "How now? What a coincidence! Let's go. I'm going too." Shouldering his manure basket, Wang Lao-erb went ahead, and Man-tun followed behind with his own basket. On the way the old man saw a rice field and asked: "Can you guess if this is Golden Yellow rice or Bamboo Leaf Blue?" When he saw a cotton field, he asked: "Is this 'Tai' cotton or short Shib-vo 5?" To seize the initiative, Man-tun questioned his grandfather in return. The latter said: "To be a farmer, one must be diligent in three things: in asking questions, in running around, and in working hard. The way to learn is not merely by being taught with arms folded, but by thinking of how deeper studies can be made by oneself..."

As the two talked along, without their knowing it they had reached the crossroads of the eastern city wall. Man-tun thought: "How shall I tell Grandpa about my going to the agricultural school?" The old man was the first to resume the conversation, saying: "Movies or the opera, just as you wish! I am going to the agricultural school to see |

"Home of the crops." Man-tun shouted, "I am going to the school too!" The old man said, smilingly, "Are you going to see Hsiu-hua?" Man-tun could not help blushing but quickly resumed his composure and replied: "Hsiu-hua says that an expert has been invited to lecture to them today, and I intend to listen in..."

Hard by the school gate Hsiu-hua caught sight of her grandfather and cousin. She greeted them from a distance and was pleasantly surprised to see her grandfather. Grabbing his arm, she inquired sweetly, "What wind blew you here, grandpa?" "I came to see how you're doing in going up to the sky! Where are your teachers?" Overhearing them, the principal hurriedly came out and warmly invited Grandpa to go into the house.

Throwing away her locks of embarrassment, Hsiu-hua said to Man-tun, "Ha, you have your manure basket too? Let's go. Before the expert arrives, let's go and see the farming machinery." Man-tun followed her to the yard, where Hsiu-hua pointed to the machinery and said: "See, this is Tung-fang-hung [name of tractor], this is the 'iron cattle' made in Tientsin, this is the five-blade plow, this is the sickle with teeth, and this is the cotton-sowing machine..." As Man-tun was trying to say something, the bell rang. Hsiu-hua quickly accompanied her cousin into the classroom.



and seated him beside herself.

In the midst of loud applause the principal stepped on the platform and introduced the lecturer: "We all have been thinking of and hoping to see our experts. Today one of these experts has come to us. He is Wang Lao-erh, who is a cotton expert known all over the hsien. I take pleasure in asking him to speak to us about his experiences in cotton planting."

Once more a round of deafening applause. Grandpa went up the platform and started to say humbly and smilingly: "I am a mere farmer..." Hsiu-hua and Man-tun glanced at each other. Hsiu-hua thought it strange that her grandfather should have been the guest speaker. "You really did not know anything about this arrangement?" Man-tun inquired. She looked at her grandfather and felt simply enchanted. It dawned upon her, as never before, that her grandfather is an expert. But Man-tun was worried, because he was not sure how the lecture would turn out.

Unexpectedly Grandpa got very eloquent and engrossed the attention of the entire audience with his fascinating talk. Before sowing, he said, cotton seeds should be put into hot water and then rinsed with cold water. When the buds appear, the seeds should be put into the ground.

Within a few days the sprouts would shoot up. With regard

to the shoveling of the ground, he said that in summer cotton required shoveling eight times. Branches of the plant should be crossed, and the tops should be torn off. Harvesting should be done thoroughly and carefully, to avoid loss and wastage...

The more he listened to his grandfather, the more delighted Man-tun was. It all sounded like a living textbook. He jotted down everything the old man said without any omission. Watching her cousin, Hsiu-hua was greatly excited. She thought it strange that having been with him for so long, she did not know her grandfather is an expert. She now understood why Man-tun wanted to learn from Grandpa. She dreamed that she would be a much better helper to her grandfather than Man-tun, if she quit her studies and joined her grandfather in the summary of his experiences. She seemed to have the feeling that she was already working for him and learning from him. She seemed to be copying down, when she was resting, everything Grandpa taught her, the notebooks piling up higher and higher. She seemed to be standing on the platform in the old man's place and declaring: "I am a farmer..."

Once more the bell rang, and there was a storm of applause. She felt as if she had just awakened from a dream. As the principal accompanied the old man to his office,

Man-tun followed them. A group of students were seen to surround Grandpa with their notebooks for his autograph. With his trembling hand, the old man wrote on the white paper the words "The Farmer." After looking at the two words with his slanted head, he again wrote down below the three big words "The New Farmer." Then he added the word "I" after the first two words and the word "You" after the three words down below. This elicited a big laugh from the crowd.

At this juncture a shrill voice was heard at the door. It was Hsiu-hua, who surprisingly said to the principal: "Mr. Principal, I am quitting school and going home to participate in labor!"

"That's the right thing to do!" chimed in Man-tun.

"Children, you are both wrong," said Grandpa. Looking at Hsiu-hua first and then Man-tun, he continued: "A narrow and single-board bridge is hard to cross, and a single leg can hardly walk. Our commune is in need of native-born farmers and also of farmers trained by vocational schools. Both are indispensable. Do you know, Hsiu-hua, that you are still the student of your principal? Without him I would not understand what is phosphorus, nitrogen, or potassium and what is acidity or basicity. With the introduction of machinery in future, we would be helpless without

[culture and technical knowledge." ]

Man-tun and Hsiu-hua looked at each other and was fully satisfied.

Hsiu-hua and Man-tun accompanied their grandfather on the way out, when the latter pointed to the manure basket and said to the principal: "I present you with the contents of these baskets. Without manure you cannot do any planting." Man-tun and Hsiu-hua each emptied one of the baskets into the manure cave. Said the principal: "This is really like an educator talking."

The old man went out of the school gate with his two grandchildren and stepped on the highway. Ahead of them was a boundless sea of cotton. On the highway high-voltage electric posts newly planted stand erect, waiting to be wired. When they reached the crossroads, he suddenly turned toward Hsiu-hua and inquired about the way to the seat of the Hsien. Without a thought Hsiu-hua replied, "It makes no difference whichever way you take." "Right," replied the old man, "all roads lead to Peiping. Now you two are taking the same road." The boy and the girl again looked at each other and smiled.

Suddenly they felt how high the blue sky was, how far the good green earth was, and how near their hearts were.

[The old farmer walking in front was so very amiable! ]

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THE EFFECT OF PLANT PROTECTION ON THE INCREASE  
OF AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION

Following is a translation of an article by Shen Ch'i-1 (3088 0366 4135) in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No 22, 16 November 1962, pages 33-41.7

The protection of plants is an important part of the agricultural "Eight-Character Charter." The tasks involved in plant protection are the elucidation of the laws governing the rise and development of various kinds of bacteria, insects, miscellaneous grasses, birds, and animals injurious to agricultural crops and products, the adoption of effective measures of prevention and treatment, the control and elimination of their damages, and the insurance of the increase of agricultural production. Since the liberation, under the Party's leadership and through the effort of those charged with the protection of plants and the production practices of the broad masses, the knowledge of laws governing the rise and development of plant diseases and insect pests has made further progress. In the struggle against plant diseases and insect pests certain effective

Measures of prevention and treatment have been taken, resulting in the control of many of them to a given extent. It is expected that the Party's great call for the gradual realization of technical transformation in agriculture will result in the further development of plant protection and insure its greater effect on the increase of agricultural production.

## I

In the course of their growth and maturity and after their harvesting and storage, agricultural crops and products respectively are constantly subject to the menace of harmful bacteria, insects, miscellaneous grasses, birds, and animals of many varieties, which can do harm under different environments and conditions. Owing to their different habits of life, methods of propagation, channels of diffusion, and formulas and methods of causing harm, they can pose a menace to any crops in different areas and periods. The point bacteria and insects have in common is that when the environment is unsuitable, they conceal themselves in the remnants of plants, miscellaneous grasses, seeds, soil, or other places not easily detectable, until they can propagate themselves under favorable conditions. If early measures of prevention are not taken, they are liable to break out in calamities causing losses to agriculture.

The "Outline on the National Development of Agriculture" enumerates 11 plant diseases and insect pests (locusts, rice Pyralidae, nien-oh'ung [sticky insects?], corn Pyralidae, cotton aphides, cotton red spiders, cotton pink bollworms, wheat chink bugs, black smut of wheat, nematodes of wheat, and black spot of sweet potatoes), which are all great enemies of agricultural production. To insure the increase of agricultural production, it is necessary to adopt measures for the control and elimination of these plant diseases and insect pests.

For example, locusts have been for generations a big scourge to our country's agricultural production. In our history we have had a locust pest of a local nature every two or three years and a disaster of larger dimensions every five or six years. In such cases locusts are so rampant that they cover up the sky and turn days into hazy darkness, wiping out crop after crop. In 1929 there was a locust pest in seven provinces. At the time the reactionary Government was helpless and could only allow the disaster to spread until the affected area reached the staggering figure of 45 million mou and great losses were sustained by peasants.

Since the liberation, the locust pest has already been brought under control. Besides, although the rice Pyralidae

pest was very rampant before south of the Yangtze valley, a great deal has been done in recent years in connection with its control. In 1958 the loss was reduced to less than 2%. The damage done by sticky worms to a great many crops, such as rice, wheat, and corn, has also been widespread in both the north and south of the country, the affected area reaching several tens of millions of mou in the worst years. From the sprouting to the boll-forming period cotton is infested by many insects, whose menace to cotton production is very serious.

