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## FOREWORD

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[Following is a cover-to-cover translation of the Chinese-language semi-monthly magazine Hung-Ch'i (Red Flag), Nos. 23/24, Peiping, 5 Dec. 62.]

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1912

1912



HEROIC ALBANIANS MARCH ON TRIUMPHANTLY  
HOISTING THE RED FLAG OF REVOLUTION

Following is a translation of an article  
by Li Hsien-nien (2621 0341 1819) in  
Hung Ch'1 (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24,  
5 Dec. 62, pp 1-4.

November 28, 1962 marks the 50th anniversary of the freedom of the people of Albania from Turkish rule and their declaration of national independence, while November 29 is the 18th anniversary of their liberation from the fascist aggressors of Germany and Italy under the Communist party. In observing these two great festive days of historic significance to the people of Albania, the people of China send their warmest congratulations and highest respect to the heroic Albanian people.

Albanians are a gallant people fraught with revolutionary traditions. For many centuries, the people of Albania, with a view to resisting alien rule and oppres-

sion and securing the independence of their fatherland, had waged valiant and stubborn struggles without interruption. During the 25 years from 1443-1468, the people of Albania, under the leadership of Skanderbeg--their outstanding national hero, routed several times the onslaught of Turkish invaders, thus writing a glorious page in the history of their struggle with foreign aggressions. This valiant struggle against Turkish rule was finally crowned with success on 28 November 1912 when the representatives of Albanian people headed by I-ssu-ma-i-erh Chieh-ma-li proclaimed the independence of Albania at Valona.

The proclamation of Albania's national independence is an event of great historic significance in the lives of Albanian people. It ended the barbarous rule of Turkey, thus breaking five centuries of slavery and establishing a free Albanian nation under which rallied the majority of Albanian people. However, they had failed to achieve a thorough victory in their revolution for national independence and democracy. Although the Turkish brigands were driven out, Western imperialist powers took the opportunity of invading her, and such alien aggressors as England, Italy, United States of America, France, Greece and Yugoslavia came, one after another, to trample on the territory and sovereignty of Albania. The people of Albania remained under the oppressions of alien aggressors and

domestic reactionary rulers. In April 1934 the fascist brigands of Italy occupied the whole of Albania by armed force.

It was in this critical hour of abysmal distresses and national peril that the Albanian Communist party (renamed Albanian Labor party in 1948) headed by Comrade Enver Hoxha was born on 8 November 1941 in the conflagration of national liberation struggle against the fascist brigands. The founding of the Albanian Communist party was a decisive turning point in the history of Albanian people. Since then the gallant Albanian people have had the most persistent and reliable helmsman in their struggle. From the day of its birth, the Communist party of Albania has rallied the patriotic strength of all classes and strata of the nation to form a national liberation front, to lead resolutely the people of the entire nation in launching a national liberation war, and to strike firmly at Italian fascist aggressors, and after the capitulation of Italy, the German fascist aggressors who occupied Albania. After protracted and arduous fighting, the people of Albania eventually liberated their fatherland on 29 November 1944, thereby realizing their ideal that had been cherished for millenniums, garnering true national independence, and opening up a bright path towards socialism and communism.

Extreme antagonism has been displayed by imperialists in regard to the victory of Albanian national liberation and the establishment of socialism in Albania. They have resorted to all kinds of sinister sabotages against the People's Republic of Albania. For many years, British and American imperialists have, through their diplomatic missions and agents in Tirana and in connivances with the Tito clique of Yugoslavia, Greek royalists and fascists and Italian fascists, organized various reactionary groups, dispatched special agents and spies, and collaborated with exiled war criminals in creating overt armed rebellions and various provocations and even in directly launching armed interventions to overthrow the people's regime. All of these criminal activities have met with ignominious defeats under the iron fists of Albanian people. However, imperialists who are by their nature aggressive have not given up, nor have they ceased their subversions and sabotages against the Albanian People's Republic.

In these anti-Albanian criminal activities, the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia have played a most filthy role. The Tito clique launched diverse chauvinistic intrigues against liberated Albania, attempting wantonly to place Albania under its control and making her the 7th republic of the Federated Republic of Yugoslavia. When the revisionist line of Tito clique was firmly opposed by

the Labor party of Albania, the Tito clique then tried openly to bribe the renegades of the Labor party and organized anti-party groups to engage in subversive activities. They applied political pressures on the Albanian People's Republic, enforced economic blockades, launched ~~hundreds~~ of armed provocations, and supported the Greek royalist fascists in invading the frontiers of Albania. The Albanian Labor party's central committee which insists on the Marxist-Leninist line and is headed by Comrade Hoxha, under the concerted support of the entire party and people, has routed the frantic assaults of anti-party groups and smashed the subversions and armed provocations of the Tito clique.

Although imperialists and modern revisionists have tried to strangle the Albanian People's Republic, nevertheless, the heroic people of Albania, under the correct leadership of Labor party headed by Comrade Hoxha, are closely rallying together to break through all barriers and overcome all difficulties, thus defending the correct line of Marxism-Leninism and upholding the road of socialism. They have not been isolated, weakened, or eliminated, but through various severe tests, they have become more intransigent and united. No ~~pressure~~ can subjugate the people of Albania, and no intrigue can stop the forward march of Albania's socialist enterprises. The party and

people of Albania, with the revolutionary spirit of "holding the spear in one hand and the pistol in the other," and with incomparable resolve and firmness, have, simultaneous with resisting imperialism and modern revisionism, consistently carried their domestic socialist transformation and socialist reconstruction and garnered great victory and rich experiences in order to lay a solid foundation for socialist Albania.

Before her liberation Albania was an economically backward nation with almost no industries whatever. During the past 18 years, the people of Albania, under the leadership of the Labor party and the support and assistance of various socialist nations, have conquered various difficulties by their arduous and selfless labor. They have rapidly healed the ravages of war, rehabilitated and developed their national economy, successfully consummated socialist transformation, and efficiently fulfilled a two-year plan and two five-year plans for the development of national economy. Now, Albania has established the socialist economic system and founded a new industry. People's Albania has advanced from a backward agricultural country into a socialist agricultural-industrial nation with modern industry and collectivized agriculture. The third five-year plan for the development of national economy that has been adopted by the 4th congress of the Albanian



Labor party is a magnificent program for the further development of socialism in Albania.

Some of the convincing facts bear out fully that the people of Albania are controlling their own destiny, and that by self-regeneration and with the spirit of industry and frugality, they have surmounted and are continuing to surmount diverse difficulties and barriers to march on victoriously. The socialist reconstruction enterprises of Albanians have not come to bankruptcy as is hoped by imperialists and modern revisionists, and on the contrary, what is bankrupt is the shameful intrigue of imperialism and modern revisionism. As has been said by Comrade Hoxha: "Socialist new Albania has assumed the posture worthy of the socialist country living in the great century of Leninism, and like a brave man, is striding ahead."

The Labor party of Albania has, in the entire pragmatism of its leadership in national socialist reconstruction, coordinated the specific conditions of Albania and observed the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism in creating and accumulating rich experiences. These experiences are most valuable to the entire great socialist family and to the movement of international communism. This fact tells us once more that any proletarian political party, be it a large party or small party, and any socialist nation, be it a big nation or a small nation, if it is lo-

yal to Marxism-Leninism and adept in coordinating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the specific conditions of its own country as well as adept in creatively applying and developing Marxism-Leninism, it is bound to make, in its own revolutionary struggle and socialist reconstruction, its own contributions towards the international Communist movement.

The Labor party and the government of Albania have consistently observed the foreign policy of peace and advocated peaceful coexistence with nations of different social systems, and they have also made sustained efforts in defending world peace, relaxing international tension and opposing imperialist policies of aggression and war. Albania firmly supports the struggle of all oppressed nations and people for liberation. The Albanian Labor party and government have also consistently observed the foreign policy of Marxism-Leninism.

As a combat corps of international Communist movement and as a member of the great family of socialism, the Albanian Labor party and the People's Republic of Albania have consistently endeavored to strengthen the friendly solidarity of and fraternal cooperation with the various countries of the socialist camp. The people of Albania live in the southwestern outpost of the socialist camp and so they can have great repercussions in strengthening

and defending the socialist camp.

The scientific analysis and correct stand of Marxism-Leninism insisted by the Labor party and government of Albania, as well as the correct line and policy that they have enacted thereon, have met with the vicious attack of modern revisionists represented by the Tito clique. Nevertheless, the more severely the modern revisionists curse, the more clearly the Marxist-Leninists and revolutionary peoples of all nations of the world will see that it is just because the Communists of Albania have been so loyal to Marxism-Leninism, have firmly upheld the revolutionary principles of Moscow Manifesto and Moscow Statement and so incessantly exposed the shameful conduct of modern revisionists in betraying Marxism-Leninism that they have become dubbed as "dogmatists" and "sectarianists"; that it is just because Albanian Communists have distinguished between friends and enemy, firmly supported the revolutionary struggles of oppressed nations and people, resolutely opposed the aggressive policy and war policy of imperialists, and insisted on the correct line of defending world peace that they have been dubbed by the modern revisionists as "adventurists," "militant elements," and "opposed to peaceful coexistence principles"; that it is just because the Communists of Albania are raising high the banner of proletarian internationalism, insisting on

the principle of coordination between patriotism and internationalism as well as the principle of independence, equality, mutual support and reciprocal help among fraternal parties and fraternal nations that they have dubbed by modern revisionists as "jingoists."

Both China and Albania are socialist countries and brothers of equality in the great family of socialism. Although geographically our two parties and peoples are separated by myriad mountains and rivers, but common ideology, common enterprise and common struggle have closely aligned our two parties and two peoples together to form a deep friendship. In the protracted common struggle, our two parties and peoples have encouraged and supported each other consistently. We Chinese Communists and the people of China have always regarded the struggle of the fraternal Albanian people as our own struggle, and the victory of Albanians as our own victory. The people of China not only thank the people of Albania sincerely for their consistent and massive support for the struggle of our people in opposing American imperialist aggression, for liberating Taiwan, and in upholding our sovereignty and territorial integrity, but they also deem that on the forefront of the struggle to defend peace and resist aggression, the stubborn struggle waged by the people of Albania in opposing imperialism and resisting modern

revisionism represented by Yugoslavia is also a huge support to Chinese people.

Under the instigation and support of American imperialism, Indian reactionaries sent their aggressive army to launch a massive assault on China's frontier defense units and forcibly occupied Chinese territory. The Labor party and government of Albania severely denounced the reactionary ruling clique of India and supported the sincere efforts of our government for the solution of Sino-Indian border problems through peaceful negotiations. In the meantime, they also sharply exposed and denounced the anti-Chinese conduct of the Tito clique in openly supporting the Indian reactionaries. The just stand shown by the Albanian Labor party and government on the Sino-Indian border question is not only an effective support for China, but also a contribution to the peoples of the entire world in opposing the aggressive policy of imperialism, in defending world peace, and in protecting the solidarity of the socialist camp.

Like Marxist-Leninists in all countries of the world, we express our sincere admiration to the people of Albania for their revolutionary intransigence, principles and solemnity and their undaunted spirit in the struggle to oppose imperialism and preserve world peace. The friendship and

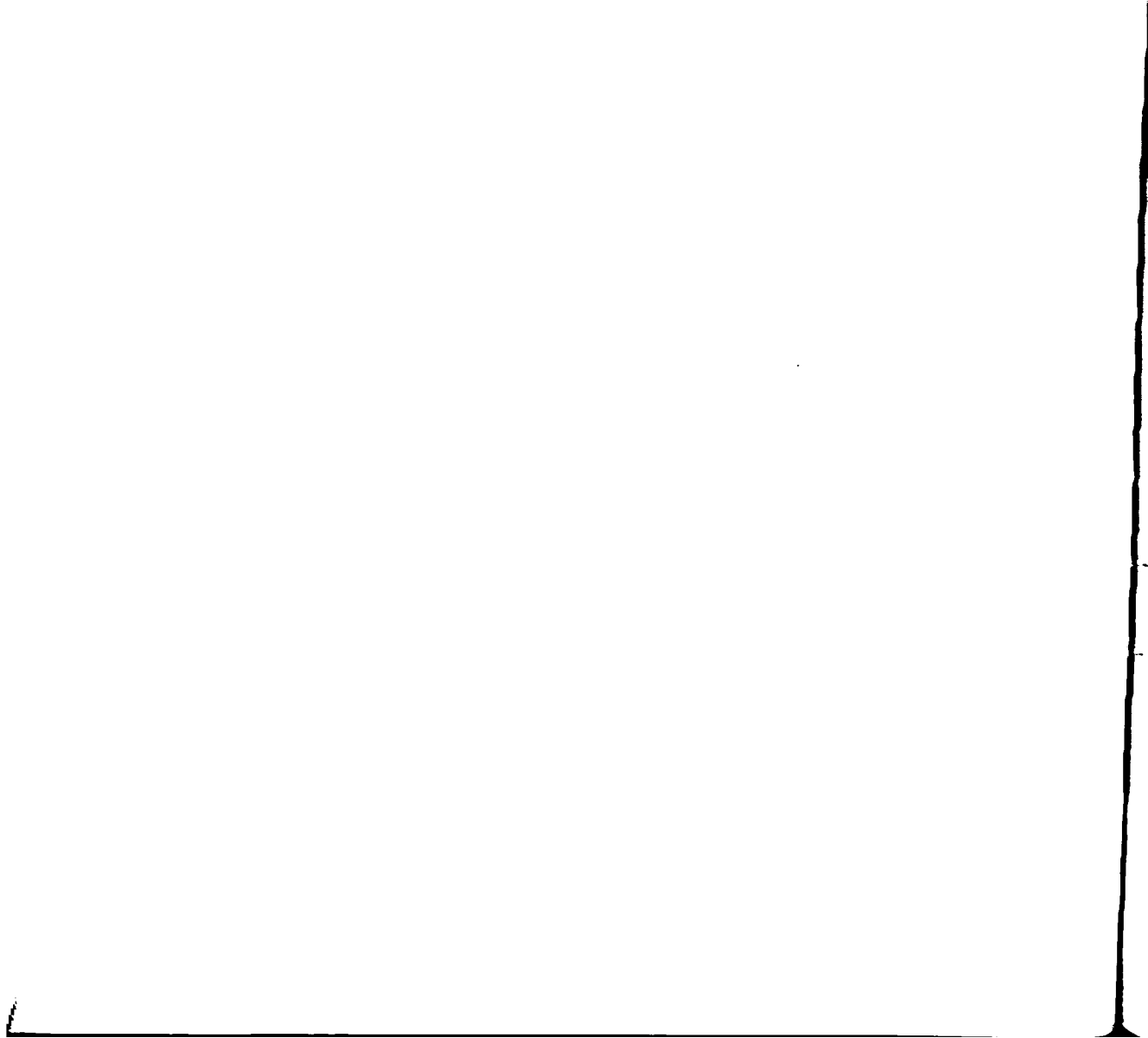
solidarity between our two parties and peoples are inseparable and indestructible, and impossible of being shaken by any force in the world. The friendship and solidarity of our two parties and peoples have been built on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, and they have been consolidated and developed in the just struggle of opposing imperialism headed by the United States of America and opposing modern revisionism. No matter what hardships and barriers lie in the road of our further progress, the friendship and solidarity between our two parties and peoples will become more intimate and solidified with the victorious development of the international Communist movement. We will forever fight together closely with the Albanian Labor party and people who struggle so valiantly in defending Marxism-Leninism. Our two parties and people will forever assume their common risks during the arduous days and enjoy common happiness in festive days of victory.