Among plant diseases the rust of wheat is the most serious.

It occurs every year, largely in North China and the Northeast, and causes the reduction of production by 30% or 40%. In areas seriously affected by the black spot of sweet potatoes a large quantity of grain is lost. This disease frequently causes whole cellars of sweet potatoes to rot, and cattle are poisoned and die after eating diseased sweet potatoes. In 1952 and 1953 the large *Brassica chinensis* north of the Yellow River suffered from soft rot, downy mildew, and one other disease and its production was decreased.

Miscellaneous grasses and injurious animals are especially serious threats to agricultural production in wide areas with sparse population. In a province like Heilungkiang there still exist grass wastelands, and in the



[vicinity of Mi-shan rice fields are infested by Panicumcrus galli and Scirpus maritimus, the latter being called by the peasants "moving grass." These miscellaneous grasses propagate very rapidly and cannot be eradicated by manual labor. Before the liberation, certain areas for cultivation become wasteland because of their growth, and peasants had to move to other localities. Among the animal pests in the various parts of the country that of rats is the most serious. In the Northeast and Northwest certain areas seriously infested by fen rats (also known as blind rats) average four or five and even as many as 30 rats each mou. Each fen rat causes a loss of 20 or 30 catties of grain per year. These rats also have the habit of storing grain, and they store 20-30 catties in each hole. Allowing four or five rats to each mou, the loss is 30%-50% of the output. In grassland infested by rat and insect pests a considerable reduction of draft animals is caused, and in serious cases they frequently die because of the shortage of feed. In addition, where warehouse control is not well attended to, insect pests and mildew often arise, which cause a loss of about 5% and even greater losses in southern areas of high temperature and humidity.

In all countries the damage caused by insect pests, grasses, birds, and animals to agricultural production is ]

very heavy. For example, the late blight of potatoes created a serious disaster in Western Europe in the middle of the 19th century, the loss of grain in the area affected being about 30%. At the time as many as a million people were starved to death in Ireland because of this disaster, and more than a million migrated to other countries. The calamity continued for more than ten years. Also, the potato beetle pest reduced the grain output of Western Europe to an alarming extent. To this day the potato beetle has remained the object of careful prevention and quarantine in the various countries of Western Europe. Finally, the rust of wheat led to very poor harvests in continental America more than once.

In short, insect pests, grasses, birds, and animals can inflict great losses on agricultural production. On the basis of preliminary material collected by the department charged with plant protection it is estimated that areas infested by more serious insect pests lose approximately 10% of their grain, 20% of their cotton, and 30% of their fruits. It can be seen that the losses sustained by agricultural production from insect pests are very considerable.

These estimated losses are comparable to those of other countries on the same score. For example, according

to statistics which have been kept for many years, it was estimated in 1953 that the annual losses in agricultural products suffered by the US because of plant diseases alone had been 10% of the total output, amounting to three billion dollars. In Canada it was estimated in 1954 that rust of wheat in the western part of that country had caused an annual decline of the wheat output by about 100 million bushels, each bushel being the equivalent of 54.4 cattles. It can thus be seen that the strengthening of plant protection is of great importance to the reduction of losses and the increase of agricultural production.

The prevention of plant diseases and insect pests is like a struggle against the enemy. The condition of the enemy must first be ascertained before effective measures and correct policies can be adopted to cope with him. In other words the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests requires a thorough understanding of the laws governing the rise and development of such calamities.

Whether injurious bacteria and insects can do damage and how much damage they can do are determined by the mutual relationships of the bacteria and insects, crops, and environment. Each kind of bacterium or insect has its characteristics, such as changes in the stages of its life (e.

g., changes from the egg to the larva, the pupa, and the

[perfect insect), eating habits (simple or complicated), number of generations propagated, method of diffusion (by seed, soil, air, or living organism), varieties of crops damaged, and conditions of environment compatible with its growth. Generally speaking, when the environment is unsuitable and there is a shortage of crops on which they can become parasites or which they can infest, bacteria and insects which are injurious conceal themselves. On the other hand, when the environment, including such elements as temperature, is suitable, they propagate in large numbers and cause serious damage. Therefore, strategically, if we fully understand the characteristics of injurious bacteria and insects and the laws governing their rise, we can find out their weaknesses in each stage of their life, such as the places of their concealment and growth, and carry out the work of prevention and treatment, because during this stage their number is comparatively small, concentration great, activities slow, and resistance weak. Under these circumstances it is easy to eradicate them with the greatest effect. Furthermore, we can create conditions unfavorable for the rise, spread, and infestation of bacteria and insects. Thus we can control the growth of such bacteria and insects and prevent them from doing any actual harm. This is much better than trying to eliminate them after they have grown up.]

At the same time, owing to our grasp on the laws governing the rise and development of injurious bacteria and insects, we can take effective measures promptly for their rapid elimination even after they have grown in large numbers. Therefore, in adopting plans and measures for this purpose we must implement the principle that "prevention is more important than treatment."

Since the liberation, we have accumulated many experiences in the successful grasp of the laws mentioned above and adoption of effective tactics and measures of prevention and treatment. For example, we have gained the understanding that the areas for the breeding of locusts in East Asia are concentrated in the swamps of the Huai, Yellow, and Hai Rivers, and we have divided these into four types of locust areas, viz., the coastal, lake, inland flooded, and river areas. In May or June and July or August each year locusts in East Asia are bred twice. The breeding season changes with the change of temperature or rainfall, and sometimes a third generation may be produced in the year. When these laws are basically within our grip, we should adopt the principle of both treatment and transformation in our plans and measures for coping with the situation.

On the one hand, we should establish in the said areas stations for dealing with locusts, effectively carry out the

checking of eggs, unfledged locusts, and perfect insects, ascertain the area and localities in which locusts are bred and the time of their hatching, maturity, and intense propagation each year, and plan the preparatory work of providing drugs and tools for applying insecticides, so as to secure the prompt initiative in the extermination of the pest. On the other hand, to cope with the scourge of locusts further, their breeding bases and areas most infested by them should be transformed, e. g., by the construction of water conservancy projects, cultivation of rice paddies, reclamation of wasteland, and change of conditions of water, soil, climate, and vegetation in locust-breeding areas. These are the basic measures for eliminating locusts.

In preventing and coping with wheat chinch bugs, after finding out that their larvae get out of the soil and flourish at certain times, we can apply insecticides to the soil promptly, the latter being Nan-ta 2419 and Hsi-nung 6028.

In preventing and dealing with the late blight of potatoes, owing to our understanding of the law that the bacteria are spread by the meaty part of potatoes and are scattered from the sick plants to those all around, we have adopted the methods of planting potatoes without disease and eliminating and blockading the centers of the disease, —

which have yielded good results.

With regard to the stripe rust of wheat, which is spread to great distances by the atmospheric current, systematic work of observation and research has been organized in the past several years with the cooperation of all sides, and we have been able to discover the principal breeding places of the bacteria in the plateaus in Kansu and Chinghai. These bacteria, after spending their summer and autumn on the wheat sprouts of these areas, spread to the banks of the Wei River and North China to infest the autumn sprouts, and in spring they breed first in Kuan-chung, Shensi, South Shansi, and Southeast Honan and spread to other areas to do their damage.

Black stem rust is produced principally in such southern provinces as Fukien, Kwangtung, and Yunnan, and its bacteria spend their winter on the wheat sprouts in these provinces and then develop toward Kiangsu and Anhwei and finally toward North China and the Northeast. Knowing these conditions has been most helpful in the forecast of the development of plant diseases and adoption of preventive measures.

## II

Thanks to the development of modern science, the concrete methods and measures for the prevention and treatment of plant diseases, insect pests, grass pests, and bird and animal pests have made very rapid progress. These can be

summed up as agricultural, chemical, and biological measures and methods, the adoption of disease-resistant insects, and quarantine.

First of all, the prevention and treatment of disease bacteria, injurious insects, and miscellaneous grasses is a very important method, which utilizes agricultural technique in plowing and cultivation to change conditions of natural environment, so as to fit them for the wholesome growth of agricultural crops and make them unfavorable for bacteria, injurious insects, and miscellaneous grasses, i. e., for their existence and development. This is a very important preventive measure, the merit of which lies in its creation, in coordination with measures of planting, cultivation, and farm management, of environmental conditions unfavorable for the growth of bacteria, injurious insects, and miscellaneous grasses, its repression of their breeding, and its saving of large quantities of insecticides and tools and partial working strength. For example, the use of "666" is very effective for the prevention of Pyralidae, but owing to the very large area of rice cultivation in our country, the total quantity of the drug needed would be enormous even if three or four catties were required per mou. In certain areas of Anhwei and Hunan where two-crop rice has been planted, the adoption of agricultural prevention and treatment on the



[basis of the laws governing the breeding of Pyralidae has resulted in the remarkable decrease of the harm done by these insects. This is because the insects spend their winter in the rice fields, and by killing these Pyralidae concealed in the rice fields in winter, not only is the damage done by rice Pyralidae in the first period of the growth of the crop reduced, but the breeding volume of the insects and the extent of the harm done by them in the second period are also cut down with great effect. If after the rush harvesting of early rice, the soil is promptly turned, irrigation carried out, and as many of the Pyralidae in the fields as possible are killed, the source of the insects will be further decreased and the pest brought under control. This is a very good example of the agricultural measure of prevention and treatment.