The Chinese Communists and people believe firmly that the industrious and brave people of Albania, under the correct leadership of Albanian Labor party headed by their well-tested leader Comrade Hoxha, will forge their glorious tradition of combat and revolution, and by hoisting high the revolutionary red flag of Marxism-Leninism, they are bound to surmount all difficulties



and garner new achievements in socialist reconstruction.

They are also bound to continue to smash all the provocations and assaults of imperialists and modern revisionists, and in the struggle to oppose imperialism and defend world peace as well as in the struggle to oppose modern revisionism and preserve the purity of Marxism-Leninism, they will make even greater contributions.



LENIN ON CLASS STRUGGLE DURING THE STAGE  
OF TRANSITION

Following is a translation of an article by  
Chu Po (2612 3134) and Cheng Hui (6774 1920)  
in Hung Ch'1 (Red Flag), Peiping, No.23/24,  
5 Dec. 62, pp 5-14.

Lenin has pointed out repeatedly that when political power is seized by the proletariat, it does not mean the end of proletarian revolution, but is the beginning of proletarian revolution under new conditions. For a considerably long period after the seizure of political power by the proletariat, class and class struggle will continue to exist, though the status, strength and conditions of the various classes and the pattern of class struggle will differ greatly from the period of bourgeois rule.

The ultimate goal of proletarian revolution is to realize communist society and eliminate classes. In order to eliminate class, it is necessary to do it through

class struggle and push class struggle to its end. Seizure of power of the proletariat will enable class struggle to enter a new stage. Lenin says: "Proletarian dictatorship is the utilization of the instrument of state power by the proletariat to wage class struggle." ("Election of Constitutional Assembly and Proletarian Dictatorship," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 30, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, p 238) The viewpoint that revolution is concluded or will soon be concluded when political power is obtained by the proletariat is in substance a bourgeois viewpoint. In launching anti-feudal revolution, it has been customary for the bourgeoisie to regard the seizure of political power as the end of revolution. On this problem Lenin has vehemently assailed the opportunists by pointing out that "it is just on this most important problem that the opportunists refuse to recognize that there is class struggle, that is, they do not recognize there is class struggle during the period of transition from capitalism toward communism and during the period when bourgeoisie is overthrown and thoroughly eliminated." (The State and Revolution, Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, p 399)

The viewpoint of modern revisionists on this question is just like that of the opportunists in the past.

Lenin has made outstanding deductions and discourse on the vital problem of class and class struggle during

the period of transition based on the rich experiences of Russian revolution and the revolutionary struggles of the people of various nations in the world. These discourses of Lenin are still fraught with combative realistic significance to our current struggle.

( 1 )

When the proletariat seizes state power from the bourgeoisie, it is not merely to accept the old state machinery, but they must thoroughly smash the old bourgeois state machinery to replace with a new state machinery of the proletariat. It is only so that it will be possible to thoroughly overthrow the ruling position of bourgeoisie in politics, to exploit the great bourgeoisie economically, and to gradually eliminate bourgeois ownership system.

Generally speaking, once the proletariat has obtained political power, it will be possible to economically destroy the great bourgeoisie more rapidly and to eliminate the capitalist ownership system in such areas as big industries, banks, railways, postal and telegraph services, foreign trade, and big commercial enterprises, thereby setting up the socialist people's ownership system. However, it may take longer time to implement socialist transformation on the capitalist components of the relatively diffused medium and small enterprises and agricul-

ture and commerce. Whether it is the exploitation against the great bourgeoisie or the transformation of medium and small capitalist economic components, there would be a serious class struggle. The proletariat must score complete victory in this struggle in which socialist ownership replaces capitalist ownership system. This has a decisive significance to the establishment and consolidation of socialist system.

When the privileged position and exploitative status of the bourgeoisie are shattered politically and economically, bourgeoisie as a class will have been destroyed, though it does not imply that this class has been eliminated. It is necessary for bourgeois elements to accept ideological and political transformation in the proletarian state, and this transformation forms another pattern of class struggle. A segment of them will continue to resist socialism. Lenin has pointed out repeatedly that the overthrown and exploited bourgeoisie would not be content with their own defeat, and during a long period after their overthrow, they will have the prerequisites and strength for resistance.

Lenin points out that the reason why the overthrown bourgeoisie will still be able to resist is because first they have international links and can secure the support of foreign capital. Second, they still have money and



assets, they have organizational and managerial ability and are familiar with the knowledge of managerial secrets (habits, methods, tactics and opportunities), they have better education and military tactics, and they have connections with the upper crust of intellectuals and senior technical personnel. Third, they can still find their own reserve strength from among the petty producers who are wavering toward socialism. It is because of this, according to Lenin, that the exploiters will preserve a great superiority in certain aspects long after they have been overthrown.

The struggle between bourgeoisie and proletariat will by no means be limited to the scope of one nation. Lenin says: capital is an international strength. The international bourgeoisie regard the socialist states as enemy, and they cherish the greatest vengeance against socialist states. It is only when they are weak that they will desist temporarily from the tactics of war in strangling socialist countries. When the socialist states are engaged in peaceful reconstruction, the imperialists might also "wish to convert peaceful economic reconstruction into the peaceful dissolution of the Soviet regime." ("The Ninth Congress of the Russian Communist [Bolshevik] Party," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 30, p 422).

The reactionary bourgeoisie would often connive with

foreign capital, betray their fatherland, attack the people and they are aligned and coordinated with the aggressions of imperialist nations. In this way, the resistance of bourgeoisie "can be changed from the resistance of a single nation into international resistance." As long as imperialist nations are not eliminated from the world, socialist states must be vigilant of this kind of internally and externally coordinated assaults. Lenin says: "We have always understood and will not forget that our enterprise is an international enterprise, consequently, before revolution in all countries (including the richest and most civilized ones) has been completed, our victory would be only one half, and perhaps less than one half." ("Address at the Celebration Rally of the Third Anniversary of October Revolution in Moscow")

The struggle of the proletariat with international and domestic bourgeoisie belongs to the struggle against an antagonistic class. Moreover, internally, there is the question of relationship between the proletariat and the broad petty bourgeoisie where it is necessary to adopt correct methods in struggling with them and reeducating and transforming them. Lenin says: "With a view to completely eliminating class, it is necessary not only to overthrow the exploiters, namely: landlords and capitalists and abolish their ownership system, but also

to abolish the private ownership of any means of production and eliminate the differences between cities and countryside and between physical labor and mental labor. This is an enterprise which requires a long period of time to realize. To consummate this enterprise, it is necessary to massively develop productive force, overcome the remnant resistance of innumerable petty producers (the kind of passive resistance that is most stubborn and difficult of overcoming) and surmount the tremendous traditional influences and conservative influences that are aligned with these remnants." ( "The Great Innovation," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 22, p 383)

The petty bourgeoisie with peasants as their main representatives is a class with dual waverings. As laborers, peasants may tread the road of socialism under proletarian leadership; as private owners, they spontaneously tend toward capitalism. Lenin has often reiterated: the relationship between proletariat and petty bourgeoisie is an important problem in any country of the world in which the proletariat has obtained political power. In nations where the petty bourgeoisie constitute an overwhelming majority of their population, this struggle will seem all the more protracted and arduous.

It is incumbent on the proletariat to undertake complex and arduous work in leading peasants to convert

their individual economy into collective economy and in using socialist collective ownership to replace the individual ownership system of peasants. This is in fact a vital struggle in which the proletariat vanquishes the urban and rural bourgeoisie and attracts the peasants to the side of socialism. The consummation of the transformation of peasants' individual ownership system is a measure of decisive significance in the further progress of peasants along the road of socialism.

By realizing the socialist transformation of individual economy, it becomes possible to gradually curb the traditional influences of petty bourgeoisie which produced originally on the basis of individual economy. However, these traditional influences which run counter to socialism will not disappear immediately, but would survive stubbornly in certain areas. Lenin says: "Until after many years, this phenomenon would not be changed by any collective system, collective farm, or commune." ("Speech at the All-Russian Transport Workers' Congress," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 263) Lenin has fully appraised the protracted nature of this transformation. He deems that "it will take several generations to transform poor peasants and their entire psychology and habits." ("The Tenth Congress of Russian Communist Bolshevik Party," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 205) During the long

process of socialist transformation, there will be people in this class who will waver and oscillate between socialism and capitalism. This kind of wavering has often been utilized by the bourgeoisie to launch counter-revolutionary restoration. Consequently, the struggle of the proletariat in educating and transforming the petty bourgeoisie is fraught with important significance in deciding the ultimate victory of the two-way struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Intellectuals do not constitute a class. In capitalist society there are bourgeois intellectuals, petty bourgeois intellectuals, and a few proletarian intellectuals. Intellectuals that have been raised and educated in capitalist society and serve the bourgeoisie, especially those of the upper strata who cherish bourgeois world outlook and habits are often incompatible with socialism both ideologically and psychologically. After the proletariat has obtained political power, there is the possibility as well as necessity for them to use bourgeois intellectuals to serve socialism, as well as to educate and transform them. Among bourgeois intellectuals are some who would insist on their old stand, while the majority of them could be won over. Nevertheless, this process of transformation and conversion is also protracted. Since time is needed to transform the bourgeois world outlook that is so deep-seated

among some experts and scholars, and since time is needed to eliminate the differences between mental labor and physical labor in society, Lenin deemed that "before the highest stage of development in communist society is attained, experts will form a special social stratum."

("The Functions and Tasks of Trade Unions under New Economic Policy," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 33, p 164). Thus, in the process of rallying and educating this stratum on the part of the proletariat, there is envisaged also the struggle with them.

By virtue of its protracted training in modernized mammoth production and its stealing by the cruel class struggle, the proletariat itself, especially the most advanced portion of it, is fraught with all the superior qualities and abilities for assuming the leadership role in socialist revolution and reconstruction. But we must also realize that "the proletariat is not without the setbacks and weaknesses of capitalist society. While it struggles for socialism, it must also oppose its own setbacks." ("The Eighth Russian Communist [Bolshevik] Party Congress," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 179). To foster socialist disciplines among the workers and struggle with and educate the few workers who insist on capitalist traditions and habits is also a special form of class struggle during the period of transition. This type



of struggle in which the method of persuasions is used will be continued for a considerable period of time.

( 2 )

It will be seen from the above that during the entire transitional period, class struggle will exist in diverse forms in connection with the two-way struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie and socialism and capitalism.

Lenin says in deducing this kind of struggle theoretically:

"Between capitalism and communism there is a period of transition which is unquestionable in theory. This period cannot but have the characteristics and features of these two kinds of social and economic structures. This period cannot but be one of mutual struggle between the withering capitalism and the growing communism." ("The Economy and Politics during the Period of Proletarian Dictatorship," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 30, p 87)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory concerning class struggle during the period of transition represents a further synthesis based on Lenin's ideology and the new experience of socialist reconstruction. He says:

"In China, although socialist transformation has been basically completed in the system of ownership, and the mammoth mass class struggle of a turbulent nature during the period of revolution has been concluded, nevertheless,

the remnants of overthrown landlords and compradores are still there, the bourgeoisie is still there, and the petty bourgeoisie is being transformed. Class struggle has not been concluded yet. The class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie, the class struggle between various parties in political strength, and the class struggle in consciousness and pattern between proletariat and bourgeoisie will still be protracted, devious, and even violent sometimes. The proletariat wants to transform the world according to its own world outlook, while the bourgeoisie also wants to transform the world according to its own world outlook. In this aspect, the question as to who will win and who will lose between socialism and capitalism has not been really solved yet." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People," Jen-min Ch'u-pan-shu, 1957, pp 26-27)

After the establishment of socialist economic basis in a socialist country, the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie is further intensified in the spheres of economy, politics and ideology under more devious and complex patterns. Lenin was then faced with the situation in which the socialist transformation of economy had not yet been completed while petty agrarian economy existed enormously. Nevertheless, his estimate of the protracted and complex nature of the struggle between prole-

proletariat and bourgeoisie in each sphere is fraught with even more permanent significance.

Lenin anticipated fully that the struggle with bourgeoisie in the ideological sphere would be a protracted and arduous task. He regards this struggle as one of the principal tasks of socialist revolution. In several centuries of historical development, capitalism has created a stupendous bourgeois civilization and has extensively utilized religion. In Lenin's parlance, this is tantamount to thousands of ropes and chains which shackle the laboring people. After the privileged status of bourgeoisie in politics and economy has been shattered, they have tried to use this superior weapon which they have upheld in ideology to attack socialism. A segment of laboring masses has inherited diverse backward traditions, habits and prejudices which are favorable to the ideological offensives of the bourgeoisie. In bourgeois literature, art, philosophy and religion, bourgeois ideology has been revealed even more systematically, intensively and meticulously. It is difficult for the masses to recognize these things. Lenin has explained the lure of religion to the people. He says: "The masses can detect innumerable crimes, evils, brutalities and infectious diseases, and it is much easier than to explode the concept of god that is so elegantly and so cleverly garbed in the cloak of 'ideology.'"

["To A. M. Gorky," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 35, p

106) The proletariat, with a view to building socialism, must obtain all useful things from the cultural heritages of bourgeois literature, art, philosophy, etc. In the process of criticizing and succeeding to these cultural heritages, influences of bourgeois ideology would be disseminated, especially through bourgeois intellectuals who have not yet been transformed. In the meantime, international imperialism has also emphasized the use of decadent capitalist culture under fashionable disguises to infiltrate socialist states in order to corrode the soul of laboring people.

Lenin deems that the struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie in economic sphere would not disappear rapidly. He says: "As long as the electrification of industry and agriculture is not completed or basically completed, and as long as the entire roots of petty economy and market control have not been completely severed by electrification, economic struggle will exist and is inevitable."

("The Functions and Tasks of Trade Unions Under the New Economic Policy," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 33, p 157)

Lenin paid great attention to the struggle with such capitalist conduct as graft and thievery, speculation and cornering. He also paid considerable attention to these conditions: Certain socialist state enterprises and col-

lective economic organizations have insisted on capitalist traditions, produced anarchical conditions and speculation and cornering, and they have even been usurped by landlords and capitalists. He says: "Landlord capitalists have only been defeated and lurking, and they often paint themselves with the 'protective' color of the 'Soviets.' Many landlords have wormed into state farms, and many capitalists have penetrated to diverse 'bureaus' and 'centers' becoming Soviet staff themselves." ("Letter to Workers and Peasants on Victory against Kao-erh-ch'a-k'o," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 509) Lenin further says that under certain circumstances, it would be possible to produce an extremely small number of new bourgeois elements from among the Soviet staff.