However, just because this measure has yielded good results in the said area, we cannot deny the necessity for the chemical measure. For certain areas cannot adopt the method of winter prevention and treatment because of their peculiar cultivation systems and arrangements of their working strength, or for them the agricultural method may not be very ideal. For this reason they are in need of the chemical method. Perhaps the coordination of both methods can bring better results.

Outside of this reservation, there are other agricultural methods that can help the prevention of plant diseases. For example, the adoption of a rational system of rotation of crops yellow and fusarium wilt of cotton can be prevented. The reduction of ground temperature by suitable cultivation cuts down the deterioration of potatoes to a certain extent. The suitable control of water and fertilizer can reduce blast of rice. Straight sowing from high land in time prevents soft rot of *Brassica chinensis*. On the contrary, if the system of cultivation is not rationally reformed and if plowing and planting are improper, favorable conditions will be provided for the expansion of plant diseases and insect pests.

Secondly, the adoption of the chemical method is the utilization of insecticides for the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests. This is the most widely adopted method at present. The merits of this method are that the application of insecticides is simple and can be widespread, has few local and seasonal limitations, is susceptible of a high degree of mechanization, can be carried out in large areas within a short time, and yield good results in the killing of bacteria and insects. As an emergency measure in the event of a rampant outbreak, this method is especially outstanding. Now that we do not yet have

a full grasp on the laws concerning the breeding and development of plant diseases and insect pests nor can we change the environmental conditions conducive to them and repress and eliminate their harmful effects, the chemical method has become almost the sole effective method once there is a violent outbreak. Therefore, for more than 20 years the categories and output of insecticides have had a rapid increase, their application more and more widespread, and many of them have become household words. Generally speaking, chemical prevention is a direct method for the elimination of plant diseases and insect pests, but this does not mean that it can merely treat and not prevent them. For example, the mixture of "666" powder in the soil prevents the breeding of chin-chen-ch'ung [*Homocallis flava* worms?]. Only when these worms are profuse is the drug used for getting rid of them. So long as the chemical method is resorted to correctly and coordinated with other methods, its effectiveness is great, yields good results, and can easily be popularized.

Before 1952 locusts had been dealt with by manual extermination, and each man could handle only 0.2 mou per day. From that year the "666" drug has been produced in large quantities, and the efficiency in dealing with the insects has increased by 50 times. In 1953 the airplane began to be

used for spraying the insecticide, and each plane could handle as much as from 8,000 to 30,000 mou per day. In a short while the pest was wiped out, fully demonstrating the power of the insecticide.

In dealing with cotton aphides tobacco solution and cotton-oil soap were used formerly. But the effect of these insecticides was only 50%-70%, their durability short, and their efficiency low. In 1952 the "666" powder was used, and the results were much more satisfactory. In 1956 "1605" which was made of organic phosphorus and "1059" which has a high degree of absorbability were used and found to last much longer and to be capable of fully controlling cotton aphides. As a result production was greatly increased.

In dealing with Pyralidae, tobacco had been mainly used before 1954. Since then the application of "666" has gradually been extended and yielded good results. Recent experiments and research prove that "1605" is more effective against Pyralidae. Injurious warehouse insects can be killed by being steamed with chloropicrin and an alkylating agent containing bromine. Some drugs made of organic mercury, when mixed with the soil have been found to control black smut of grain crops and diseases of cotton during the sprouting season. The results of recent research prove that many compounds of organic arsenic and organic tin have a

very great future for the prevention and treatment of diseases of crops.

The drug for the removal of miscellaneous grasses has been widely applied in foreign countries. It is not only labor-saving but highly effective. Our country has begun to make further research on it and popularize its application. The above-mentioned *Scirpus maritimus*, which has been a serious menace to the Mi-shan area, can be rooted out within a few days, it has been proved by two years of experimentation, by the application of three or four catties of "24" drops per hectare. This means that the cost is only about one yuan per mou, which is well worth it, since the said amount takes the place of more than 10 working hands required for the manual removal of the grass. This is a very great contribution of modern agricultural technique to the support of agricultural production.

For the prevention of rat pests the application of a poisonous bait made of zinc phosphide has an effectiveness of over 90%.

It can thus be seen that the chemical method is an economical and effective one for the prevention and treatment of plant diseases, insect pests, miscellaneous grasses, and animal pests, and is an important achievement of modern scientific technique for the acceleration of the development

of agricultural production. This method should be well grasped and applied and play a better role in plant protection.

The problem extant in the chemical method is that there are not enough insecticides and that the quality of their processing is not good enough. For this reason it is necessary to strengthen the inspection of such products and improve the quality of their processing, so that they can keep pace with the specification requirements and their categories with high effectiveness and low poisonous content be gradually increased. In the application of insecticides the control of such highly poisonous insecticides should be strengthened and strict guidance should be given in their use, to prevent the danger of poisoning. At the same time the technique of applying them should be improved and the scope of their application enlarged, so that they can develop their role in preventing underground insect nests and large-field insect pests.

Germinicides are not as numerous and effective as insecticides at present, and their production should be strengthened along the lines of research and the increased output of highly effective categories. Grass-removing, steaming, and rat-exterminating drugs are not yet in large-scale production and their use remains to be popularized.

The potentialities in these spheres are very great and should be energetically tapped. The study and production of tools for the application of insecticides are still behind. Their number is small, quality and effectiveness generally very low, and breakability high. The supervision of their production and the checking of their quality should be strengthened, their quantities increased, and their quality improved, and the production of new products must be stepped up, so as to meet the requirements.

Thirdly, the selection of superior categories of disease-resistant worms and insects is another effective method for preventing and treating plant diseases and insect pests. Owing to differences in their forms and characteristics and physiological metabolism, the various crops are very different in their ability to resist plant diseases and insect pests. During the different stages of plant maturity and when changes in the conditions of water and fertilizer take place, the various crops undergo changes so far as the characteristics of their disease-resistant capacity are concerned.

Therefore, with these characteristics in mind, the selection of the right kind of disease-resistant categories can effectively help the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests.

The merits of this method are that drugs and working

strength can be saved and production increased. For example, in the Northeast, owing to the popularization of the simultaneous planting of Nos 1-5 and Kansu No 96 wheat, which are high-quality categories resistant to black stem rust, this disease has basically been brought under control. Of course the selection of pest-resistant crops is not without difficulty, because those categories which are resistant to insect pests are not necessarily of high quality and high yield and categories which can resist one disease and one pest may not be able to resist another. To secure the ideal categories takes a long time of selection, planting, and cross-breeding. In addition, certain categories are more durable than others. For example, the resistance of Nan-ta 2419 to streak rust has endured 20-30 years without losing its effect. On the other hand certain other categories lose their resistance very quickly. This is because plant disease germs and injurious insects themselves are changing all the time. So, it takes laborious study and cultivation of new categories to get the proper results. At the same time the variation of categories will help selection and make higher and more lasting resistance possible. By adjusting the time of sowing so as to avoid the period in which diseases and insects can do most harm and by the cultivation of resistant categories

in areas where one or another disease has not become very



serious, the power of resistance can be increased.

Fourthly, the utilization of natural enemies to undermine disease germs and insects and carry out biological prevention and treatment is a very important measure. This method consists of the artificial propagation of disease germs and insects so as to kill more disease germs and insects. In the natural world the varieties of insects are very numerous, and some of them are beneficial while others are injurious. A great many injurious insects are swallowed by beneficial ones, provide room for other insects as their parasites, or die after contracting diseases. In other words insects have their natural enemies, the latter being beneficial insects or bacteria. The records have it that as long as more than 1,600 years ago peasants in South China prevented and dealt with insects injurious to oranges by making use of ants. Owing to the development of modern science, the practice of preventing and dealing with plant diseases and insect pests by using their natural enemies has been widely adopted. The merits of the biological method are that certain natural enemies can for a long time control the rise of plant diseases and insect pests, play a preventive role, are innocuous to human beings and animals, and cost little for cultivation and propagation.

Since the liberation, the biological method has

made great progress in our country. For example, in 1955 Kwangtung Province made use of the ch'ih-yen-feng [Red-eyed wasp] to prevent sugar-cane Pyralidae and obtained good results. Also, Chekiang, Hupeh, and Szechwan Provinces have raised big red lady-bugs on a large scale and wiped out scale insects useful to cotton. Finally, Hupeh Province has utilized a small wasp, [Hedichrum lewisii] to prevent the pest of pink bollworms which spend their winter in warehouses, and has also had great success. In the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests antibiotics and germifuga also have a bright future for wide application. The utilization of bacteria for the prevention and treatment of rat pests has been successful abroad, and we should also study and make use of this method.

The biological method also has its defects. It is not so simple and widely applied as the chemical method, is more affected by environment, and takes effect more slowly. Especially because of the complex relationships between different kinds of living matter and between them and environment, we know as yet little about their natural enemies, the characteristics of biology, and laws governing the growth and decay of different varieties of living matter. Therefore it is not yet possible to bring under control or eliminate all plant diseases and insect pests by means of the

biological method. However, so long as we make a deeper study of this method and coordinate it with the chemical method, it will have a future for widespread application.

Fifthly, to prevent the spread of dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses, it is necessary to resort to quarantine measures. Just like injections against smallpox, diphtheria, and cholera among human beings, strict quarantine measures are necessary for the prevention of the spread of dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses. Such quarantine measures are both international and domestic. The former are aimed at the possible invasion of injurious insects and miscellaneous grasses from abroad, while the latter are precautionary measures taken among the various parts of the same country. Both international and domestic quarantines must be strictly enforced in accordance with laws and regulations promulgated by the state. Organs for the enforcement of quarantines in the interest of plant protection should be strengthened and their work improved.

With regard to dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses from abroad, we should make detailed research on the areas for their growth, categories of crops which are harmed by them, and the possible channels through which they can be imported. In our international trade we should have quarantine regulations which have been adopted with mutual

consent and which should be enforced strictly. At the same time quarantine work in the various harbors should be strengthened so as to prevent the invasion of dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses from abroad. Dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses already detected in the country should be kept within strict limits, blockaded, and eliminated, or protective zones should be delimited, to prevent their spread. The enforcement of quarantines is a complicated task and involves a certain expenditure of human and material power. But since the object is the security of agricultural production, we cannot afford to overlook the said measures. If they were slackened because of their complexity and their interference with agricultural production, it would cause great losses.

In general insects and miscellaneous grasses do not cause very serious injury in their own localities, because local crops have a certain amount of resistance against them and they are checked by certain of their natural enemies. But when they are spread to a new area, crops may not be resistant to them and their natural enemies may not be encountered there, hence the possibility of causing great damage. History is not without precedents of serious calamities brought by dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses from abroad. For example, the late blight of potatoes mentioned

above, which occurred in Europe, was brought in from the US. Once the chestnut trees of America were totally destroyed by a plague spread from the Orient. A great many orange trees in America died because of canker imported from the Orient, and it was only after more than 10 million diseased trees were cut that the disaster subsided. In our country great losses were caused by black spot of sweet potatoes brought in from Japan. Cotton pink bollworms came in before the liberation with the cotton imported from the US. Now that they have spread to the larger part of our cotton-producing areas losses of varying extent have been suffered each year.

There are a great many other dangerous insects and miscellaneous grasses which, if brought in, would spread and inflict great injury.

Domestic quarantines likewise cannot be neglected. When seeds and saplings are transferred, special attention should be paid to the prevention of the spread of injurious insects. For example, the huang-lung-ping [literally yellow dragon disease] of oranges has become a serious menace to oranges in Kwangtung, because the quarantine has not been strictly enforced and saplings without disease have not been cultivated.

The above measures for the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests have been discussed from

several angles. In agricultural production the prevention and treatment of plant diseases and insect pests cannot rely on merely one single method. Since all the methods have their advantages and disadvantages, only the selective and balanced recourse to them can bring the best results. Moreover, in the course of prevention and treatment, attention should be paid to their various objects, different conditions, and the selection of one or two methods as the main steps at the crucial time. For example, the prevention and treatment of wheat chinch bugs have been accomplished through the combination of insect-resistant crops and the use of insecticides. If selectivity were not adopted and all the methods resorted to at the same time, the results might be improved, but the cost in terms of human and material power would be very high, and the economic difficulty would be a great obstacle to the application of all of them.

During the last decade or more, owing to the discovery and wide application of synthetic insecticides, the chemical method has assumed the most important position. This condition has caused certain people to reduce their attention to the agricultural and biological methods. But in recent years it has been found that the extensive and long-term application of such synthetic insecticides as "666" ]

and DDT has, contrary to expectations, caused the increase of injurious insects. This is because these insecticides, while eliminating injurious insects, frequently eliminate also their natural enemies or increase the resistance of injurious insects. Besides, the use of insecticides in extended areas for long periods of time involves high expenditure and sometimes even affects human health. Thus, the appropriate coordination of all the methods discussed above under varying conditions can bring satisfactory results.

### III

The struggle against the natural calamities of plant diseases and insect pests is a long-term and stupendous job. Some diseases and pests which have been brought under control can still spread and cause disaster, if measures are not continuously taken against them. At present we have not yet made a sufficiently clear study of the laws governing the rise and development of plant diseases and insect pests and our methods of control are not anywhere near perfection. In the natural world injurious insects themselves are incessantly developing new categories, which are multiplying their injuries to crops and increasing their resistance to insecticides. The invasion of injurious insects from abroad and from other parts of our own country are adding to the complexity of the problem.

On the control of plant diseases and insect pests we have already accumulated many rich experiences. Especially the further consolidation and development of the people's communes and the support of the industrial and other departments have created more favorable conditions for our victory over natural calamities. With the development of new scientific techniques new laws will be discovered in relation to the rise and development of diseases and insects and new weapons for their control will be provided. We should, on the basis of the achievements already attained, further our work of plant protection, above all continue to undermine diseases and insects which have already been undermined, and make an effort to expand the results already obtained. Methods that have been adopted have in general reached further maturity through the scientific research and production practices of the masses, have been effectively carried out, and once expanded will become even more effective. Even if the control of diseases and insects is still very difficult for the masses because of the complexity of the techniques involved, it still can yield very satisfactory results, if the proper methods are resorted to in a positive manner. The eleven plant diseases and insect pests provided for in the "Outline on the National Development of Agriculture" have mostly been brought under control, and



the methods involved should be actively carried out, so that the work of prevention and treatment can be improved.

As stated above, this is very difficult and delicate work. For this reason the organs for the popularization of techniques should be strengthened, the propaganda and educational work on the importance of plant protection stepped up, technical cadres among the masses trained, measures of prevention and treatment drawn up on the basis of local requirements, forecasts, advance reports, the provision of insecticides and tools for their application, and large-area demonstrations of prevention and treatment attended to, experiences incessantly summarized, and new technical measures popularized.

There must be adequate and refined weapons for the prevention of natural calamities. This means that the quality of insecticides and tools for their application should be improved, more high-quality insect-resistant categories and undiseased seeds and saplings cultivated, and the natural enemies of injurious insects developed. The varieties of injurious insects and miscellaneous grasses in our country are very numerous, the categories and quantities of insecticides required are very many, and the development of modern scientific technique is very rapid, giving rise to new drugs of high effectiveness. We should as soon as possible

sible improve the quality of synthetic insecticides and processed products which have already been produced on a large scale and fully make use of arsenic, fluorine, barium, and botanical insecticides. At the same time we should, on the basis of the newest achievements of modern scientific technique, study and produce more new insecticides of high effectiveness and low poisonous content, to meet the requirements of the various localities. Now that the study and production of germicides and drugs for the removal of bad grasses and for steaming are still behind, they should be strengthened. So far as tools are concerned, highly effective sprayers and mixers should be studied and produced. Insecticides and germifuga which have been definitely found in foreign countries to have special uses should be processed into standard products, to form the objects of experimentation and demonstration by the research department in charge of plant protection.

To carry out all this work satisfactorily, cooperation among the plant protection, insecticide, chemical, mechanical, and sanitation departments must be strengthened, so as to link up research, production, and consumption and improve the study of poisonous remnants in insecticides with a view to the safeguarding of human health. The prevention of many insect pests injuring some principal crops requires

the speedy cultivation and propagation of disease-resistant categories and undiseased seeds, seed potatoes, and saplings.

To better the effect of this work it is necessary to increase the strength of scientific research, improve the conditions for research work, and further strengthen scientific experimentation and research. Although we have brought under control some of the principal diseases and insects, we are not yet fully familiar with the laws governing the rise and development of certain important diseases and insects and our methods of prevention and treatment are by no means perfect and even ineffective. It is thus necessary to organize better the research institutions concerned, higher schools, and production units for more effective studies, to link up research in connection with diseases, insecticides, drugs, and tools for their application, and, revolving around the main tasks of research, to strengthen cooperation and division of labor, penetrate into the masses, and thoroughly to deal with all practical problems.

The study and understanding of the laws governing the rise and development of diseases and insects leading to effective measures of control are not a simple task. To this end, the long-term accumulation of materials and the up-

grading of the theoretical basis should be strengthened, but the requirements must not be set too high and their fulfillment expected too soon. Only by conscientiously carrying out penetrating and minute research work and thoroughly understanding objective laws can the prevention and treatment of diseases and insects be effectively dealt with.

Those parts of the research work which are still behind, such as the prevention and treatment of miscellaneous grasses and bird and animal pests, the designing and manufacture of tools for the application of insecticides, and research on basic theories, should be strengthened.

Students should be trained for the study of physiology, viruses, bacteria, nematodes, and antibiotics, and possible steps taken for stabilizing the topics of research assigned to research personnel.

We are facing straight ahead of us a new age of technical transformation and production development in agriculture. Plant protection is an important part of the work of carrying out technical transformation in agriculture and insuring production increase. Workers in the field of plant protection should intensify their vigor in making greater contributions to the development of plant protection and achievement of bumper agricultural crops, so that the

science of plant protection in our country may as soon as possible attain the most advanced level of the world.

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THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO



## SAFEGUARD THE PURITY OF MARXISM-LENINISM

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 22, Peiping, 16 November 1962, pages 1-6.]

Since World War II the people all over the world have fought bravely against the imperialists and the reactionaries in various countries and have won significant victories. Such victories as the establishment of a number of socialist countries in Europe and Asia, the formation, growth and strengthening of the socialist system and the upsurge and success of nationalist and democratic movements in Asia, Africa and Latin America have brought about a new situation in international class struggle which is favorable to the people of the world. The liberation of all the proletariat and the oppressed people of the world has entered a new historical phase. The development of Marxism-Leninism, the theoretical weapon of the proletariat, has also entered a new historical phase. As vanguards of the proletariat, communists of all countries must have a firm grasp on Marxism-Leninism, the one and only correct theoretical weapon. They must analyze the new phase of the international class struggle in the light of

the Marxist-Leninist theory and formulate their tactics and strategy accordingly.