The routine assaults of bourgeoisie against the proletariat in ideological and economic spheres would also reflect themselves in the political sphere. Lenin deems that the "superstructure of politics will continue to exist before class is eliminated and a proletarian society is established." ("Further on Trade Union, Current Situation, and Deviations of Trotsky and Bukharin," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 69) The proletariat has implemented a series of socialist reforms in various phases of social life, and "in the entire period of transition, there were among those who resisted this reform capitalist

who self-consciously resisted as well as their numerous followers among bourgeois intellectuals and also laborers who were overly careful in observing the habits and traditions of petty bourgeoisie and who resisted unconsciously." ("Salute to Hungarian Workers," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 351) These opponents are bound to find their political proxies to cope with the proletariat. Thus, the struggle is often demonstrated within the Communist party, the socialist regime, and such mass organizations as trade unions, etc.

All the above-mentioned struggles in ideology, economics and politics are important ones that would decide who will win and who will lose in the class struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie and in the two-way struggle between capitalism and socialism.

Based on his abundant historical experiences, Lenin tells us that in history any change in a new or old social system must undergo protracted and devious struggles. The strength of the old class is bound to make a desperate struggle in order to save its demise. "Half a century after the abolition of serfdom in Russia, there still prevailed in rural villages remnants of this system. After slavery had been abandoned in the United States for some 50 years, Negroes there remained in semi-slavery." ("The Great Innovation," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 386)

The transition from capitalism to communism is the most difficult transition in human history, consequently, compared to the transition of any social system in history, there is no doubt that it must pass through a more serious struggle.

( 3 )

In this decisive struggle between proletariat and bourgeoisie during the period of transition, will there be the danger of bourgeois counter-revolutionary restoration? Lenin says: "There has never been a revolution in history that after victory was gained, everything would be all right and there would be no need to worry... Even a minor revolution of the bourgeoisie in which political power is shifted from a minority of haves to another minority of haves would not be like this." ("The Achievements and Difficulties of the Soviet Regime," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 47) In the bourgeois revolution in England, after the overthrow of King's rule, there would be followed by the restoration of the old reigning house. After the victory of bourgeois revolution in France, there came a recurrent process of the restoration of feudal forces. Lenin deems that even after the proletariat has obtained political power, the danger of bourgeois would be there, and under certain circumstances and in



a limited scope, this kind of restoration might even succeed. Lenin made hypotheses on the failure of the proletariat in war, on deteriorations during the process of economic reconstruction, and on the period of temporary victory in counter-revolution. On the eve of October revolution, Lenin said: "We do not know if there would be a temporary period of reactionarism and a period of temporary victory for counter-revolution, neither of which is impossible." ("On the Revision of Party Constitution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 26, p 151) During the period of new economic policy after the October revolution, there was a counter-revolutionary political group--the deviationists among Russian exiles abroad which deemed that the Bolshevik policy might lead to "deterioration", and alledged that Soviet Russia "would certainly head toward an ordinary bourgeois state." Naturally, the new economic policy was not one that would lead to the deterioration of the proletariat. But Lenin deemed that this view of the counter-revolutionary sect was "really the class truth that has been so brutally uttered by the class enemy." ("The 11th Congress of Russian Communist [Bolshevik] Party," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 33, p 253) This is because they were the very people who wanted the socialist state to head toward deterioration. Lenin cautioned his people to be alert, because what the enemy "said was possible. There have been all kinds of



deteriorations in history."

Since the bourgeoisie has accumulated rich experiences of ruling in centuries past, they are most skillful and shrewd in waging struggle against the proletariat. The bourgeoisie is adept in flexibly changing its pattern of struggle in accordance with changes in class struggle conditions. During the period of bourgeois rule, when they feel that it would be more favorable to adopt a mild form of government to consolidate their dictatorship, they would assume the pattern of parliamentary democracy. But as soon as this pattern is no longer useful for their rule, they would immediately turn to sanguinary military dictatorship. After the overthrow of their rule, they would be equally adept in adopting diverse patterns to wage the struggle for restoration. For instance, one is the pattern of "force" in which they would unleash military coup and armed revolt; another kind is "civil" in which they would clandestinely plot the internal deterioration of the proletarian regime. No matter what pattern is resorted to, they are extremely facile in adopting "revolutionary slogans" and pretending "revolutionary" postures so that their spurious revolutionary pattern will be fitted with counter-revolutionary contents.

In summing up the 1921 lesson of the military coup of Kronstadt, Lenin points out that the counter-revolu-

tionaries "would even accept the slogans of Soviet system if they could overthrow the Russian proletarian dictatorship." ("The 10th Congress of Russian Communist Bolshevik Party," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 229-230) They used the slogan of "supporting the Soviet that is not participated by the Bolsheviks" in order to deceive the masses. Lenin says: "These facts prove fully that if they can weaken and overthrow the pillars of Russian proletarian revolution, even the white guards would try to disguise themselves as Communists, and even as the most left Communists." ( ibid ) Lenin points out further that the enemy would resort to the method of storming the fortress from inside in order to overthrow the proletarian state. "These enemies have already learned that there would be no hope for them to engage in counter-revolutionary activities overtly under the white guard banner. So they try to utilize the internal dissensions of the Russian Communist party and transfer political power to political groups that seem to support the Soviet regime superficially in order to push their counter-revolution." ( "The 10th Congress of Russian Communist Bolshevik party, Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, pp 230 and 166)

Lenin deems that in an environment of complex class struggle, "what happened outside the party would be partially reflected in the party and it is extremely import-

ant to realize this point." (ibid) After the Communist party has become the ruling party, not only the imperialists and the defeated exploiters will send their spies into the party and some of the ambitious and speculative elements will try to infiltrate it, what is more serious is that with the inroads of bourgeois influences and the habits and influences of old society, some of the wavering elements in the party will deteriorate. Under such circumstances, it would be almost impossible to avoid the emergence of opportunist groups within the party. These right opportunists would connive with the bourgeoisie to assail the proletariat, create dissensions, and engage in sabotages in order to usurp the party's leadership. Unless this is checkmated, it would disintegrate and corrode the entire party. Once the ruling Communist party is usurped by the opportunists, the counter-revolutionary restoration of the bourgeoisie will become a fact. This poses a mortal peril to proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. Thus Lenin has reiterated that no matter it is before or after the seizure of power by the proletariat, a protracted, stubborn and ruthless struggle must be waged with the opportunists. Unless we can thoroughly defeat opportunism, it would be basically impossible to speak of the victory of proletarian dictatorship or of consolidating this victory. Lenin says:

"This kind of struggle, as has been proven by experience, is the use of weapons to criticize rather than the use of criticism as a weapon. In exposing those who show signs of reformism or "middle-of-the-road elements," any weakness or lack of thoroughness would directly increase the danger of the overthrow of proletarian political power by the bourgeoisie. The bourgeoisie would utilize tomorrow what the shortsighted people regard today as things of only "theoretical divergence" in order to reach their goal of counter-revolution." ("Outline of the Basic Tasks of the Second Communist Internationale," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 31, p 166)

Lenin's discourse on this problem has already borne out by new historical facts.

The Hungarian incident of October 1956 flared up under the instigation of international imperialism and the coordination of domestic counter-revolutionary forces in Hungary. On the one hand, the reactionary bourgeoisie of Hungary usurped party and state leadership through such renegades as Na-chi and others, and on the other hand, they overtly resorted to armed uprising. This is another serious manifestation of counter-revolutionary restoration in a socialist country. Under the support of the army of the Soviet Union, this counter-revolutionary restoration was quickly suppressed.

Yugoslavia has already been deteriorated from a socialist country into a capitalist country. Under the shingles of "socialism" and "communism," the modern revisionists of Yugoslavia have realized their designs of bourgeois restoration so that their nation has returned to the road of capitalism politically and economically. This is another restoration that has been pursued by the bourgeoisie in the pattern of "peaceful evolution."

Both old and modern revisionists deny that there is class struggle during the period of transition between capitalism and communism; they deny that there can be any danger of capitalist restoration during this period. Their aim is no other than that of paralysing the revolutionary will of the proletariat and laboring people so that they will abandon their class vigilance and class struggle in order to facilitate the subversive activities of imperialists and the counter-revolutionary restoration of the bourgeoisie.

( 4 )

With a view to averting the dangers of bourgeois restoration, the most important thing is that the Communist party, as the leading strength of socialist states, must uphold its character as the proletarian vanguards and insist on the purity of Marxism-Leninism. It is only with

such a party that it will be possible to organize the working class and revolutionary people in correctly waging the complex class struggle during the period of transition and to correctly implement the proletarian dictatorship that is urgently needed during the entire transitional period.

We must not think that proletarian dictatorship is needed in a certain brief stage during the period of transition. This kind of approach is basically against Marxism-Leninism. Lenin has explained succinctly on this question. He says:

"The dictatorship of a single class is needed not only by the general class society and by the proletariat that has overthrown the bourgeoisie, but it is also needed in the entire historic period of transition from capitalism to 'classless society' and to communism. It is only by understanding this point that one may be considered as having comprehended the substance of Marxist state theory." ( "The State and Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, p 400 and 399)

While proletarian dictatorship enforces dictatorship to the enemy, it practices extensive democracy among the people. Lenin says: the state of proletarian dictatorship "must be a new type of democratic state ( which is democratic to the proletariat and to poor people) as well as

a new type of dictatorial state ( dictatorial to the bourgeoisie)." (ibid)

Lenin says: "The characteristic of this entire historic period is the suppression of capitalist resistance, and consequently, it is the systematic use of brutal force on the entire class (bourgeoisie) and its accomplices."

("People Scared by the Bankruptcy of Old Things and People Who Struggle for New Things," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 26, p 376) This is one of the important functions of the proletariat. There should be no liberty and democracy for the enemies of socialism, nor can we permit them to use freedom and democracy for restoration activities. Speaking about the deprivation of the freedom of press for bourgeoisie, Lenin says: " The bourgeois (in the entire world) is many times stronger than us. If they are permitted the freedom of political organization (= freedom of press because it is the center and basis of political organization), it would be tantamount to helping the class enemies." "We don't wish to commit suicide, and we will never do this." ("Letter to K. Mi-yas-su-ni-k'o-fu," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 492)

It is obvious that there should be freedom of speech for the anti-socialists, this would be tantamount to opening up a road for the bourgeois attack of the proletariat ideologically and politically, thereby facilitat-

ing the intrigues of bourgeois restoration.

Where there is proletarian dictatorship, internal dissensions may flare up among the bourgeoisie. Consequently, it is essential to deal with bourgeoisie in accordance with varying conditions. Lenin divided capitalists into two categories. Ruthless punishments should be meted out against the "uncivilized capitalists" who refused to compromise with the Soviet regime and continued to engage in sabotages. "Civilized capitalists" who accepted reform and were willing to serve the proletariat could adopt the method of redemption in realizing their socialist transformation. Naturally, this differential treatment for capitalists must be based on the principle that it will be beneficial to socialist enterprises and proletarian dictatorship.

There is not only no contradiction between dictatorship among the enemies and extensive democracy among the people, but they are mutually coordinated and mutually accelerating. The more resolutely is this dictatorship against the enemy implemented, the more protection there will be for people's democracy; and the more fully is the democracy of the people forged, the more effective will be the dictatorship.

Lenin says: "The proletarian system of democracy  
| suppresses the bourgeois exploiters --it does not deceive|



them by promising them with freedom and democracy--but it gives genuine democracy to laborers. It is only in Soviet Russia that freedom and democracy are granted to the proletariat and the entire laborers who occupy the overwhelming majority of the population and this has never been realized in any bourgeois democratic republic." ("Proletarian Revolution and the Traitor Kautsky," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 28, pp 91-92)

As has been stated before, there are also class contradictions and struggles among the people themselves. In the process of leading the peasants to tread the road of socialism on the part of the working class, there is the two-way struggle between socialism and capitalism. However, while the struggle between socialism and capitalism may remain the same, nevertheless, the struggle between the proletariat and the remnants of reactionary bourgeoisie is of one kind, and the struggle between the proletariat and the wavering character of certain backward stratum among the people is of a different kind. These two sets of conditions must not be confounded. Lenin points out the distinctions as follows:

"Middle peasants are not our enemy. They have wavered before, are wavering now, and will waver in future. The task of winning the wavering elements is different than that of overthrowing exploiters and vanquishing sinister

enemies." ("The Valuable Confessions of Pi-t'i-li-mo So-lo-chin," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 28, pp 172-173, and 167) This is because the basic interests of the ordinary petty bourgeois peasants and the proletariat are identical. No matter how much they waver, this basic fact will not be changed, that is, from the standpoint of the whole, this class will stand on the side of proletarian revolution. Lenin further says: "Our task concerning landlords and capitalists is complete exploitation. But we must not take any brutal tactic on middle peasants."

("The 8th Congress of Russian Communist Bolshevik Party," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 29, p 176) Lenin stressed time and again that we must use the method of persuasive education in order to rectify the spontaneous tendency of peasants towards capitalism and attract them to participate in collective farms. Although Lenin had said this when petty agrarian economy was not yet completely reformed, but this principle still has its universal significance.

Lenin also made careful analysis regarding the treatment of intellectuals. In the case of "bourgeois experts" who are "honest in their work and familiar with their respective businesses," even though their ideology may not be the same as communism, but if they do not have connections with anti-revolutionary white guards politi-

cally, we must then treat them with the attitude of comrades and patiently help them pursue reforms. Lenin further mentioned certain contradictions prevailing in actual life: "Some people who obviously are not reactionary have nevertheless intransigently propagated reactionary philosophical viewpoint." ("The Valuable Confessions of Pi-t'i-li-mo So-lo-chin," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 28, p 167) Naturally, specific analysis should be made on this kind of condition. While we should criticize the reactionary philosophy of these people, but we must not regard them as political enemies just because they have erred academically. Of course, in the case of an extremely few reactionary bourgeois intellectuals who viciously attack socialism both politically and ideologically, a firm blow on them must be dealt by the proletariat.

It can be seen that we must correctly understand the nature of contradictions and struggle among the people and handle them correctly before people's democracy can be developed, before the proletariat can successfully launch educational work among the people of other classes and strata to help their reform, and before the self-education of the proletariat can be effectively pursued.

It is only so that we will be able to incessantly solidify proletarian dictatorship, ~~strengthen~~ the internal solidarity among the people, and fully develop positiveness

for socialist reconstruction.

Lenin further estimated that although the divergences between workers and peasants belong to internal divergence, nevertheless, if they are neglected or handled inadequately, contradictions will grow and even reach the danger of disruption. He says: "In our Soviet Republic, the social system is based on the cooperation between workers and peasants...If serious class cleavages should arise between these two classes, rupture would be inevitable. However, in our social system, there is no such basis for the inevitable occurrence of this rupture." ("How to Reorganize the Worker-Peasant Inspectorate," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 33, p 440)

Lenin asked the entire party to closely watch conditions that might be conducive to rupture and to prevent this condition. The bourgeoisie must be prevented from alienating the workers and peasants and from inciting peasants to follow the bourgeoisie. Lenin points out that in regard to these two results in the development of worker-peasant contradictions, "the more clearly we can see through them, and the greater understanding among the entire workers and peasants in our country, the greater possibility there will be to avoid the rupture that would destroy the Soviet Republic." (ibid)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung has succinctly deduced the

social contradictions during the period of transition as contradictions between the enemy and ourselves and the internal contradictions among the people, and he points out that different methods should be used in solving these two kinds of contradictions. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "The people's democratic dictatorship has two methods. To the enemy it is the method of dictatorship which is to say that when necessary, we will not allow them to participate in political activities, we will force them to observe the laws of the people's government, compel them to perform labor and transform them into new people through labor. To the people it is just the opposite. Instead of using the method of force, we use democracy which is to say that we must permit them to participate in political activities, and instead of forcing them to do this and that, we will apply democratic method in order to launch education and persuasion among them. This kind of educational work is the work of self-education among the people, and the method of criticism and self-criticism forms the basic method for self-education." (On the Correct Handling of Internal Contradictions Among the People, p 9)

Comrade Mao Tse-tung's theory concerning these two kinds of contradictions is completely in keeping with Lenin's ideology. This is an important growth of Marxism-Leninism. With this important theoretical guidance, we

have therefore found the compass for correct recognition and action in the extremely arduous and complex realities of class struggle during the period of transition.