In 1957 and 1960 delegates of communist and workers parties of all countries held two conferences in Moscow and issued respectively two historically momentous documents, the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement. These two documents clearly expressed the revolutionary spirit of these two Moscow conferences. They called on Marxist-Leninists to hold high the banners of anti-imperialism, the banners of world peace, the banners of revolution, the banners of proletarian internationalism and the banners of Marxism-Leninism. They pointed out the correct path to unite all the people in the world in order to fight for peace, democracy, nationalist liberation and socialism. They also set forth the task of fighting against opportunism in its various forms -- first of all, in the form of modern revisionism -- to safeguard the pure and sterling qualities of Marxism-Leninism.

The Chinese Communist Party, being party to the formulation of the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, has consistently fought for the preservation of the revolutionary spirit and principle embodied in these two documents. The communique of the 10th plenary session of the Eighth Central Committee of the Chinese Communist Party which took place in September this year clearly said: "We must continue to hold high the revolutionary banners of Marxism-Leninism, insist upon the revolutionary principles embodied in the 1957 Moscow



Declaration and the 1960 Moscow Statement and oppose firmly and thoroughly the modern revisionism which is the major danger to international communism. This will be the foremost task of today and of a long period to come. At the same time, we must as firmly and as thoroughly set ourselves against dogmatism, sectarianism, big nation Chauvinism and narrow nationalism. This is also a long-term task. In a nutshell, we must fight for the preservation of the purity of Marxism-Leninism."

As the Moscow Declaration has pointed out: "Under the present conditions, the major peril is revisionism, or in other words, rightist opportunism. It is an expression of bourgeois ideology which undermines the revolutionary resolve of the working class and calls for the preservation or restoration of capitalism." The Declaration also penetratingly exposed the social roots of revisionism by declaring: "Domestically, revisionism has its roots in bourgeois influences. Internationally, revisionism is the product of submission to imperialist pressure." Modern revisionism meets the need of imperialism, especially that of American imperialism.

The basic issues of a revolutionary struggle are these: to clearly distinguish friend from foe, to correctly assess the strength of the people and that of the enemy, to develop the strength of the people by using correct methods and finally to defeat the enemy. The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement pointed out

clearly, in the light of a worldwide class struggle, that imperialists and their faithful lackeys in various countries are the enemy of the people the world over; and that American imperialism, being the biggest international exploiter, the brutes international gendarme and the central rallying point of world reactionaries, is the common enemy of all the people throughout the world. Communists of all countries must unite the workers, farmers, petit bourgeoisie, revolutionary and patriotic intellectuals, revolutionary and patriotic national capitalists and all other elements which may be united -- all these elements constitute more than 90 percent of the world's total population -- to form the broadest united front for the purpose of waging a thorough struggle against the imperialist camp led by America. Communists must stand at the forefront of this great struggle. They must educate the masses, sharpen their perception, and in the course of the struggle, constantly guard against and rectify erroneous ideas and adopt correct policies so that the struggle may be advanced from one victory to another new victory.

Misled by the facade of seeming strength put up by imperialists and reactionaries, a communist may fail to understand their true weakness. Scared by the enemy's temporary appearances of strength, he overestimates the power of the enemy and becomes himself a waverer in the struggle, turning away from victories that lie in the realm of the possible. A rightist opportunist is nothing but a revisionist.

He goes to any length to exaggerate the strength of the enemy and to underestimate and cast doubt on the great power and influence of the masses. By so doing, he helps the imperialists and reactionaries in various countries and hurt the revolutionary cause of the masses.

The modern revisionists are scared stiff in the face of American imperialists' "policy of strength." They abandon the class analysis method of Marxism-Leninism, proclaiming that imperialists have changed their nature. They argue that without the mass struggle against the imperialists and their lackeys, but merely depending on the goodwill of the so-called enlightened elements within the imperialist camp, lasting world peace can be realized and freedom and well-being will be bestowed upon the oppressed nations and the oppressed people. They argue that war can be eliminated and weapons destroyed even before imperialism is eliminated and exploitation and oppression are destroyed. The danger of revisionism lies, first of all, in its confusing the friend with the enemy, thus beclouding the target and weakening the anti-imperialist struggle of the people of the world. Therefore, when leading the masses in their anti-imperialist struggle, communists of all countries must relentlessly and thoroughly oppose modern revisionism and defeat it with Marxism-Leninism.

The Tito clique of Yugoslavia is a salient representative of modern revisionism. It has become an enemy of international workers' movement and a detachment in the service of American imperialism to

oppose the revolutionary movement of the people of the world. Under the disguise of Marxism-Leninism and under the flag of a socialist state, the Tito clique is working for its master in the following ways: (1) To promote the so-called Yugoslavian road among socialist countries. This is the road through which socialist countries are converted to capitalism by "peaceful evolution," and the road to capitalist resurrection. (2) To promote among the Asian, African and Latin American countries the so-called "positive coexistence" policy of non-alignment which confuses friends with enemies. The purpose is to weaken the revolutionary resolve of these countries, which are engaged in their nationalist and democratic revolution, to disintegrate their struggle for liberation and to pave the way for American imperialism to impose on them a new type of colonialism. (3) To sell to the working class inside the capitalist countries the theory of a "peaceful growth" into socialism so that the revolutionary cause may be abandoned and the reactionary rule of the monopolistic bourgeoisie may be maintained. (4) To proclaim to the people of all lands who are fighting in defense of world peace that the root of modern wars does not lie in imperialism but in the so-called confrontation of two military blocs. This is an attempt at attacking and besmearing the socialist camp which is the fortress of world peace and an attempt at defending the aggression and war policies of American imperialism.

Modern revisionists often pretend that they oppose dogmatism.

But their so-called opposition to dogmatism is actually opposition to the Marxist-Leninist theories of class struggle, of the state and the revolution, of imperialism, of proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship as well as the Marxist-Leninist theories of people's revolution in colonial and semicolonial countries. What these revisionists oppose are nothing but the essence and the revolutionary soul of Marxism-Leninism.

The common rules of socialist revolution and socialist construction as laid down in the Moscow Declaration summarized the experiences of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. These rules must be obeyed by all countries which are on the road to socialism. However, modern revisionists distort, alter and oppose these common rules in one way or another. They renounce Lenin's theory for the establishment of the party and deny that communist and workers parties are the vanguard of the proletariat. They reject proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. And they assert that without the destruction of the bourgeois machinery of the state and only through the road of bourgeois democracy and peaceful parliament, capitalism can be transformed into socialism. They repudiate the significance of socialist revolution in the realm of culture and ideology during the period of socialist construction. Under the pretext that times have changed, they proclaim that the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism have been outdated. In the guise of "creatively"

developing Marxism they revise Marxism-Leninism in the pattern of bourgeois thinking. To cater, wherever possible, to the taste of the bourgeois class, modern revisionists transform proletarian policies into something acceptable to the bourgeoisie, and take this acceptance as a criterion in the formulation of their own policies. They substitute anti-imperialist struggle with bourgeois pacifism; proletarian revolution with revisionism; proletarian internationalism with bourgeois nationalism; and Marxist-Leninist theories of class struggle with humanitarianism.

Under any circumstance, a Marxist-Leninist party must not abandon the basic theoretical grounds of Marxism-Leninism, must not substitute Marxism-Leninism with revisionism, nor must it give up the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism under the pretext of tactical expediency. The task of any and all revolutionaries is to engage in the work of revolution. They must keep the revolutionary outlook and responsibilities constantly in mind and must not be thrown out of orientation by temporary developments. It is true that favorable time and conditions for revolutionary action cannot be brought about by the will and wishes of a certain class. Nevertheless, to engage in revolutionary work among the masses will never be in vain. Indeed, it is only through such work that the ground of socialist victory can be prepared. This is the "minimum truism of socialism" as pointed out by Lenin. ([Note]: See "Revisionism in the Russian

Social Democratic Movement,"Lieh-nin Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), Vol 17, People's Publishing Company, page 222.)

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have pointed out that simultaneous with the struggle against revisionism which is the major danger of the present, a fight against dogmatism and sectarianism must also be waged. The development of human society is governed by basic rules common to all. But different countries and nations have their individual characteristics. Though all countries and nations must undergo the stage of class struggle, in their progress toward communism, all of them follow their own paths which are similar in basic aspects but differ from each other in individual characteristics. History never stops marching forward. And new conditions and new experiences in connection with class struggle constantly appear. Communist and workers parties must fuse together masterfully the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism and the realities of different times in various countries. Only then, will there be a correct theoretical direction for revolutionary action. Only then, will the Marxist-Leninist theory be constantly enriched and developed. And only then, will the revolution of all nations, and the tasks of socialist and communist construction be brought to a successful conclusion.

The great vitality of Marxism-Leninism lies in its unbreakable ties with reality. In the revolutionary movement and socialist con-

struction work in various countries, one must prevent and rectify the dogmatic tendency to mechanically copy the experiences of other countries with no references to the realities in one's own country and the dogmatic tendency to parrot outdated and unrelated arguments regardless of the new situations and new experiences arisen from class struggle. In the struggle for world peace, national liberation and for democracy and socialism, one must prevent and rectify closed-doorism, must avoid isolation from the masses and never fail to unite all elements that can be united. As far as a communist is concerned, wherever there are masses there is need for him to get on with his work in the interest of the revolution. Whatever form of struggle meets the need of the revolution, that is the form he should adopt. Dogmatism and sectarianism are divorced from the masses and isolated from reality. They cannot bring victory to the cause of revolution and construction.

Chinese communists have learned to understand well what is dogmatism and what are its serious dangers. In the democratic revolution period in China, dogmatists advocated slavish adherence to books, and indiscriminately following the experiences of other countries. The result was unusually grave setbacks for the Chinese revolution. Comrade Mao Tse-tung sharply criticized dogmatism, condemning it as an anti-scientific and anti-Marxist-Leninist type of subjectivism and a reflection of the impurity and imperfection of



communist indoctrination. As Comrade Mao has pointed out: "Marxism-Leninism is the most scientific and revolutionary truth born of objective reality and proven by objective reality. But it is viewed by many students of Marxism-Leninism as dead dogma. Such a viewpoint not only has impeded the development of theory but also has proven to be detrimental to both oneself and one's comrades." ([Note]: See "Cheng-tun Tang Ti Tso-feng" (Rectification in the Party), Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), Vol 3, People's Publishing Company, 1953, page 840.) Comrade Mao Tse-tung has repeatedly emphasized that Marxist-Leninist truth is not a dogma but a directive to action. Had the Chinese communists failed to understand how to integrate theory and reality, the Chinese revolution would never have succeeded. The salient feature of Mao Tse-tung's theoretical thought which directed the Chinese revolution to its victory is the integration of the universal Marxist-Leninist truth and the realities of China.

In the process of socialist reconstruction, our party has also insisted on the principle that the universal Marxist-Leninist truth be fused with the realities of China's socialist reconstruction. We have held high three red banners, the banners of the general line, of the great leap forward and of people's communes. And we have laid down, step by step, a body of concrete policies and programs suited to the conditions of China to lead the Chinese socialist reconstruction

onto its normal path.

The Chinese Communist Party led by Comrade Mao Tse-tung has matured and grown strong while struggling at the same time against rightist opportunism and "leftist" dogmatism. The victory of the Chinese revolution and reconstruction was the victory of the Marxist-Leninist program of the Chinese Communist Party.

While running the gantlet of rightist opportunism and "leftist" dogmatism, we have gained an important experience which has been told in these words by Comrade Mao Tse-tung: "With regard to any matter, a communist should always ask the question of why, should always give it full and careful consideration to see whether it is realistic, whether it makes sense. He should never follow blindly and should never advocate slavish-ism." (Note: See "Cheng-tun Tang Ti Tse-feng" (Rectification in the Party), Mao Tse-tung Hsuan-chi (Selected Works of Mao Tse-tung), Vol 3, People's Publishing Company, 1953, page 849.)

From our two-front struggle emerged this formula: fuse the universal Marxist-Leninist truth with the realities of the Chinese revolution and reconstruction. This formula may also be stated in the following manner: first, we must insist that the universal Marxist-Leninist truth holds true throughout the entire world; second, proceeding from the realistic conditions in China, we must employ Marxist-Leninist methodology to analyze these realities in order to arrive at a solution of the theoretical and policy problems

in connection with the Chinese revolution and reconstruction.

Lenin has said: "We never consider Marxist theories as something unchangeable and inviolable. On the contrary, we are convinced that it only provides the foundation for a science which should be advanced in various directions if socialists are not willing to fall behind the realities of life. In our view, Russian socialists need to study and explore Marxist theories independently because these theories only offer a general guidance principle whose application in England is different from that in France, in Germany or in Russia." (Note 7: See "Wo-men Ti Kang-ling" (Our Program), Lieh-nin Chuan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), Vol 4, pages 187-188.) Only by following the way thus pointed out by Lenin can dogmatism be effectively combatted. Revisionists, on the other hand, abandoned the general guidance principle of Marxism-Leninism and consequently forfeited their ability to give a truly scientific analysis of reality. In their clamor against dogmatism, revisionists merely intend to propagate their preposterous doctrine of revisionism. Their opposition to dogmatism is only a disguise under which the revisionists betray Marxism-Leninism.

All communists must strive to sharpen their faculty to recognize and identify what is Marxism-Leninism and what is revisionism. They must be able to distinguish between opposition to dogmatism on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and opposition to Marxism-Leninism on

the basis of revisionism and under the pretense of a struggle against dogmatism. They must distinguish between opposition to sectarianism on the basis of proletarian internationalism and opposition to proletarian internationalism on the basis of big nation Chauvinism and narrow nationalism in the guise of fighting against sectarianism.

The world concept of Marxist-Leninist dialectic materialism is a tool that helps one tell the right from the wrong. The Moscow Declaration has penetratingly pointed out: "Dialectic materialism is the theoretical foundation of Marxism-Leninism. The dialectic materialist concept of the universe reflects the universal law of development in nature, society and human thinking, in the past, present and future. The antithesis of dialectic materialism is metaphysics and idealism. If a Marxist party fails to study a question from the viewpoint of dialectic materialism, it will fall into superficial and one-sided subjectivism. This, in turn, results in stereotyped thinking and isolation from reality, making a judicious analysis of facts and situation impossible, and leading to revisionist or dogmatist deviations and political mistakes. It is, therefore, one of the urgent tasks of communist and workers parties to apply dialectic materialism to actual work and to educate the cadres and the masses through Marxism-Leninism."

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement have pointed

out that in order to strengthen the fraternal ties and friendship between all socialist countries, communist and workers parties must implement the policies of Marxist-Leninist internationalism, educate all the workers in accordance with internationalism and patriotism, and repudiate the relics of bourgeois nationalism and big nation Chauvinism.

Big nation Chauvinism and narrow nationalism in the ranks of the working class have their deep historical and social roots.

When imperialism held the sway, all the nations in the world were divided into a handful of oppressor nations on the one hand, and the majority of oppressed nations on the other. Within the oppressor nations, bourgeois nationalism appeared in the extremely reactionary form of big nation Chauvinism. This big nation Chauvinism also tainted a part of the working class within the oppressor nations. And these aristocrats of the working class even became prisoners of bourgeois big nation Chauvinism. Commenting on this, Lenin said: "This very position of struggling against the big nation social Chauvinism should become the decisive and the most important and fundamental position of the Social Democratic Party program."

(Note): See "Ke-ming Ti Wu-ch'an-chieh-chi Ho Min-tsu Tzu-chueh-ch'uan" (Revolutionary Proletariat and National Self-determination), Lieh-nin Ch'uan-chi (Complete Works of Lenin), Vol 21, page 389.)

In the course of World War I, under the influence of social

Chauvinism, the world's largest and most influential Social Democratic Party of Germany led in the betrayal of proletarian internationalism. Social democratic parties in the majority of European countries subsequently degenerated into the lackeys of the bourgeois class in their own countries, bringing about the bankruptcy of the Second International. At that time, the Bolshevik Party of Russia under the leadership of the great Lenin, held high the red banner of proletarian internationalism, united the revolutionary Marxists of all countries in a determined struggle against the social Chauvinists of the Second International. The resultant victory of the great October Socialist Revolution is also the victory of proletarian internationalism over social Chauvinism.

After the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin set a brilliant example for us by upholding internationalism in opposition to big nation Chauvinism as well as narrow nationalism.

The Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement clearly laid down the rules which govern the mutual relationship between socialist countries and among communist and workers parties. These are the principles of full equality, the principle of rendering each other fraternal assistance while retaining independence and sovereignty, and the principle of comradely consultations on an equal footing to resolve mutually concerned problems. In accordance with these principles, internationalism can be realized and the independence of

each individual party and each socialist country can be maintained, thus assuring not only the unity of the international communist movement but also the initiative and creativeness of each individual socialist country and party in dealing with its own problems in accordance with its own conditions. This is the only way and only correct principle to be applied to the relationship among fraternal parties and fraternal countries. If any party, in violation to these principles, imposes its own views on others, or substitutes comradely suggestions and criticism with mutual interference in internal affairs, the unity of international communist movement will suffer. Undoubtedly, any party, when dealing with fraternal parties and fraternal countries, should respect these fraternal parties' independent and sovereign rights to solve their domestic problems and should arrive at unanimity with them only through consultations.

In its relationship with fraternal parties and fraternal countries, the Chinese Communist Party has opposed, is opposing and will oppose firmly and thoroughly bourgeois nationalism. It firmly and thoroughly opposes big nation Chauvinism as well as narrow nationalism. As far as the relationship among fraternal parties and fraternal countries is concerned, big nation Chauvinism is a greater danger than narrow nationalism. China being a big nation, its communist party has constantly taught its members to oppose big nation Chauvinism and to prevent its rise.

Chinese communists have consistently held the view that communist parties in all countries must unite and, at the same time, maintain their individual independence. Overlooking one of these two aspects of inter-party relationship and failing to achieve a correct integration of the two has led to mistakes, as the experiences of history have amply shown. When relationship on an equal basis is maintained among communist parties of all countries, and agreement in views and in action is attained through a truly meaningful meeting of mind instead of through consultations of mere formality, the unity among these parties will surely be enhanced.

At the present, imperialists, reactionaries in various countries and modern revisionists go to any length to attack and besmirch Marxism-Leninism. Under these circumstances, revolutionary Marxist-Leninists of all countries must unite strongly to defeat the attacks by the imperialists, by the reactionaries of various countries and by the modern revisionists, to defend the revolutionary principles embodied in the Moscow Declaration and the Moscow Statement, and to safeguard the purity of Marxism-Leninism.