We must meticulously distinguish between the contradiction between the enemy and ourselves and the contradiction among the people, and correctly handle these two kinds of contradictions. This is to say that we must not neglect the contradictions between the enemy and ourselves that prevail both internationally and domestically during the period of transition and we should not handle contradictions between the enemy and ourselves as internal contradictions among the people. In the meantime, we must not regard everything that concerns the two-way struggle between socialism and capitalism indiscriminately as belonging to the contradiction and struggle between the enemy and ourselves. We should be adept in adopting the method of democratic persuasion to resolve this two-way struggle that is reflected among the people.

Our task is to rely on this sharp weapon of Marxist-Leninist theory in order to sweep away the diverse ideological clouds of class struggle that have been spread by bourgeoisie and revisionism during the period of transition and in order to correctly wage class struggle during this period of transition so as to ensure the final victory of socialist and communist reconstruction.

As has been said by Lenin, when a new class steps onto the historic stage as the leader and guide of society, there cannot but be the greatest turmoil, shock, struggle and storm. The proletariat, as the leading class on the stage of world struggle devoted to extirpating all exploitations and oppressions in human history, is equipped with sufficient spiritual preparations to cope with all the terrific storms. No matter how turbulent is the tempest on the road, history would proceed along its predetermined course. It is the broad people who will decide historical conclusions. We will always be full of confidence. Lenin has well said: "Communists should realize that the future belongs to them eventually so that we can ( and should) coordinate the greatest enthusiasm with the most calm and sober estimation in the great revolutionary struggle." (" 'Leftist' Infantilism in Communist Movement," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 31, p 63) Based on this spirit and on the resplendent beacon of Marxism-Leninism, we are bound to sail victoriously to the shore of communism in our voyage of proletarian revolution.

10



THE PROBLEM OF THE RESTORATION OF FEUDAL  
REIGN DURING THE PERIOD OF ENGLISH  
BOURGEOIS REVOLUTION

Following is a translation of an article by  
Wu Chieh-min (0702 0094 3046) in Hung Ch'i  
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pp 15-27.

Revolution is an action of brutal force whereby an emerging class overthrows a decadent class. It is not to be accomplished in a single day when the ruled tries to thoroughly defeat the ruling class. The reactionary class will never withdraw voluntarily from the historic stage, but would make the most desperate efforts to resist. Even after they have been overthrown, they would also make an attempt for restoration in order to recoup their lost status. Thus, if the new class wishes to thoroughly defeat the decadent class and establish its own rule firmly, there is bound to undergo a repeated, devious and protracted

struggle. The revolutionary struggle in which the bourgeoisie overthrew the feudal landlords had passed through such a struggle. The bourgeois revolution of England during the middle of 17th century had been like this.

The bourgeois revolution of England began in 1640. At the beginning of the revolution, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility formed an alliance centered in the Parliament and unfolded a struggle with the Stuart dynasty. At this time the Parliament adopted a series of measures to restrain the powers of the King. With a view to upholding the absolute rule by royal power, King Charles I took revenge on the Parliament, and early in 1642, he led his soldiers to arrest the leaders of his opponents in Parliament but without success. Thereafter, the King left London northward for Yorkshire, where he sought the support of feudal lords, assembled an armed force and declared war on Parliament. In 1646 the royal army was eventually routed by the parliamentary army and the King was arrested. Charles I who was then relegated to a prisoner still could not forget his lost royal power and actively plotted intrigues. In the meantime, the royalists who supported the monarchy also plotted for the restoration of the royal house. They staged an uprising in 1648, again unleashing civil war and resulted in defeat. Under the pressure of the people and army, and under the auspices of Cromwell

who commanded the Parliamentary army, King Charles I was sentenced to death. The Stuart dynasty collapsed. In 1649 Parliament proclaimed the abolition of monarchy and established a bourgeois republic. However, the feudal nobles that had been overthrown refused to concede defeat, and on the contrary, they launched a series of activities for restoration. Then, Charles Stuart, son of Charles I who was residing in Holland, quickly connived with the conservatives of Scotland in the hope of using their help to restore his crown. In 1650 Charles Stuart arrived in Scotland and organized an army to push into England, but was defeated by the Parliamentary army commanded by Cromwell. He escaped into France and his attempt of restoration failed. Cromwell dissolved parliament in 1653 and set up a military dictatorship. In 1660, General Monk, a monarchist that had infiltrated into the Parliamentary army, conducted negotiations with Charles Stuart on behalf of conservatives of the parliament. With the support of conservatives represented by General Monk, Charles was proclaimed King Charles II of England, thus restoring the rule of the feudal royal house. Some 28 years after that, the bourgeoisie and new nobility again unleashed a coup d'etat and finally overthrew the Stuarts. They welcomed Prince William of Orange from Holland to become King of England, thus setting up a bourgeois regime in the pattern

of constitutional monarchy. During the period of bourgeois revolution in England, from its unleashing in 1640 to the establishment of bourgeois dictatorship in 1688, the reactionary forces of feudalism had incessantly and frantically launched restoration activities, and for almost a half century, a devious and repeated struggle was staged. Even after the bourgeois dictatorship was stabilized in 1688, the descendants of Stuart dynasty and remnant feudal forces still launched several armed restorations, though without success.

Here, we wish to discuss some of the problems of the restoration of feudal kingdom during the period of English bourgeois revolution.

( 1 )

That any defeated feudal dynasty was bound to engage in restoration is determined by the class position of the reactionary ruling class. This is an unavoidable phenomenon in class struggle and a historic fact that has happened frequently in class society.

Feudal nobles were the main pillars of autocracy in England. For several centuries this class had ruled England; they obtained their fiefs from the king, owned large tracts of land, employed antiquated methods of exploitation to plunder the peasants, and forced the peasants

to pay feudal rents and assume feudal obligations. They controlled the local governments: nobles served as magistrates, justices of peace and commanders of militia, and enjoyed absolute rights over the inhabitants. The stability of the feudal royal house implied that they could perpetuate their oppression and exploitation. Another pillar of autocracy was the English Anglican church. The Church formed the spiritual instrument with which the King ruled the people, as it infused among the people the legend that sovereignty was conferred by God, that the King was the proxy of God on earth, so that the people would obey his rule and stay in the position of exploited. The price they obtained from the feudal royal house was that the government of the King should ensure the main source of church income--the tithe. Thus, while church supported the King's power, it was also solidifying its own privileged status.

At that time, the King of England was not only the supreme representative of the interests of feudal lords and the church, but he himself was the biggest feudal land owner. It was his sacred duty to uphold feudal land ownership and feudal order. Before the revolution, the domain of the King and the land of great feudal lords had dwindled continuously, having been shifted into the hands of new nobles. No matter how much their economic

positions had declined, they nevertheless continued to maintain their pomp and style of aristocracy, and the further they were heading toward ruin, the more they missed their past extravagances and glories. The king deemed that his powers had been endowed by God and therefore were inviolable. James I, who was father of Charles I, used to declare: "to discuss God is blasphemy; to discuss the King is treasonous." "I won't tolerate any discussion of my power. Monarchy is the most supreme system on earth. Kings being the proxies of God on earth, they sit on the throne of God, and even God himself also addressed them as gods." This ruler and his entourage never imagined that they would be overthrown. Who would be so audacious as to infringe on the King's throne! Once they were overthrown or forced to yield their ground, they would not be content with their defeat, and where there was any ray of hope for them to restore their lost "paradise," they would always hope to translate this hope into the action of restoration.

In overthrowing the rule of feudal nobles and their royal house, the English bourgeoisie used Parliament as the ground of their struggle and the struggle between the feudal dynasty and the emerging bourgeoisie manifested itself in the struggle against parliament. Long before the revolution there had been a parliament in England.

This Parliament was divided into two houses: members of

the upper house consisting of hereditary nobles and ecclesiastical nobles, and the lower house consisting of citizens (predecessors of bourgeoisie) and the representatives of middle and small aristocrats. The various bills of taxation of the King's government must pass through the lower house before they could become effective. Since 17th century, capitalistic elements made rapid strides in England, and following the steady growth of the economic strength of the bourgeoisie, bourgeoisie began to occupy a position of pivotal importance in Parliament. Whenever the government asked for an increase of tax, this would affect the interests of taxpayers of whom the bourgeoisie was the mainstay. Consequently, the Parliament often opposed the government, and dissolution of Parliament became the counter blow the King would deal against the bourgeoisie.

Because of the need of enormous sums of money for suppressing the Scotch uprising, King Charles I was obliged to convene Parliament in April 1640. However, Parliament rejected the King's bill for military funds, and asked him to rescind all measures in which his powers were abused during the period when Parliament was dissolved. Consequently, Charles I dissolved this session of the parliament, and because it had been in session less than one month, it was dubbed the Short Parliament.

Dissolution of Parliament caused a demonstration

against autocratic government, and the Scots launched their military offensive. Under this exigency, Charles I had to convene a new Parliament in November 1640. This Parliament lasted till 1653, and was therefore called the Long Parliament. At the beginning of bourgeois revolution, the Long Parliament played an important role. It was the center of activities for the struggle of the bourgeoisie and its allies--the new nobles against the feudal royal house.

Beginning from 1641, under the support of the people, Parliament dealt a series of blows to the autocratic feudal royal dynasty. Nevertheless, the King did not lay down his arms, and while retreating and fighting, he watched carefully for an opportunity of revenge.

For instance, Parliament insisted that the King's favorite minister Strafford be sentenced to death for treason. He at first interfered and then postponed the approval of the sentence. It was only when the people laid a siege on the palace which endangered his own safety that Charles I was compelled to concede and signed the death sentence. Also for instance, the Parliament introduced a bill in February 1641 that without its own consent, Parliament could not be dissolved. Approval of this bill would signify that the King could no longer treat Parliament like what he did before at will. Thus, he procrast-



minated in attacking the royal seal to this law until May of that year when due to political pressure he had to make this important concession.

Apparently, the concessions of the King would be limited. In November 1641 Parliament decided to present a bill to the King known as the "Grand Remonstrance" in which it asked him to suspend all kinds of abuses of power by the government and to confer greater powers to the Parliament. With a view to upholding his powers that were threatened, the King decided to attack the Parliament. In January 1642 he led his own royal guards to arrest five of the most famous leaders of Parliament who, nevertheless, had decamped beforehand.

Thereafter Charles I left London for the north of England to mass his military strength and unleash civil war. From then on, the parliamentary struggle during the period of English bourgeois revolution came to an end, while the moribund class brought armed struggle into the agenda.

The King who was captured in the first civil war did not contemplate of compromise with the Parliament; he refused negotiations with Parliament, though signed a secret agreement with reactionary Scots in which he requested the Scots to send their armed force to England to help restore the royal regime. After the defeat of

the second civil war launched by royalists, the King continued to refuse any concession to Parliament and waited for foreign intervention to help him regain his throne. Charles I never gave up his attempt at restoration until he was sentenced to death. After his death, he was succeeded by his son Charles Stuart who eventually, by his deceitful promise, realized the restoration of the Stuart house.

After the death of Charles II, James II succeeded the throne. In 1688, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility unleashed a palace coup, installed William as King of England, and established a stable bourgeois regime. Though the influences were gone, but the descendants of the Stuarts and the remnant forces of feudalism were not content with the overthrow of their royal house, and launched repeated activities for restoration. After the escape of James II into France in 1688, King Louis XIV of France continued to recognize him as King of England. After the death of James II in 1701, France immediately proclaimed his younger son as King of England, known as James "III." In 1708, James "III" connived with royalists in England and under the armed escort of France, landed in England, though it ended in failure. In 1715, the restorationists unleashed an armed uprising in Scotland which also ended in debacle. In 1719, with Spanish support, James "III"

made another abortive attempt to land in England. In 1745, the son of James "III" also attempted to restore the reign of the Stuarts. He went to Scotland from France and made himself King James VIII of Scotland. Thereafter he led an army to invade England but was routed by government troops. Although they met repeated debacles, the restorational activities of remnant forces of reactionary feudalism did not stop until the middle of the 19th century when they gradually subsided.

These historical experiences tell us that there is no ruling class that would automatically withdraw without a struggle, nor is there any defeated class that would give up its ruling powers without a desperate struggle. Although with changes in objective situation and in the comparisons of class strength, they may concede expediently, make temporary concessions and use spurious promises to paralyse the revolutionary class, but these are no more than a tactic of class struggle waged by the reactionary and wayward class. Their attempt for restoration, their desire to recover their lost throne of reactionary rule, and their reactionary class character will never change even till death. With a view to achieving the goal of restoration, the defeated class might adopt diverse shameful tactics, and even condescent to sycophancy and humiliation in begging for the support of foreign reactionary forces.

Marx says: No autocracy "would be willing to change itself into a bourgeois monarchy. It would never abdicate voluntarily. Besides the monarch himself who is biased, there are also a large number of civil, military and ecclesiastical bureaucrats who shackle their hands, because this component of autocratic monarchy would never be willing to surrender their own ruling position for positions under the bourgeoisie. On the other hand, feudal grades are extremely conservative, and to them this is a question of existence or death, as well as the question of either preserving their properties or expropriating them. No matter how the bourgeoisie would pledge their sincerity, the autocratic monarch would still consider that his real interests are identical with the interests of these feudal classes, and this is very obvious." ( "Moralization of Criticism and Criticism of Morality," Complete Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 4, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, pp 347-348) These words profoundly elucidate another important law of class struggle.

( 2 )

When a revolutionary class proves itself irresolute, compromising, tolerant and conciliatory in the struggle with counter-revolutionary forces, it cannot but provide facilities for the restoration of these forces.