We are still faced with a difficult struggle on a zigzag road in our effort to defend world peace, to achieve peaceful coexistence among nations of different social systems, to attain liberation for all oppressed nations and oppressed people and to achieve world victory for socialism. Through this struggle, the people throughout



the world will be increasingly awakened, their power will be constantly strengthened and developed and Marxism-Leninism will ever more demonstrate its invincibility. Imperialists, reactionaries of various countries and modern revisionists are doomed. When the east wind prevails over the west wind, world peace can be won and world victory for socialism is inevitable. Under the banners of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, we must strengthen the unity of the socialist camp, of the international communist movement and of all the people throughout the globe. We will certainly achieve new and great victory.

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WHY DOES THE NEHRU GOVERNMENT STILL REFUSE  
PEACEFUL NEGOTIATIONS?

[Following is a translation of an editorial in the Chinese-language periodical, Hung-ch'i (Red Flag), No 22, Paiping, 16 November 1962, pages 7-11.]

The Sino-Indian border incident has increasingly aroused the serious concern of the people in the whole world, particularly those in China and India and those in many Asian and African countries. The longer the incident drags on, the more clearly it can be seen that peaceful negotiations are the only way to resolve these border conflicts. There is no other way out. On 4 November, Premier Chou En-lai again sent a letter to Indian Prime Minister Nehru in connection with the cessation of the border conflicts and the resumption of peaceful negotiations, appealing to the Indian government to accept the three proposals made by our government in the spirit of friendship. But on the same date, Indian Prime Minister Nehru declared his intention to establish the so-called "National Defense Council," to work out overall plans for the expansion of armed conflicts on the Sino-Indian border. And he called for putting India's national economy on a war footing. Also in the same day,

India's President formally proclaimed the creation of the "National Defense Production Ministry." In other words, the Indian government, besides obtaining an ever increasing amount of military supplies from America, will also engage in large-scale arms production domestically. The two sets of measures taken in the same day respectively by the Chinese and the Indian governments clearly reflected the diametrically opposed policies the two governments are pursuing in connection with the border question. The policy of the Chinese government is the policy of peace while the Indian government's policy is that of force. The two kinds of policies constitute a sharp contrast.

Concerning the position taken by the Indian government with regard to the Sino-Indian border question, the editorial department of the People's Daily made a general comment in an article entitled "Re-evaluation of Nehru's Philosophy in the Light of the Sino-Indian Border Question." We are here confining ourselves to comments on the so-called "defense measures" recently taken by the Indian government and on the military aid given by Western imperialist countries to India.

The Chinese people and the Indian people have been on friendly terms for generations and generations. The two great peoples, never having had a clash in basic interests, can and should be able to coexist peacefully and in friendship. The Sino-Indian border question, being a historical legacy of British imperialist rule over

India and aggression against China, is perfectly susceptible to solution through negotiations on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence agreed upon between the two countries. China absolutely desires no war. The self-defense measures she has taken in the course of the armed conflict on the Sino-Indian border are forced upon her against her wishes. Even after such incident occurred, the Chinese people and government have consistently taken the position of peaceful negotiations, and have repeatedly proposed to resume such negotiations. As the letter by Premier Chou En-lai has made clear these proposals offer both sides mutual rights and obligations and are reciprocal instead of unilateral; they are equitable and not predicated on one side submitting to the other; they foresee settlement based on agreement and not on imposition of conditions by one on the other; they reflect mutual respect for each other instead of one infringing upon the rights of another; and they will be forwarded through friendly consultations instead of arbitrary decisions. In one word, they are perfectly reasonable and sensible. Acceptance of the offer to negotiate does not prejudice the position taken by either side with regard to the delineation of the border, but does constitute the prerequisite for a peaceful solution of the border problem and for the prevention of continued conflicts on these borders.

However, as we have seen, despite all efforts exerted by the

Chinese government, the Indian government has always stubbornly refused to enter into negotiations. India's ruling clique headed by Nehru fabricated the nonexistent "Chinese aggression," and pretended that India was a "victim of aggression." On the one hand, it urgently appealed to Western imperialist countries for military aid and greatly stepped up importation of arms and ammunition. And on the other, it fanned, inside the country, the flames of war by declaring a "state of emergency," decreeing wartime mobilization, expanding armed forces, increasing military budget, issuing war bonds, raising arms production and clamoring for the "necessity to prepare for a protracted war." At the same time, India's aggressive forces employed "artillery fire" in place of "machinegun fire" to bombard incessantly the Chinese border defense troops.

What is the purpose of such behavior of the Nehru ruling clique in India? The purpose is: to perpetuate an expansionist policy, to exploit the Indian people, to crush the progressive elements inside India, and to serve the interest of the anti-Chinese movement of the American imperialists. All in all, it is to cater to the needs and interests of India's big bourgeois and big landlord classes.

The Blitz weekly of India (one of India's bourgeois publications) revealed in an editorial on March 24 that India's big enterprises and financial capital bloc, capitalising on anti-Chinese

sentiments, attempted to make "profits in blood through militarization of India's borders." On 3 November, one day before the establishment by the Indian government of a "National Defense production Ministry," this weekly reported that in order to "meet the Chinese threat," the entire Indian nation was being turned into a huge arsenal to devote all resources to the production of first class modern weapons. The same report also described the steady increase of India's arms production in recent years: "When Menon first took over the Defense Ministry, the total domestic production was valued only at 60,000,000 rupees. He has increased it ten times to reach a level of 600,000,000 rupees. And he has drawn up a new master plan which means an increase in investment of 2,000,000,000 rupees. The total output will soon reach 6,000,000,000 rupees. Defense production factories are currently on a sped-up, four-shift, 24-hour daily schedule."

Such tremendous efforts made by Menon as Defense Minister to raise India's arms production fell short of the expectations of the big bourgeoisie of India. He was recently ousted successively from the posts of Defense Minister and National Defense Production Minister. This "National Defense Production Ministry" with a special mission, naturally will not limit the increase of investment in arms production to 2,000,000,000 rupees. This figure will definitely be surpassed in even larger new plans because monopolistic

capital, be it bureaucratic or private, has to be nurtured in the environment of war, and must "earn its profits in blood through the militarization of India's borders" to fatten itself.

The "National Defense Council" with Nehru in the chair and with the largest private monopolistic capital of India, the Tata family, in its membership, was recently established. It is an organization devoted to helping the Indian government continue its effort to create armed border conflicts between China and India and to implement war mobilization. Actually, it is nothing more than an organization to help various monopolistic financial interests manage their war profits.

The pursuit of war profits by India's monopolistic financial interests, of course, does not begin today. In the past, the rise of such interests was dependent on their war profits. For example, the Tata Iron and Steel Company, the largest and the first of the iron and steel mills set up by private monopolistic capital, rose during the First World War because of war profits gained through services to the imperialist war. At that time, it was commended by British Viceroy Lord Chelmsford for making a contribution to the British imperialist "expedition" in the Middle and Near East and in East Africa. During the Second World War, India's big bourgeois class again gained excess profits for their supply of arms to the British forces. Net profit of the Tata Company was 53,600,000 rupees



in the year of 1939-1940. It jumped to 86,100,000 rupees in the war-time year of 1944-1945. Its total capital increased from 284,790,000 rupees in the year of 1934-1935 to 533,000,000 rupees in 1945-1946. The total profits of the "United Cement Corporation," the largest cement monopoly in India, (cement was then mainly for military use) was 9,000,000 rupees in the pre-war year of 1939-1940 but jumped to 16,000,000 rupees in 1942-1943. After India gained independence, bureaucratic monopoly, fostered by the government controlled by the National Congress Party, made rapid advances, particularly in the capital-intensive heavy industries such as steel, coal, machinery manufacture, locomotives, petroleum production and refining, ship-building, airplane manufacture and atomic energy. Many of these industries are military in nature.

It is worth noticing that because of mounting obstacles encountered in domestic and foreign markets, the Indian monopolistic capital urgently needs to transfer part of the capital to military production. Although India is a big country, its domestic market cannot absorb many of its industrial products such as the overwhelming part of its jute products, a part of the machine-produced cotton textiles and light machinery, because of the appalling poverty and extremely depressed purchasing power of the masses of the people. This poverty is, in turn, caused by the fact that the political power of the ruling party of India, the National Congress Party, is

in the hands of the big bourgeoisie-big landlord alliance. It has consistently pursued policies dictated by the interests of monopolistic capital and feudal elements.

In spite of all the efforts made by the big bourgeoisie of India to expand markets abroad, generally speaking, Indian capital has little ability to compete in the world market. India's exports to Asian and African countries are steadily dwindling and her sales of textiles and light machinery to Southeast Asia have been reduced because of competition from Japanese capital. Due to competition from France, Belgium and other countries, India's exports to Africa dropped from three percent of its total exports to less than one percent in the period between 1955-1956 and 1960-1961. Under these circumstances, the big bourgeois class of India, besides clinging to their markets in the Asian-African areas, has increasingly turned to the much talked-about "change of direction in production" and pinned their hopes on military production which earns a higher return than the production of other commodities.

The Economic Times of the Tata financial group said on 21 October in an editorial entitled "National Defense Needs": "Because of various shortages encountered by the Indian economy, industrial production has almost ground to a halt. In addition, since imports in the second half of the year may be further reduced by 300,000,000 to 400,000,000 rupees, production will suffer a further drop." This

editorial advocated that India "should immediately formulate a long-term policy to increase domestic defense production" which will require increased production by the bureaucratic monopolistic capital in "such defense equipment as airplanes, arms, ammunition and other items" and which will "transform" many enterprises of private monopolistic capital into "the production of items needed by the modern defense machinery." Some Indian commentators also have expressed their views on the government effort of solving the problem of markets through increased military expenditures. Since increases in the defense budget and the establishment of military industries under normal conditions will meet with opposition from the people, these commentators said, the big bourgeois class tries to protract and keep boiling as long as possible border disputes with China and with other neighboring countries. It even produces such phony slogans as "the nation is in danger" or "danger from foreign aggression," in an attempt to divert the attention of the people and to increase military expenditures.

It is clear that one of the basic reasons for the creation of conflicts by the Indian government and its refusal to engage in peaceful negotiations with regard to the Sino-Indian border question is the concern on the part of India's monopolistic financial groups for their own profits and their eager hopes for "a change of direction in production" and for an expansion of arms production.

The more depressed the Indian economy, and the more acute the economic crisis, the more aggressively will the Indian monopolistic capitalists try to create border clashes. This accounts for the fact that once an armed clash of their own making occurred, their reaction always came unusually fast and vehement. Such organizations as the "National Defense Fund Committee", the "National Defense Production Ministry," and the "National Defense Council" mushroomed at the blink of an eye. Arms production rapidly increased. And such bellicose talk of "wartime footing" and "national defense needs" by the bosses of large corporations gained wide currency. At the "Steel Advisory Committee" meeting called by the Steel and Heavy Industry Ministry of the Indian government on 25 October, representatives of the Tata steel mills made the "assurances that, like what they have done in the past, they will now go forward full steam to meet the emergency needs for more steel." Other enterprises and units also gave "assurances" to increase arms production.

The ruling clique of India intentionally protracts the serious situation surrounding the Sino-Indian border dispute. "New master plans" for arms production under the jurisdiction of India's "National Defense Production Ministry" undoubtedly will appear one after another. Military supplies begged from the United States will continue to increase. Nehru declared on 11 November that production of military equipment in India had increased three fold in the past

three weeks. An Associated Press report of the same date said that Indian officials were discussing with an American military delegation currently in New Delhi about ordering another batch of military supplies from the United States. The over-worked officials of the Indian "National Defense Production Ministry" and the ambitious members of the so-called "National Defense Council" (which includes several generals) have long thrown the fundamental interests of the Indian nation out the window for the sake of arms production and profits accrued therefrom. They vehemently clamor against "Chinese aggression" in public. But, in private, they have long been intoxicated by nothing but "profits in blood." They know perfectly where their interests lie and understand equally well that the so-called "Chinese aggression" is nothing but groundless fabrication.

One of the major functions of the so-called "National Defense Council" of the ruling clique of India is "to make recommendations to the Central Citizens Committee for the adoption of such needed measures which, in the Committee's opinion, enable the public to participate in national defense efforts." This "public participation in national defense," when stripped of its pretenses, is no more than the devious arrangements to place the greatly increased military expenditures on the shoulders of the Indian people. In this direction, two major types of measures have already been taken, namely, issuance of bonds and increased taxation. The central point

of the radio address made by Nehru on 22 October was to call on the people to "tighten their belts," and to "help capitalize production and to meet the ever increasing defense expenditures through the purchase of bonds." At the beginning of November, the "National Defense Fund Committee" headed by Nehru and embracing the two large capitalist groups, Birla and Tata, was established by the Indian government. At the same time, new issuances of "defense bonds, defense deposit certificates and savings and lottery certificates" were announced. According to a report in the Indian Express India's Finance Minister Morarji Dessai revealed at a "National Development Committee" conference on 4 November that to cope with the current emergency it was essential that a taxation program even more ambitious in scale than that for the "Third Five-Year Plan" be put into effect.

A recent article in the British Financial Times said that of all countries in the world, India probably imposes the heaviest tax burden on her people. All funds for the Indian government's "national plans," except the part supplied through foreign assistance, have come from taxation, public debt, deficit financing and other means of exploiting the people. The burden on the people is fast snowballing. India's so-called "Outlines of the Third Five-Year Plan" stipulated that tax revenues during this period be increased 65 percent over those of the "Second Five-Year Plan" period. (Actual figures will definitely indicate a far steeper increase.) Approxi-

mately two-fifths of the capital for the "Third Five-Year Plan" comes from increased tax revenue and internally-held public debt. Increased tax revenue, in turn, comes from taxes on goods and services whose incidence falls mainly on the masses of the people. This explains the mounting discontent of the Indian people. Even the article in the Financial Times expressed the view that if taxation is further hiked, the lower income portion of the population will be excessively burdened. Under these circumstances, if taxes are to be raised further, internal public debts are to be increased for the expansion of the wealth of the monopolistic financial groups and the reactionary ruling clique, what else could these groups do, except to create a special emergency atmosphere, a state of war hysteria, and through the expansion of military spending?

The monopolistic financial groups of India pursue greater and greater profits and wealth through their manufacture of military conflicts and promotion of war hysteria. Before they give up or exhaust all means to satisfy such desires for profits and wealth, they will never easily lose interest in manufacturing these conflicts and in promoting war hysteria. But to oppose by armed force the socialist country of the People's Republic of China and to protract such a state of armed conflict, the Indian ruling clique knows that it obviously cannot depend on its own strength alone. It must increasingly rely on the policy of selling its birthright to the imperial-

ists, especially to the American imperialists. This inevitably leads to greater control on India by the American imperialists.

After India's independence, the American and British imperialists still maintained large economic influence there and control many important sectors of the Indian economy. In recent years, American investments in India have undergone rapid increases, causing the Indian ruling clique to be more and more dependent on the United States. To strengthen its economic and political control over India, American imperialists have strongly supported Nehru's anti-Chinese policies. In addition, America has organized the so-called "Aid India Club" which at present is actively increasing military assistance to the reactionary ruling circles of India. According to a report by the United States Information Agency, United States State Department spokesman White announced on the 11th that America and India have reached a formal agreement and exchanged notes concerning American military aid to help India commit aggression against China.

In the past, when Nehru introduced American "economic aid" to India, he tried to deceive the people by saying that foreign capital would not hurt India's national economy. But now facts have clearly demonstrated that American monopolistic capital has made large-scale inroads into India in the form of "aid" and has been plunging the entire Indian national economy deeper and deeper down



the abyss of a colonialized economy. Only the few monopolistic financial groups of India have benefitted under the wings of American capital. Now, the Indian ruling clique has gone further to bring in American military aid and attempts to hoodwink the Indian people again by more devious techniques through words and pretensions. But such dishonesty will be uncovered even sooner by the people. The people will soon see that the ruling clique of India has tied the Indian nation to the war wagon of the United States in order to further the selfish ends of the very few monopolistic financial interests; that these financial interests, through arms purchases, are milking the people dry and making outrageous profits. The Indian newspaper Statesman reported on 5 November that a majority of the Chief Ministers of Indian states who took part in the "National Development Committee" conference on 4 November advocated "diversion of people's resources, especially small savings accounts to the use of the country when there is a golden opportunity at the present to do so." Both the Statesman and the Times of India said in their editorials on 6 November that the Indian government decision to issue gold bonds and to purchase weapons with gold is "bold and imaginative." In the past, the Indian government's plan of purchasing gold never met with complete success due to the large difference between official price and market price of gold. (the latter being almost two times that of the former) Now the "state of emergency"

has made it possible to expeditiously and "pragmatically" implement the policy of mobilization of all domestic gold reserves.

Even now, the Nehru government still refuses to engage in peaceful negotiations and continues to cause the Sino-Indian border situation to deteriorate. Who will be hurt and who will reap benefits from such behavior? Obviously, it only seriously damages the interest of the great Indian people and the Indian nation and hurts the national economy of India. It only benefits the very few monopolists in India and the American and other imperialists. As to China, neither does such behavior cause much damage to the great Chinese people, nor can it change an iota the policy adopted by the Chinese people and government to insist on a peaceful solution of the border dispute.

During this great epoch when the people in all countries are making great strides forward, the reactionary schemes and actions of those persons of ill will and those arrogant and self-satisfied people will invariably and speedily backfire. In its attempt to militarize the national economy as a solution to India's deepening economic crisis and to turn India into a big empire, the Indian ruling clique actually can only plunge the Indian national economy down the abyss of disaster and further drag the Indian nation down to the position of a satellite of imperialism. Their so-called "national defense" is in fact an act of disarming themselves with

regard to imperialist inroad. Similarly, in its attempt to deceive the people with the fairy tale of "Chinese aggression" and to secure "profits in blood" for the monopolistic financial interests, the Indian ruling clique will all the faster lose its last ounce of credibility. Dishonesty, after all, will not carry one very far. The Indian ruling clique's scheme to prevent a peaceful solution of the border dispute will be of no avail. The future of the Indian nation will not be determined by the selfish wishes of the few monopolistic financial capitalists. Nor will it be determined by the wishes of the American and other imperialists. The fate of the Indian nation will eventually be decided by the Indian people themselves. To solve the border problem through peaceful negotiations is the common wish of the people of both countries and is to the interest of both. Therefore it is to be expected that the five principles of peaceful coexistence will inevitably triumph over the policy of force adopted by the reactionary ruling clique in India. The border question between the two countries will eventually and inevitably be settled through peaceful negotiations. And the friendly relations between the 1,100,000,000 people of China and India will continue.

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