The bourgeois revolution of England was launched under conditions in which bourgeoisie was allied with the new nobility. The latter was a splinter group from feudal lords. They were different from the old nobles who obtained their sources of livelihood from feudal rents, and mainly they were a new type of landlords who exploited the peasants with capitalist methods. Among them some operated farms, others operated ranches, still others rented out their land to agricultural capitalists, or opened mills of subsidiary occupation or engaged in commerce. In short, the new nobles had developed manifold links with capitalist economic system. The kind of land relationship they had, in fact, had been converted from feudal ownership to capitalistic ownership. This bourgeois revolution purported at the overthrowing of feudal productive relations and the feudal class which realized these relations in order to clear up the obstacles to the development of capitalism. This revolution stemmed from the demand of English bourgeoisie that had been shaped in the wake of the growth of capitalist economy, and it was also beneficial to the enterprises of the new nobility who had become bourgeoisie themselves. Because of the common economic interests of the new nobility and bourgeoisie, they had cemented themselves together during the process of bourgeois revolution and the new nobility became the ally of bourgeoisie. Marx

says: "In 1648, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility formed an alliance to oppose monarchism, feudal lords, and the dominant church." ("The Bourgeoisie and Counter-revolution," Complete Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 6, p 124)

While the fact this class of large land owners who constituted the new nobility was standing in the same camp with bourgeoisie had increased the strength of the latter in its struggle with feudal influences, it also caused the English bourgeois revolution to be fraught with the spirit of conservatism. In mentioning this point Marx says: "The myth of the conservatism of English bourgeois revolution...should be explained this way, that is, between the bourgeoisie and the majority of great land owners was formed a protracted alliance. This alliance caused the English revolution to differ substantively from French Revolution in which diffused land ownership was used to eliminate the system of mammoth land ownership." ("Review on Guizot's 'Why Has the English Revolution Succeeded? Discussions on English Revolutionary History,'" Complete Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 7, p 251) For the sake of the interests of its ally--the new nobility and also for the sake of its own interests, the bourgeoisie was unwilling to thoroughly apply revolutionary methods in destroying feudal land relations. Naturally, it became impossible to pursue joint struggle against feudal influences too

resolutely. Compromise is the special characteristic of English bourgeoisie. This condition had determined the course of the entire English bourgeois revolution; it decided that this revolution should be a compromise between bourgeoisie and landlords and it would end finally with the implementation of constitutional monarchy. This was also the main cause why the restoration of feudal reactionary forces could be realized during a certain period of time.

The compromising character of the bourgeoisie and new nobility in their struggle against feudal reactionary influences had been exposed even at the outset of revolution. This was revealed most glaringly in the discussions on the bill of abolishing the office of archbishop and in the adoption of the "Great Remonstrance" bill.

In December 1640, Parliament received a petition with 15,000 signatures concerning the abolition of the office of archbishop. This petition enumerated a list of the abuses of higher clergymen and asked for their abolition. In May 1641 when the bill for the abolition of archbishop based on the petition was discussed, many members of parliament expressed their fear for the thorough abolition of the various ranks of church offices. They were deeply aware that ecclesiastical gradations being so closely affiliated with feudal gradations, the abolition of one



might lead to the abolition of the other. One member of parliament said clearly: if we give concession to the people on the question of the gradation of clergymen, this would lead the people to demand the abolition of the powers of mundane landlords, because the people not suffer from the oppressions of bishops but also from the oppressions of landlords. As a result, this bill failed to pass.

"Grand Remonstrance" was a document of revolutionary program for the English bourgeoisie. In it was revealed the tyranny of Charles I. It proposed a series of reform measures regarding the realization of freedom for industrial and commercial activities, the establishing of a system in which ministers should be responsible to the Parliament, and the limitation of the powers of the archbishop. Nevertheless, even such a basic document opposing autocracy was opposed by a number of parliamentary members during its discussion. They deemed that the demands in the "Grand Remonstrance" were too excessive and that it overly limited the prerogatives of the King. So when voting came they refused to support it. It was finally passed with the small margin of 159 to 148 votes.

There was unfolded the civil war provoked by the King. In this sharp class struggle, the bourgeoisie and new nobility were none too intransigent, and compromise and appeasement marked the whole process of war.



War divided the nation into two camps: the backward western and northern regions supported the King, while the southeastern region where industry and commerce were prosperous sided with the Parliament. This geographical boundary was basically a class boundary, namely: the boundary between feudal manorial England and bourgeois England. From the standpoint of class strength, Parliament had the superiority. Nevertheless, at the beginning of war, the parliamentary army retreated steadily, with the royal army pressing hard upon it until seven miles from London, thus scoring a resounding victory. The failure of parliamentary army was largely political. The Parliament, in its decision to establish an army, had betrayed its tendency of compromise with the King. The resolution said that the army thus established was for the personal safety of the King, to protect the two houses and those who obeyed the orders of these houses, and to safeguard the laws, freedom and peace of the kingdom. Leading members of parliament were apprehensive of the further growth of revolution and hoped for conciliation with the King. After the outbreak of war, the peace faction in the parliament openly petitioned the King for peace, though Charles I issued the order for offensive in answer to the peace proposal. Consequently, the army under parliamentary leadership and the senior commanding officers had no resolve to fight against the King; they

were sluggish in their movement, thus losing their chance of winning the war, enabling the royal army to gain further strength, and causing initial defeat.

Through the struggle between the Independent sects and the Presbyters, the parliamentary army was reorganized into the "Model Army" in accordance with Cromwell who was an Independent. Thereafter, they turned the war into victory, captured the King and concluded the first civil war. Nevertheless, Parliament, though it was victorious, never forgot to seek compromise with the King who had become a captive. A proposal to the King was adopted in the hope of achieving conciliation, and even after the proposal was repudiated, conservatives in the Parliament still insisted on continuing negotiations with the King. It was only when Cromwell who controlled powers over the army had firmly decided against conciliation that a resolution was passed to stop further contacts with the King.

Upon the conclusion of the second civil war, the Parliamentary army scored a final victory. Under the domination of Presbyters, Parliament rescinded the resolution which suspended contacts with the royal house and formed a plenipotentiary delegation to hold negotiations with the King. The chief delegate even tearfully begged the King to make concessions. This kind of conduct aroused the indignation of the army and people who demanded to try the King.

However, the suggestion that Parliament should negotiate with the King had never been abandoned.

After the inauguration of a republic in England, the bourgeoisie which was allied with the new nobility did not take any effective measure that would thoroughly extirpate feudal system and remove feudal influences. This had actually preserved a leeway for the restoration of the feudal dynasty. As Lenin has pointed out, the "filthy stable" of feudalism--monarchy, hierarchy, land ownership and national oppression, etc.--was, to a certain extent, cleaned during the period of English bourgeois revolution. ("Fourth Anniversary of October Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 33, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, p 33). Consequently, it became possible for the royalists to stage a comeback on this uncleaned land.

The above is a brief description of the compromise, tolerance and concessions of bourgeoisie and new nobility towards their feudal monarch during the period of bourgeois revolution.

Owing to the compromising nature of English bourgeoisie and their attitude of compromise, toleration and concession towards the feudal monarch in time of revolution, it is not only impossible to speak of the suppression of counter-revolutionary influences, but in point of fact, they even incited the desire and activities for restora-

tion, and whenever the opportunity for restoration arrived the royalists would become rampant and complete their restoration enterprise rather easily. The historic experience from English bourgeois revolution proves that the defeated class was bound to stage a comeback. When a revolutionary class is deprived of the resolve to push revolution to the end, when it is without revolutionary firmness and is irresolute in its struggle with the reactionary class, it would be impossible to achieve a thorough victory in revolution. Even after the reactionary ruling class has been overthrown, unless the revolutionary class can maintain its ample revolutionary zest and ruthlessly suppress all restorational activities of the reactionary class, whether they are open uprisings or clandestine intrigues, it would also enable the counter-revolutionaries to find the opportunity for restoration and cause the loss of revolutionary fruits.

( 3 )

During the English bourgeois revolution, the bourgeoisie which led the revolution had alienated itself from the people and was afraid of the people. In order to stem the revolutionary movement of the masses, they even relied on the strength of Cromwell's military dictatorship.

This dictatorial regime waged a resolute struggle against

the Stuart dynasty and feudal nobles in order to solidify the victory gained by the bourgeoisie and new nobility during the period of revolution. In the meantime, with a view to monopolizing the fruits of revolutionary victory, they also stringently suppressed the revolutionary movements of peasants and urban inhabitants, thereby weakening the strength of the struggle against feudal influences, and in substance, paving the way for the restoration of Stuart dynasty.

The basic motive power and reserve army of bourgeois revolution came from the peasants class. In mid-17th century, the backbone among English peasant class was the middle peasant. The bourgeoisie organized an Parliamentary army with peasants as its mainstay to fight the royal army and took advantage of the discontent of the masses to augment the influences of anti-royalist faction, thus dealing a serious blow to the feudal dynasty and garnering the victory of bourgeois revolution. As has been said by Engels: "It was only with the intervention of these middle peasants and the urban citizenry that the struggle was pushed to its end and Charles I was sent to the guillotine." ("Development of Socialism from Imagination to Science," Selected Essays of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, Moscow Foreign Language Books Press, 1955, p 105) However, in seizing political power from feudal landlords, the bourgeoisie

victory symbolized only the substitution of one exploitative class with another exploitative class. From the standpoint of the bourgeoisie, revolution had ended, and there would be no further need of the people. Consequently, when the bourgeois republic was proclaimed and when the people were demanding that the revolution be pushed further ahead, the bourgeoisie which had taken advantage of the revolutionary fervor of the masses to gain their own end, shifted their target of struggle from feudal influences to the revolutionary masses.

Inauguration of a republic in England did not bring any real benefit to the people. In 1646 Parliament passed a bill abolishing the feudal obligation that the land owned by nobles must serve the King, thus changing the feudal properties of medieval ages into the private properties under bourgeoisie ownership. Nevertheless, the Parliament of the bourgeoisie and new nobility did not abolish the feudal exploitation of landlords on peasants, and the peasants' manorial obligations toward their new landlords were retained in their entirety. It is very obvious that this cancellation of feudal land relations was only unilateral. While it abolished the feudal relationship of vassalage owed by landlords to the King, it did not abolish the vassalage of peasants in respect to landlords. This shows that even during the time of revolution,

the bourgeoisie was never concerned with the interests of the masses, not to say after the revolution.

Owing to the serious economic difficulties of the nation caused by two civil wars and the antagonistic policy of the Republic towards the people, there was no improvement in the political status of the masses, and their economic life worsened steadily. Unemployment was prevalent among large numbers of urban workers, apprentices, and handicraftsmen. Many peasant families became bankrupt during the civil wars; they were forced to migrate into the cities to join the ranks of unemployed. Those peasants who were fortunate enough to preserve their own land still had to eke out a penurious living under heavy feudal exploitation. Thus, there came an exuberant growth of urban and rural mass revolutionary movements.

The first to appear was the so-called Equalitarian movement. The Equalitarians, in their pamphlets, criticized the Republic for its failure to satisfy the aspirations of the people, and in the meantime, they hoped that the Parliament and its army would realize the rights and freedom of the people. They demanded universal electoral system in which with the exceptions of servants and active royalists, any male reaching the age of 21 should be entitled to vote. They advocated annual election for members of Parliament, and the limitation of the powers of parlia-



mentary members who should not hold military or civil posts concurrently. They deemed it necessary to abolish monopolistic organizations of industry and commerce in order to restore free trade, and in so doing, it would be possible to enable thousands of starving paupers to get work. They further suggested the curtailment of bureaucratic offices, reduction of tax burdens, and inauguration of the freedom of press. These ideas of the Equalitarians received warm response from the poor people and army officers. In May 1649, uprisings were staged by the army under the leadership of Equalitarianist officers. This, of course, could not be tolerated by the compromising bourgeois government which arrested the Equalitarian leaders and suppressed the armed uprisings. However, the Equalitarian movement had never ceased whether in the army or among the people.

Even more radical than Equalitarians was the Reclamationist (also called True Equalitarian). This movement was initiated by a group of poor peasants, urban paupers and handicraftsmen in April 1649 in the suburbs of London where they reclaimed wastelands. Because they lacked farm animals and used spades to reclaim wasteland, they were dubbed Reclamationists. They issued a "manifesto" in which they said private ownership of land was the source of social poverty. They denounced the aristocratic



landlords by saying: "Land has not been created for you exclusively so that you may become its masters and we serve as your slaves, servants and beggars; land is created as the common property of men indiscriminately." They said that while the people sacrificed their properties and lives in the struggle against the King, they had not received any benefit therefrom. They presented a program that was even more drastic than the Equalitarians, and besides political equality, they asked for equality of wealth, distribution of land, and first of all, land should be distributed among peasants. The movement of the Reclamationists "was an independent movement of the forerunners of the modern proletariat that was relatively more developed." ("Development of Socialism from Imagination to Science," Selected Essays of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, p 118) This was a movement which directly infringed upon the interests of the bourgeoisie and new nobility, and consequently it was suppressed by the government of the Republic.

In order to resist the oppressions of the English people, national uprisings were staged incessantly by Ireland and Scotland. They wanted to drive out English rule and form independent states. In 1649, the government of England appointed Cromwell commander-in-chief for the suppression of Irish uprisings, and together

with the governor of Ireland, Cromwell led an expedition to conquer Ireland. Later on, Cromwell was also given the command of an army to suppress Scotland. Under his command, the people of Ireland and Scotland were ruthlessly plundered and suppressed, thus strangling their national uprisings.

Thus, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility which had arrogated the fruits of victory to themselves were perturbed by the mass movements and national uprisings, being apprehensive that the mass revolution would shake their newly acquired ruling status. That they could not permanently rally the people and were afraid of the people was determined by the exploitative nature of the bourgeoisie. Stalin says: "Bourgeois revolution cannot rally for a considerable length of time the millions of exploited laboring masses in their own midst just because these masses are exploited laborers." ("On Certain Problems of Leninism," Complete Works of Stalin, vol. 8, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, p 22) In the meantime, the bourgeoisie and the new nobility also cherished misgivings about the attempt of the royalists who wanted to restore their ruling position because restoration of the Stuarts would imply the loss of land and political power they had gained in the revolution. With a view to suppressing mass revolutionary movements and national uprisings and coping

with the feudal dynasty, the English bourgeoisie and new nobility must set up a powerful regime to meet these exigencies, thus giving rise to Cromwell's military dictatorship.

Cromwell was commander of Parliamentary army. He was regarded as the man who organized the victory against the royalists and suppressed the people's uprisings, thus enjoying high prestige among the bourgeoisie and new nobility. He took advantage of the discontent for Parliament, and in 1653, he ousted the members of Parliament by armed force, was supported by his officers to become head of the government, proclaimed the Protectorate, and was made Protector for life. In accordance with the ~~draft~~ constitution based on an agreement between the Army Council and Cromwell, the Protector was to have unlimited powers. In appearance, the administrative powers of the Protector were limited by the Council of State without whose concurrence he could not move the army or declare war and conclude peace, etc. Nevertheless, as the Protector had the right to decide who should fill up vacancies on the Council of State, the Protector was therefore above the Council instead of being under it. It cannot be gainsaid that this kind of Protectorate was in effect Cromwell's military dictatorship.

Thus, with a view to defending the interests of the

new ruling class, Cromwell, from the character who executed the King and overthrew the feudal dynasty, was converted into the strangler of national uprisings and peasant revolutionary movements. According to Engels, Cromwell was a dual character who combined Robespierre and Napoleon of the French bourgeois revolution into a single person. ( see "Conditions in England (18th century)," Complete Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 1, p 660) By that time, Cromwell had, from the Robespierre of English bourgeois revolution, become Napoleon of English bourgeois revolution.

Cromwell's change also symbolized the change of his class stand. During the initial stage of revolution, Cromwell was a middle landlord who represented the interests of middle bourgeoisie and middle and small nobility in Parliament in launching a resolute struggle against the feudal reign. Nevertheless, following the tremendous increase of his wealth during the revolution, his attitude towards revolution also changed. After the English conquest of Ireland, the invaders partitioned the land they had seized. "Military bonds" were issued by the "republican government to pay arrears to the army, stipulating that these bonds could be presented to the government in exchange for Irish land. But as the soldiers were short of cash, speculations arose in which people sold their

"military bonds." A number of senior officers became big land owners through these speculative transactions. Cromwell himself was a great speculator and holder of state bonds, and he himself acquired one thousand acres of land. In this way he became a large land owner and millionaire and the class he represented also changed from the interests of middle bourgeoisie and middle and small nobility into the interests of big bourgeoisie and the upper strata of the new nobility.

The change from a Republic to the Protectorate was obviously a retrogression. This kind of retrogression caused the bourgeoisie and the new nobility to be separated from the main stream of revolution, thus losing their extensive social basis and creating the prerequisites for the restoration of feudal dynasty.

Events were just like that. Cromwell's dictatorship did not create a more stable internal order for the bourgeoisie and new nobility. There was no solution for class contradictions and the revolutionary movements of the masses continued to grow. Again illusions were entertained by the bourgeoisie and new nobility in regard to the feudal dynasty. Royalists took advantage of internal economic and political crises to intensify their restorational activities. They never forgot the revival of feudal dynasty, and eventually their restoration succeeded.

This historic experience of English bourgeois revolution illustrates that the purpose of bourgeois revolution was to replace feudalism with capitalism. Both systems are exploitative systems. Both bourgeois and feudal landlord belonged to the exploitative class whose interests were antagonistic with the interests of the people. When the further intensification of revolution endangered the interests of bourgeoisie, with a view to safeguarding their own interests and suppressing mass revolution, the bourgeoisie would rather align itself with the feudal class in order to seek the instrument with which to suppress the people. In England's bourgeois revolution, Cromwell's military dictatorship served the function as instrument to suppress the people. Cromwell was in effect an uncrowned king and in a certain sense, his dictatorship might be said as a transitional form of monarchical restoration and paved the way for such. It will be seen that the class which leads the revolution, unless it can rally the masses in its own midst and launch its struggle against the reactionary class at all times and under all circumstances, will not be able to deal an effective blow on the enemy. Moreover, it will be possible for this or that kind of restorational activity on the part of the defeated reactionary class to attain its goal.

Another reason why the restoration of counter-revolutionary influences was successfully realized was credence for the promises of the feudal dynasty and the descent of the reactionary class.

After Cromwell's demise in September 1658, the Protectorate was succeeded by his son Charles Cromwell, though he was too impotent to have real power. In 1660, General Monck, a monarchist who was commander of English troops stationed in Scotland, led his army into London, dissolved the Parliament, put an end to the Protectorate, and opened negotiations with Charles Stuart, who was the son of King Charles I who was executed, agreeing that the latter could be restored under certain conditions. Consequently, Charles Stuart issued a proclamation from Brecht, Holland where he was exiled. He made three important promises in his proclamation: (1) amnesty to all those who participated in the revolution, (2) freedom of religion, and (3) guarantee for changes in land and properties occurred during the revolution. Thus, Monck convened a new Parliament in which Royalists and conservatives predominated and proclaimed Charles Stuart as King Charles II of England.

Nevertheless, what Charles II did was a farce and no sooner than he was enthroned his promises were broken.



After Charles II had arrived London from abroad, the first thing that engaged his attention was to revenge his father's death. He intimated that the "regicides" who took part in the trial of Charles I would be denied the amnesty. He meted out the most gruesome punishments on the "regicides," and not only the living were punished severely, but he also disinterred the corpses of such famous revolutionary participants as Cromwell and others from their graves, hanged them and decapitated them for public display. Thereafter the King and the Royalists extended the scope of their punishment, and all republican elements and those who had upheld the revolution were either murdered or thrown into jail.

Nor was the promise for religious freedom and land guarantee carried out. The government of Charles II passed a series of laws to revive the Anglican church and persecute other religious sects. It was stipulated that anyone who did not believe in the state religion would be barred from political activities; the holding of religious rites other than the state religion was proscribed; and fines or imprisonment were meted out to those who preached other faiths. The government also decreed that all lands belonging to the bishops and royal house confiscated during the revolution be restored to their original owners.

However, because of the fact that the transfer of owner-



ship for a large portion of land was handled by the respective owners and most of these had passed into the hands of bourgeoisie who had joined the Royalists, land relations had not been restored to their pre-revolutionary status.

In this manner, all promises made by Charles II were rendered into nought. To the wayward exploitative class a promise was merely an expedient. The more hard pressed they were, the more likely they would use honeyed words to rally the masses and fool their enemy, and once they gained power, they would throw past promises into the clouds. Revolutionary struggle is a desperate class struggle in which the moribund reactionaries would never grant any kindness to their antagonistic class. No matter they are temporarily in a state of adversity or they are begging for mercy, all they do would be deceit for which no credence should be given. This is also a historic experience shown in the English bourgeois revolution.

( 5 )

After its restoration, the Stuart house adopted a series of reactionary policies. Nevertheless, notwithstanding these measures, history continued to march in contravention to their will. It was no longer possible for the restored dynasty to pursue the kind of rule as they did before. Consequently, as long as the rule of

the restored royal house was still unstable, they could not but recognize the changes in land relations which occurred during the period of revolution. They were also compelled to adopt certain policies favorable to the growth of capitalism economically.

The post-restorational Parliament passed a law in 1660 abolishing the ownership of land by cavaliers, and through legislative procedure, affirmed the abolition of the feudal vassal relationship of nobles towards the King that was announced during the period of revolution (1646). The new law provided that to compensate his loss of manorial rights, the King would be granted 120,000 pounds. This money was to be derived from the collection of consumption tax to be borne by the people. This means that the restored monarchy did not basically change the new property relations that arose during the time of revolution. In industrial and commercial policy, the restored monarchy continued the mercantilism of the past, and the government of Charles II not only revived but also expanded the "Navigation Regulations" that had been enacted before, adopted new laws for the protection of industry and commerce, and accelerated the industrial and commercial growth of England. During the period of restoration (1660-1688), trade, industrial and shipping tonnage of England increased more than 100 per cent, and receipts from

foreign trade and industry exceeded two million pounds annually. Thus, huge profits were reaped by the bourgeoisie.

Nevertheless, the contradictions between the feudal dynasty and the bourgeoisie and new nobility who had gained supremacy economically had not yet been resolved. As the restoration considered itself more and more stable, their domestic and foreign policies also became more reactionary, and their contradictions with the bourgeoisie and new nobility intensified. In domestic policy, Charles II revived the old electoral system and ensured the dominant position of big land owners in Parliament. This was, however, detrimental to the political interests of industrial and business bourgeoisie. In foreign policy, the King formed a royal alliance with France, which resulted in subjugating England's foreign policy under the French court. During his exile Charles II had subsisted largely on the subsidies of King Louis XIV of France who was his relative. Even after his restoration, with a view to freeing himself from the restrictions of Parliament, he still accepted secretly the huge subsidy of 200,000 pounds a year from the French King. He also sold Dunkirk, a place of great strategic importance, to France, thereby depriving English merchants of their trading base on the Continent. These conducts caused extreme dissatis-

faction among bourgeoisie and new nobility. Marx says:  
"The Stuart dynasty, for the sake of its own interests and the interests of royal relatives, nonchalantly sold the interests of English industry and commerce to the French government, that is, to the government of the only country that could threaten England in the competition and in various ways win the upperhand." ("Review on Guizot's 'Why Has the English Revolution Succeeded? Discussions on English Revolutionary History,'" Complete Works of Marx and Engels, vol. 7, pp 251 and 250-251)

Dissatisfaction with the Stuart dynasty was further shown towards the King's policy of reviving Catholic religion. His policy met the opposition of bourgeoisie and new nobility because among the nobles, many people had bought church lands cheaply and the revival of Catholicism would undermine their vested interests. The miscellaneous rites of prayer would be also most inimical to bourgeoisie devoted to industrial and business activities. Charles II tried in 1672 to issue the "proclamation on religious freedom" in order to carry out his promise to Louis XIV for conferring political rights to Catholics, but due to the firm opposition of Parliament, he was unsuccessful.

Charles II died in 1685 and was succeeded by his younger brother James II who was a devout Catholic. The

struggle with the Stuarts was further aggravated. James II also received subsidies from Louis XIV, but he would not submit to French wishes. He reduced import duty on French commodities and promoted his long-cherished plan of reviving Catholicism. These measures not only endangered the interests of bourgeoisie and new nobility, but also threatened the interests of all big land owners, and even the clergy of Anglican church were apprehensive of the impending loss of their privileges and status. Marx says: "Religious reform made the new big landlords to dread the restoration of Catholicism because once it was revived, they would have to return all the church lands that they had plundered, and in so doing, about 70 per cent of the entire land in England must change hands. The industrial and commercial bourgeoisie were also afraid of Catholicism which would be completely inimical to their activities." (ibid) Thus, the social basis of the Stuarts was shaken, signifying the impending end of this dynasty.

Under such a political situation, Parliament invited Prince William of Orange of Holland who was the son-in-law of James II to succeed to the throne. He was chosen by Parliament as royal successor not only because as the spouse of Mary, eldest daughter of James II, he became the legitimate successor, but what was more important, he was also the head of a Protestant nation and the mortal

enemy of France. With such a king, it became possible to ensure the non-revival of Catholic religion and to free England from the domination of French influences.

Early in November 1688, William landed in England under the convoy of naval vessels and bringing with him more than ten thousand soldiers. James II escaped to France without making any resistance. In February 1689, Parliament proclaimed William and his wife Mary as the King and Queen of England, thus ending the Stuart dynasty.

This was a palace coup without the participation of the masses. Bourgeois historians called this coup without armed clashes a bloodless "glorious revolution." In substance, this was the compromise between two ruling classes--landed aristocracy and moneyed aristocracy. Marx says: "When the 'glorious revolution' brought William of Orange to a ruling position, it also brought bourgeois entrepreneurs of landlord and capitalist pattern to the same position." (Das Kapital, vol. I, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, p. 914) Engels also says: "Since then, bourgeoisie has become in England a very commonplace though publicly recognized portion among the ruling classes." ("Development of Socialism from Imagination to Science," Selected Essays of Marx and Engels, vol. 2, p 106) This is to say that after having twice driven out the Stuart dynasty in England, there was established eventually the bourgeois.

dictatorship of constitutional monarchism.

Since any defeated reactionary ruling class is bound to seek restoration, it is therefore necessary for the revolutionary class to heighten its vigilance and refrain any paralysis. However, new methods of production will eventually replace old methods, and new class will defeat the decadent class. This is an objective historical law which cannot be opposed by the subjective will of reactionaries. In feudal society, with the growth of capitalist economy and increasing strength of bourgeoisie, capitalist mode of production had to replace the feudal mode. Bourgeois revolution was then the revolutionary struggle in which the emerging bourgeoisie sought to overthrow the decadent feudal landlord class. The victory of English bourgeois revolution was the victory of capitalist ownership system over feudal ownership system. This revolution broke the shackles of feudalism and opened up a broad vista for capitalistic activities. Since then capitalism has grown extensively and rapidly in England. The tides of history roll forward no matter how much the classes which represent the forces of decadence would try to deny them, no matter what temporary success there might be in the restoration attempts of the defeated classes and no matter how many detours and ripples there would be in the long river of human progress.





## WHY MODERN REVISIONISTS DISLIKE CUBA

Following is a translation of an article by Yu Si (0060 6611) in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24, 5 Dec. 62, p 27.

American imperialists dislike Cuba and modern revisionists also dislike Cuba.

Recently a small pamphlet entitled Traitors of Cuba was published in Yugoslavia. This is a book which smears the people of Cuba to the fullest extent, though it is embellished with some such words as "sympathy for the Cuban revolution."

This pamphlet says: "In nationalizing abruptly the huge assets of the United States and Cuba and appointing young administrators without sufficient preparations," the result is to "increase the growth of bureaucratic phenomenon." To refute this allegation, one sentence

would suffice: The oppressed working people will never wait till they have had sufficient preparations and experience as old administrators before there is a revolution. They would always steel themselves through the pragmatism of revolution regardless of the scorn and curse of their adversaries so that they would do their own work better and better. The people of Cuba are just doing this.

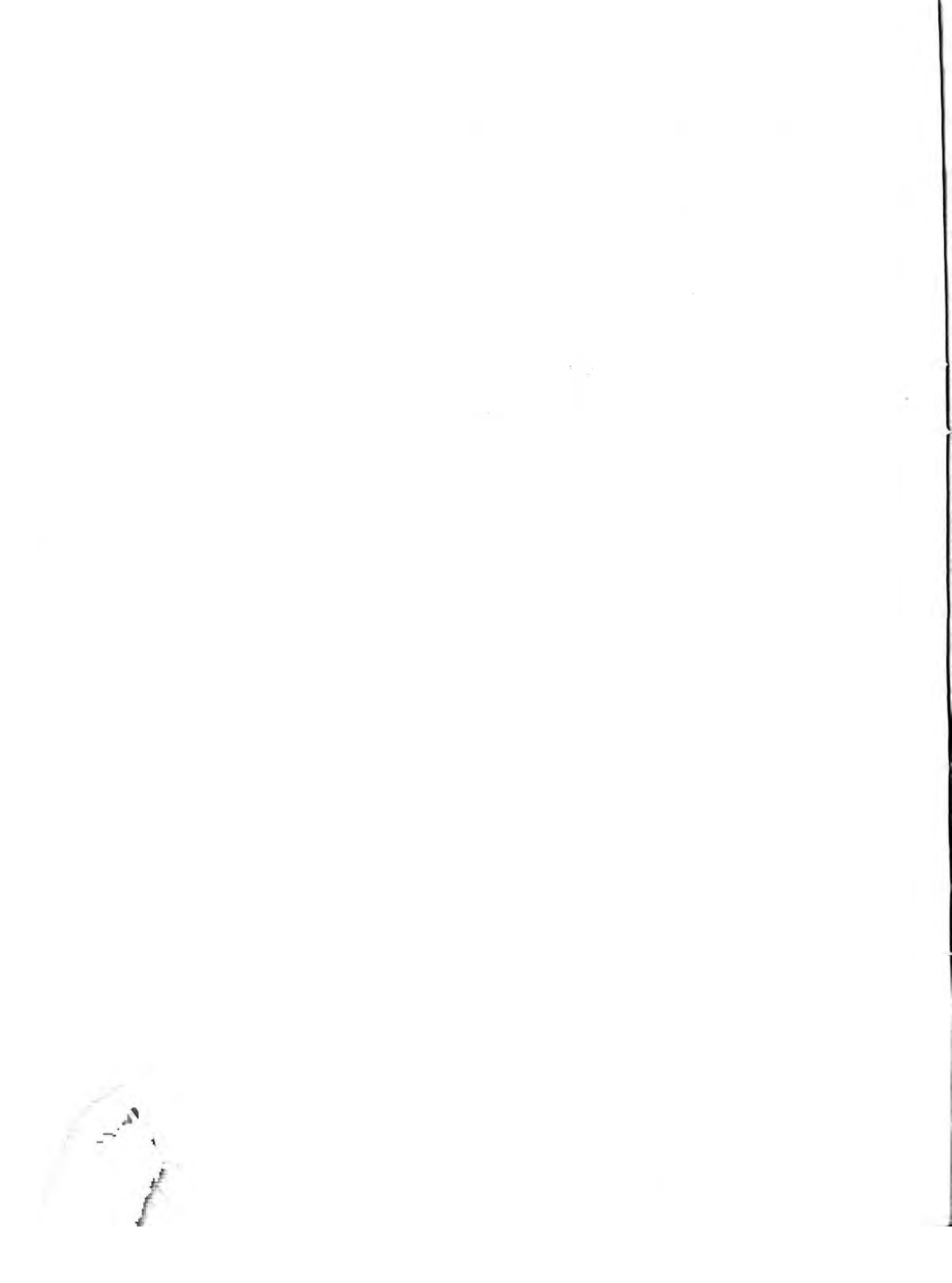
Modern revisionists of Yugoslavia have always lauded "nationalization" in imperialist United States, but they would smear Cuba's nationalization as "bureaucratism." This is because Cuba's nationalization is really a people's revolution.

This pamphlet also says: "The Castro government was overly rash in taking certain measures without basically considering American reaction," and this is "unstrategical." In accordance with the revisionists who are so adept in "strategy," obviously the Cuban people should consider the "reaction" of American imperialists before they decided whether or not there should be revolution, agrarian reform, nationalization, socialism, etc.

But this kind of capitulationist strategy is not what the Cuban people will recognize. Of course, Cubans also need strategy, and what they need is the strategy of revolutionists. Thus, the author of this pamphlet could not but explain the basic reason why they dislike

Cuba. The pamphlet says: " Castro and his comrades basically do not believe in the road of parliament; they believe only in revolution."

This is absolutely correct. It is just here that Castro and his comrades are distinguished from the modern revisionists. While Castro and his comrades believe in revolution, what about the modern revisionists? They believe in the "road of parliament," the "rationale" of monopoly capitalists, the "promises" of imperialists, everything but revolution!



## ON "COMPARISON"

Following is a translation of an article by Ch'en Chan-ch'ao (7115 1455 6389) in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24, 5 Dec. 62, pp 28-31.

"Comparison" is a kind of method which we apply frequently. In the course of work, we often use comparison to recognize things, explain things and seek the means of solving problems.

There is an adage in China: "We won't mind one's ignorance about the merchandise, but what we are afraid of is that one merchandise should be compared with another merchandise." This comparison of merchandise would obviously expose what is superior and what is inferior on the basis of which a choice could be made. The ancients have said: "By weighing one will know what is heavy and what is light, and by measuring one will know what is long and

What is short." This means that weight and length could be distinguished only by weighing and measuring, which is also comparison. It is the same in the recognition of anything through the process of comparison. In order to gain the concept of shape, we must compare things of objective being endowed with certain shapes before we can distinguish what is round, square, spherical, flat, etc. In order to recognize the substance of an event, it is not enough just to observe the event per se, but we must compare it with the other related events. While it is necessary to recognize things that are simple and easy to discern by comparison, it is even more so with things that are complex and difficult to distinguish. For instance, black and white are two kinds of color which can be distinguished readily, though they must also be recognized through comparison. If we wish to distinguish between two colors that are extremely similar and cannot be determined at one glance, it would be all the more necessary to make repeated comparisons. In actual life, especially in class struggle, there would always be some complex things. For instance, our enemy would always create diverse false images to hoodwink us and disseminate diverse fallacious views to deceive us. In order to expose such false images and fallacious views so that we won't be deceived, it would be necessary to make careful com-

comparisons and analyses between these falsehoods and the facts and truth. As has been said by Lu Hsing: "Comparison is the best cure against deceit." ("Turn at Random," Complete Works of Lu Hsing, vol. 6, Jen-min Wen-hsueh Ch'u-pan-she, 1958, p 109)

In recognizing things, accepting reasons and resolving problems, it behooves also the masses to apply the method of comparison in order to judge things, to think, to speak and to do on the basis of specific comparisons from their own experiences and pragmatism. This is a special feature of the ideological methodology of the masses. The masses would always compare if a thing should or should not be done, and when it is done, what good or harm would there be. After repeated comparisons, it will be recognized as to what views are more in conformity with objective reality and what are not, thus discerning what is good and what is harmful. On such a basis, and through the analysis, synthesis, concentration and enhancement, it will be possible to find out a view and procedure that would be more beneficial to the work.

The fact that the method of comparison can be applied so frequently and universally is because it can reflect the actual conditions of mutual links and mutual comparisons for objective things. Comrade Mao Tse-tung says: "Things which are true, good and beautiful will always

exist in comparison and develop through struggle with things which are false, evil and ugly." (On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People, Jen-min Ch'u-pen-she, 1957, p 27) The method of comparison is to observe and recognize things from the original relations in the mutual links and comparisons of things. Thus, this is a scientific method. By correctly applying the method of comparison, we will be able to make scientific analysis, find out divergences and similarities, and discover contradictions. It would also help us in summarizing experiences and lessons and in revamping our work.

To apply this method correctly, what we must find out first is that whether the things used for comparison have the conditions of being compared, or whether they are comparable. Lenin has made a succinct discourse on this point. He says: "In comparing the conditions of political and economic development in various countries and in comparing the Marxist programs of these countries, there seems to be great significance from the Marxist viewpoint because the capitalist character of all modern states and their law of development are undoubtedly in common. However, such a comparison must be done properly. There is a basic prerequisite in it which is we must find out whether the period of historic development in each country used for comparison is mutually comparable. For instance,



only a very ignorant person would use the agrarian program of Russian Marxists to 'compare with' the agrarian program of Western Europe...because what our program answers is the land reform problem of bourgeois democratic nature, while ~~no such reform is possible in~~ Western European countries." ("On the Rights of National Self-determination," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 20, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, p 405) Obviously, comparison that is based on similar conditions or comparable conditions forms a "basic prerequisite" in apply the method of comparison correctly. In applying method of comparison in our work, we must discover, under similar conditions and through comparisons, the advanced and the backward and find out the causes of backwardness and the experiences of advancement so that through the promotion of advanced experiences it would be possible to push the backward and accelerate work. Consequently, in applying comparison, we must insist on this basic prerequisite of making correct comparisons under similar conditions or comparable conditions. If comparison is made regardless of the similarity and comparability of conditions, then it would be incorrect and inadequate.

Conditions of objective things are diversified, and among them some are primary which determine the character of things, and some are secondary which don't determine

character. In the meantime, nothing will exist isolatedly and accidentally; it has close links with other things in its surroundings; it has its process of genesis and growth and its past and present. In making comparisons, we must use these conditions for comprehensive comparison, or at least make comparison with the primary conditions, compare the links of this thing with the other things surrounding it, and make a historical comparison between its past and present. As Lenin says: "What dialectics require is that correlations should be estimated comprehensively from specific development instead of taking one sample here and another sample there." ("Again on Trade Unions, Current Situation and the Deviations of Trotsky and Bukharin," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 32, p 80) In so doing, it will be possible to reflect comprehensively the outlook of things and expose their internal links. If comparison is made unilaterally by selecting individual conditions therefrom in contravention to the demands of dialectics, or if comparison is made independently by dissecting history and dissecting the mutual links among things, this would be also incorrect.

Of course, for certain specific purposes and in order to clarify a certain problem, it may be also feasible to compare only one particular condition. Nevertheless, in so doing, we should also pay attention to the relations

between individual conditions and the entire conditions instead of stressing this condition or that facet and exaggerating and absolutizing at random.

By making comparisons under similar objective conditions, it would be a source of stimulation to the advanced and a kind of chastisement to the backward. This can have important repercussions in pushing work. When objective conditions are similar, but results are different, in which one is advanced and the other backward? And why? Since the objective conditions of two production teams are generally about equal, then why one can push up production while the other cannot? Since both plants have similar objective conditions, why one can fulfill its production tasks and the other fails? Since two persons share the same environment, why is it that one can make progress faster and the other lags? What we mention here is about comparisons between two teams, plants and persons. The same is true with the same team, plant and individual. For instance, since no great changes have arisen in objective conditions, why is it that the output has increased more last year but less this year? Why was last month's performance of production task poor and this month's performance better? Why has been progress slow before but fast now? There may be manifold causes, such as the increase of one's subjective endeavor, bolstering of zeal,

effective measures, viable methods, etc. By means of such comparisons as these, it will be possible to find the causes for advancement and backwardness and to encourage the backward to emulate advanced experiences and streamline work. In the meantime, this can also stimulate the advanced to continue to forge their superiorities and make further strides.

In stressing comparison under similar circumstances, then, would it be possible to make comparison between good conditions and poor conditions? Specific analysis is needed in connection with this question. For instance, when someone with inferior conditions overtake those with better conditions and form an advanced unit, but those with better conditions lag behind the backward ones, it is not only possible to compare good conditions with bad ones, but also completely necessary. Several years ago Comrade Mao Tse-tung in his commentary for the article entitled "Build Cooperatives Industriously and Develop Mountainous Regions" mentioned the experiences of production increase in the Chin-hsing agricultural, forestry and husbandry producers' cooperative under Li Shun-ta's leadership. He pointed out: "Experiences of this cooperative tell us that if output could be increased enormously where natural conditions are relatively poor, why then cannot output be stepped up even more where natural

conditions are better?" ( High Tide of Socialism in Rural Villages of China, vol. 1, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1956, pp 101, and 44-45) If it is viable where conditions are poor, then why is it impossible where conditions are excellent? Through comparisons, it will be possible for units or places where conditions are auspicious to find out the causes of their backwardness. This is not only a kind of self-discipline, but also it can enable us to find the direction of endeavor from backwardness into advancement.

Again for instance, there are certain unit whose subjective and objective conditions are both bad, and it would be difficult to improve their objective conditions right now. It is therefore natural that their work would lag behind those units with better conditions for the moment. Under these circumstances, the units with inferior conditions would try to find out the causes of their backwardness, and in order to catch up with the more advanced units, they would try to compare with units with better conditions. Through this kind of comparison, they would find out what are the favorable factors and what are the adverse factors, what conditions are available and what are absent, and what conditions can be improved readily and what cannot and will take a long time to change. In this way, they would be able to strengthen

their subjective efforts, and actively and systematically create the prerequisites. The creation of conditions is most important in the process of catching up with the advanced. In his commentary for the article entitled: "Cooperativization of An Entire Village in About A Month," Comrade Mao Tse-tung points out: "What should we do where the conditions are not so complete as this village? This is the question of preparing the conditions which may take several months, or a year, or even longer. Conditions can be prepared while we are doing the work. By launching a few small cooperatives, we would be creating the prerequisites for the cooperativization of the entire village, hsiang and ch'u." (ibid) Thus, if we can positively prepare the conditions and consummate our work, it will be possible to change adverse factors into favorable ones and to forge ahead in catching up with or even surpassing the units with better conditions.

Fragmatism proves that many units have caught up with and even overtaken those with better conditions through arduous preparations. This is because these units are adept in coordinating their revolutionary spirit with pragmatism and dare to compare with those units which are endowed with better conditions. They are both forward and realistic, thus displaying their revolutionary enterprise.

The desire for progress for the sake of revolution, re-

construction and the people is the most valuable character of revolutionaries. This is different from the kind of passive comparison in which one feels complacent because "while there is not enough to compare with the better, it is still possible to excel compared with the inferior. It is also different from those who content with their status and would compare only with those are not as good as themselves. The correct attitude is that we must give positive support and encouragement to units that dare to compare with those of superior conditions, and wherever possible, give them specific guidance and help. While it is not right to cherish the attitude of apathy, we must refrain from forcing those units whose conditions have not yet been improved to compare with better units on the ground that "what others can do, you should also be able to do the same." Nor is it right for us to make similar demands and apply the same yardstick of measurement to insist that those with inferior conditions should accomplish the impossible.

In conclusion, the method of comparison is a scientific method, and if we can learn to apply it correctly, it is bound to help us further consummate our work.

1. The first part of the document discusses the importance of maintaining accurate records of all transactions.

2. It is essential to ensure that all entries are clearly legible and dated.

3. Regularly reconciling the accounts helps to identify any discrepancies early on.

4. Keeping receipts and supporting documents for each entry is crucial for verification.

5. The second part of the document outlines the steps for conducting a physical inventory count.

6. This process involves comparing the physical stock on hand with the recorded quantities.

7. Any differences between the two figures should be investigated and explained.

8. The final section provides a summary of the key points discussed throughout the document.

9. It emphasizes the need for consistency and attention to detail in all financial reporting.

10. The document concludes by stating that these practices are fundamental to the success of any business.





## MOVIES SHOULD FURTHER SERVE PEASANTS

Following is a translation of an article by Yuan Wen-shu (5913 2429 2992) in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24, 5 Dec. 62, pp 31-34.

The tenth plenary meeting of the Central Committee of Eighth Party Congress has issued a solemn appeal to people of the entire nation calling for the concentration of the strength of the entire party and nation to support agriculture, solidify rural collective economy, and implement correctly the general policy of making agriculture the basis and industry the backbone in the development of national economy. At present, the movement in support of agriculture is being unfolded in industry, commerce, communications and transportation, and culture and education. It is also incumbent on our movie enterprise to take positive measures in arranging our work so that it may more

effectively and efficiently serve the peasants.

The party and government have always cautioned us that in planning for the manufacture of movies, attention should be paid to the proportion of rural themes through the making of popular and easily comprehensible films catering to the needs of the broad peasants. It is also necessary to launch cultural, artistic, and scientific and technological education among the broad peasants, elevate their cultural and ideological levels, and satisfy the needs of their spiritual life. The entire movie workers in China have observed the directives of the party and made a number of excellent movies enjoying great popularity among peasants. Whether these are stories, newsreels, scientific and educational films, or artistic films, they have all produced immense functions on the screen in accordance with their individual characteristics. Since liberation, rural movie audience has increased tremendously, and its number has exceeded urban movie audience. Following the continuous growth of agricultural production and rural cultural standard, the demands of peasants for movies are bound to show further upsurges.

However, from the standpoint of movies produced in recent years, they are still far behind the needs of rural viewers. This is what should arouse the attention of all movie workers. Comrade Mao Tse-tung has enjoined us that

the so-called mass culture is the popularization of rural culture. It is inconceivable that movies, under the guiding principle that they should serve workers, peasants and soldiers, could refrain from reflecting the life of peasants, from depicting new people and new things in rural villages, and from educating the peasants with socialist and communist ideology in the films. As we all know, among China's 650 million people, some 500 million are peasants who, for generations past, were under the oppression of feudal landlords. Simultaneous with the usurpation of their political and economic rights, their cultural rights were also usurped. Since liberation, with the basic changes in their political and economic status, great strides have been made in rural cultural life, illiteracy among peasants has dropped enormously, and the demands of peasants for cultural life have increased. However, there is still a considerable gap between our movie enterprise and the needs of peasants. Thus, to supply peasants with spiritual food and to enrich their cultural life is an urgent task. In this connection, motion picture forms one of the most efficient tools in popularizing rural culture. It can use all kinds of films to serve the peasants. Through educational films and newsreels, scientific and cultural knowledges can be spread among peasants directly, and through story films and their esthetic appeal, the ideological

awareness and moral character can be elevated. This task has become all the more significant as massive support is being given to agriculture now. Consequently, the material strength to be produced by agriculture through the spiritual food provided by movie art will be inestimable. The so-called support of agricultural reconstruction on the movie front is mainly the purveying of more and better pictures for peasants.

Judging from existing conditions, the creation of movies for rural exhibition is not only below the required level qualitatively, but they are also insufficient quantitatively compared to the needs of several hundred million peasants. This is because among us movie workers there are still many who have not thoroughly understood the great significance of the party's general policy of making agriculture the basis and industry the backbone in the development of national economy, and consequently, we have not yet placed the task of supporting agriculture in the premier place of importance. Some would even deem these rural movies are a kind of simple movie, and we need not spend too much energy on them. They don't realize that to make a good rural movie is none too easy, nor do they appreciate that agricultural problem is related to the entire national economy. Thus, we must carefully reflect the new look of the life and ideology of the

broad peasants through cinematography, and geared to the vital tasks of the nation, stimulate their positiveness, enhance their collectivist ideology and enrich their cultural and technological knowhow. These are our inescapable duties. If we abandon the duty of educating the broad peasants of the entire nation, then, the so-called service for workers, peasants and soldiers would become an empty promise. Although the objects of motion pictures comprise millions of workers, peasants, soldiers, students and merchants as well as people of all trades and guilds, nevertheless, peasants form the largest majority. Thus, from the standpoint of China's movie workers, to neglect the needs of peasants is tantamount to neglecting the largest audience and abandoning their main duty.

There were certain dramatists who, because they did not penetrate into rural life and were estranged from the conditions of the villages, lacked correct understanding regarding the important significance of realistic themes. Some of them even deemed that works depicting current realistic themes might easily be "outmoded," and consequently, they would rather avoid prevailing struggles and write about historic themes instead. The result is that movies that portray rural life are none too brisk. Naturally, historical theme is all what we need, but between this and realistic theme there should be an ade-

quate proportion, otherwise our creations will lose their sense of direction. It cannot be gainsaid that realistic struggles are being waged tensely, many new things are in the process of growing and developing, and a number of conditions cannot as yet be gauged thoroughly and truthfully. In depicting such things, certain difficulties will be encountered by the authors. However, in spite of these conditions, it cannot be said that new people and new deeds in life have not yet emerged, or it is still basically infeasible to present them. In point of fact, in our socialist society nascent things have appeared enormously and they have been portrayed excellently in a number of literary and artistic works. The motion picture "Li Shuang-shuang" that has been made recently is a good example. This movie reflects the contradictions between collectivism and private ownership in the process of agricultural development in rural villages. These contradictions are also found in the implementation of the principle of distribution according to labor where obstacles of various traditional influences still prevail. The author selects from mundane peasant life certain vignettes of universal significance to form interesting episodes, and through a series of dramatic conflicts and clashes, sculpts a brand new peasant image--Li Shuang-shuang. This is a new peasant with magnanimous character who transcends the shackles

of the concept of private ownership. She has no selfishness, nor does she care about personal sentiments. What she knows is to uphold the interests of the collective and struggle with various phenomena which are inimical to public good. This is a new image that has emerged after the socialist transformation of China's rural villages. Notwithstanding the fact that this image has not yet attained the degree of a complete model, but its characteristics are both concrete and vivid. From the surface, Li Shuang-shuang is but an ordinary village woman, but she is not at all commonplace, and is rather a new personality that can serve as a model for the masses. The emergence of this kind of new personality in current motion picture is of considerable significance.

The fact that this movie could be so vivid and interesting and so fraught with educational meaning is due mainly to the author's familiarity with rural life. He has grasped the data concerning numerous new people and new events in current rural life as well as an important contradiction in agricultural production--the conflict between collectivism and the concept of private ownership, and a pulsating artistic form, expressed them. The episodes selected by the author are rich in representative character, the acting of performers is also appropriate, the dialogues breathe life and characterization, and



the movie itself has acquired a kind of artistic persuasion. Thus, familiarity with life is still an urgent task to our movie workers. Naturally, in addition to life, we must also fully gauge the endeavors and achievements of writers and artists in their esthetic skill. Without the full cooperation of diverse artists, it would be impossible to produce an integrated motion picture.

It will be seen that the crux here is whether the author can penetrate into life for a protracted period of time and whether he has grasped rich materials of life and mastered the correct method of writing. If the author has gone into living and is familiar with the new people and new things therein, and if he can apply correct writing technique in sculpting imagines and depicting striking characteristics, the movie thus created will never be "outmoded" quickly, but will also have realistic effects. The fact that some of the movies seemed to have been "outmoded" rather easily in the past is not due to the rapid changes of realistic life. What is more important, we must see if the authors have correctly and fully reflected the substances of life. It cannot be denied that the reason why certain movies reflecting rural themes have failed to stand the test of time is because they depict simply certain superficial phases of life or illustrate certain specific policies with the result



that they appeared to be "outmoded" in no time at all.

Any movie that has been with vivid artistic images and is in touch with the substantive problems of life would be able to stand the test of time.

While we stress that movies which serve peasants must reflect themes of rural life, it does not imply that only when they directly depict rural life will they be able to cater to the needs of peasants. Naturally, from the standpoint of themes, pictures that depict peasant life may have more direct results. This does not mean that we should exclude movies with other themes. Hundred flowers blooming being the general policy of our party in regard to literature and art work, in serving peasants, it is equally important to have diversity in the themes of movies. Experiences of past years have borne out that the movie themes needed by peasants are extremely broad in scope. Any movie, whether it depicts rural life or the life of other trades and guilds, if its characterization is striking and its main thesis is clear, if its story line is strong and its description is orderly, is bound to enjoy great welcome. While peasants are fond of movies about revolutionary wars and dramatic films, they also like pictures about legends and folklores. For instance, such movies as "Shang-kan-ling" about the resist-America aid-Korea war, "Young Men of Our Village" which depicts labor

and romance among rural youths during the great leap, "Ma-lan-hua" and "Third Sister Liu" adapted from legends and folklore, and "Monkey Sun Beats White-boned Demon," etc., have all enjoyed enormous successes in rural villages.

Consequently, movies aimed at serving peasants should be diversified. It is a mistake to think that just because rural life is monotonous, the theme depicting peasant life must also be simple. In fact, the life of peasants themselves is many-splendored. Whether it is between the advanced and the backward, between new and old, between science and superstition, or between revolution and counter-revolution, there exist all kinds of contradictions that can be written into legitimate play, or movie scripts of comedy or tragedy. Besides depicting the life of peasants direct, it is also possible to describe the activities of various trades and guilds in support of agriculture. For instance, from the respective angles of industry, commerce, communications and transportation, and culture, education and public health, we can describe not only their spirit in extending positive support to agriculture, but also reflect the close relationship of the worker-peasant alliance, thereby further demonstrating the labor enthusiasm for socialist reconstruction throughout the nation. Even though the movies describe only the living themes of the other guilds or depict

some historical themes, such as about youth, women, children, intellectuals, etc., but if they have a certain amount of ideological and esthetic attributes, they would be also welcome to rural audience. As to documentary news films and films of science and education, they can also be made from diverse angles in order to cater to the needs of peasants. Thus, movies intended to serve peasants should and can be many-splendored.

Our movie writers and artists should make adequate arrangements to enable themselves to maintain close contact with life, to study the changes and development of life, to stimulate their inspiration of creativity through contacts with life, to perfect their techniques of expression through pragmatism, to apply the greatest enthusiasm in portraying the various facets of the agricultural front, and to create model personalities of all types of life in China's new rural villages. In this fervent tide of massive development of agriculture in China, it is the glorious task and sacred duty of our movie workers to sculpt the images of laboring people dedicated to this great enterprise and in the meantime to provide them with spiritual food.



RATIONALLY ORGANIZE SHORT DISTANCE  
TRANSPORTATION

Following is a translation of an article  
by Chu T'ien-shun (2612 3944 7311) in  
Hung Ch'1 (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24,  
5 Dec. 62, pp 35-39.

In accordance with distance, transportation may be divided into long-distance and short-distance transportation. The former is the artery of national economy without which it would be impossible to link big and medium cities, industrial and mining areas, broad villages, frontierlands and hinterlands together. Nevertheless, if there is only long-distance transportation but no short-distance transportation which coordinates with long-distance transportation, it would then be impossible to shape up a unified transport network that is accessible to all parts of the nation and can satisfy the diversified needs of urban and rural inhabitants. Short-distance transporta-

tion is a kind of transport fraught with penetrability and mobility. Like blood vessels it can reach the flanks of trunk lines for long-distance transportation and penetrate into each economic region until the smallest production and consumption points. Consequently, it is directly related with the production and living of the broad people.

Short-distance transportation is a mode of transport which serves agricultural production directly, and its most important business is rural transportation. In broad rural villages, short-distance transportation crisscrosses, assuming the tasks of hauling in means of production and means of subsistence from cities, harbors and railway depots to various production teams and communes as well as the tasks of hauling out agricultural products and by-products. The tenth plenum of the Central Committee of the Eighth Party Congress points out in its communique: "The pressing task of the people of China is to implement the general policy presented by Comrade Mao Tse-tung for making agriculture the basis and industry the backbone in the development of national economy, to place agricultural development in the premier place of importance, to handle correctly the relations between industry and agriculture, and to resolutely shift the work of industrial sector into the orbit in which agriculture serves as the

basis." In order to implement this general policy, the communications and transportation department would need a most convenient and comprehensive network of short-distance transportation in order to further link up industry and agriculture. The broad rural villages form a vast market for industry. Unless short-distance transportation can penetrate into the villages, it would be impossible for this market to demonstrate its functions. Consequently, development of rural short-distance haul is an important phase of the work of communications and transportation department in support of agriculture.

Short-distance transportation has also important functions in cities. It undertakes transportation from harbors and depots to municipal centers, and from cities to suburbs. In the meantime, in industrial and mining areas, it assumes the task of hauling grain, raw materials, equipment and products for factories and mines, and serves as a bridge for contacts with outside areas.

It can be seen then that short-distance transportation is an indispensable component of China's national economy and national transportation network. Its development must be geared to the growth of industrial and agricultural production, and must maintain a certain ratio with that of long-distance transportation. In order to rationally organize short-distance transportation, atten-

tion must be paid to the following tasks:

**Coordination between Modern Transportation Tools  
and Civilian Transportation Tools.**

Tools used for short-distance transportation in China at present include such modern vehicles as automobiles and small steamboats and there are also such civilian transportation tools as wooden sail boats, horse carts, and hand carts. Modern transportation vehicles are high in speed and low in cost, thus forming the mainstay of short-distance haul. Based on needs and availability, it is entirely necessary to develop such modern vehicles as automobiles and steamers. Nevertheless, as Comrade Chou En-lai points out in the "Report on the Suggestion of Second Five-year Plan for the Development of National Economy": "Owing to China's shortage of modern transportation tools, insufficiency of transportation routes and imbalances of their distribution, as well as the fact that the volume of such civilian transportation tools as wood junks and animal-drawn carts is enormous and they are distributed extensively, civilian transportation tools should, for a considerable period of time, remain to be an important supplementary force of transport, and in some areas, these are still the main force. Consequently we must fully utilize and adequately develop these tools and gradually make technological improvements on them."



Wherever possible, we must also coordinate the use of modern transport vehicles with civilian transport tools in order to meet the ever-mounting needs of transportation." It is only through the full utilization of civilian transportation tools and the coordinated use of both modern and civilian tools that it will be possible to cope with the diverse needs of short-distance haul, especially the needs of agricultural development. This is an important problem in China's short-distance transportation.

To coordinate modern transportation tools closely with civilian tools, it is necessary to arrange meticulously the division of work and the collaboration between them so that while each assumes a certain task of transportation, they can also be united to form an integrated network. The principle of arrangement should be as follows: From the standpoint of the routes of transportation, we should concentrate the use of the limited modern transport vehicles on highways and inland rivers where traffic is busy, while civilian transportation tools should be used mainly on routes with less traffic and on country roads and tributary rivers not accessible to modern means of transportation. From the standpoint of the kind of resources to be hauled, goods in bulk or resources with a timely nature should be hauled mainly by modern vehicles while piecemeal goods and goods without timely nature

should be hauled by civilian transport tools as much as possible. From the standpoint of the distance of transportation, although both kinds are for short haul, the distance of haul undertaken by civilian tools should be even shorter than that undertaken by modern vehicles. From the standpoint of business, passengers should be hauled by modern vehicles, while civilian tools should be used mainly for freight haul. From the standpoint of transportation areas, the moving tasks in large and medium cities should be done mainly with modern means of transportation so that carriages and animals of draft used in cities can be gradually shifted to the countryside to assume short-distance haul or participate in agricultural production. While it would be necessary to adopt certain administrative measures in order to realize this principle for the division of work, nevertheless, economic measures would be even more important. The price of short-distance haul should be fixed in accordance with the principle that it would benefit the urban-rural interchange of goods as well as the development of agricultural production. This is to ensure that there will be profit in the operation with both modern vehicles and civilian tools and that civilian transport businesses would be willing to undertake hauls on tributaries and along country roads.

There are at present three kinds of ownership system in China's short-distance transportation: all-people's ownership, collective ownership and individual ownership. Civilian means of transportation belong mainly to transportation producers' cooperatives and communal transportation teams under collective ownership. Additionally, there are also a small number of individual civilian transportation businesses under the leadership of socialist economy which use civilian transportation tools to engage in transport activities. In order to effect a close coordination between modern and civilian means of transportation, it is necessary to make unified arrangements on short-distance transportation businesses under diverse ownership systems in such aspects as the distribution of the sources of goods, routes of operation, policy of transportation prices and distribution of resources, etc. As to individual civilian transport enterprises, it may be possible to permit them to render mobile services and canvass the haul of piecemeal resources on the premises that they observe state policies and laws in order to facilitate the masses. We must also curb the spontaneous capitalist tendencies of petty producers in the sphere of transportation, consolidate collective economy, stabilize market prices and better serve socialist reconstruction.

"Revolution in the mode of industrial and agricultu-

ral production also renders it necessary to revolutionize the general conditions of the process of social production, that is, communication and transportation methods." (Marx: Das Kapital, vol. 1, Jen-min Ch'u-pan-she, 1953, p 462)

With the steady growth of state industrialization and agricultural mechanization, it becomes also necessary for technological reforms in China's short-distance transportation tools. Besides the gradual increase of modern means of transportation, technological reforms should be made on existing civilian transport tools so that they may become semi-mechanized. Although there has been a long history in the development of China's civilian transportation tools, nevertheless, because of the lack of reform for a long period of time, most of the vehicles have become defective. The carts are too heavy; their loading capacity is too small; they are awkward and wear out road too easily. Most of the junks are also heavy and slow, with too deep draught, and waste too much human labor. Unless these defects are overcome, it would be difficult to cope with the needs of transportation. Since the founding of the nation, especially since 1958, the broad masses have created a number of new vehicles and ships which, based on our experiences of usage, should be further improved to adapt to local conditions. In view of the fact that civilian means of transportation serve not only as

transport vehicles, but also as important heavy farm implements, it is therefore necessary to create and promote interfield transportation tools that require less materials, low manufacturing cost, and are economical in human and animal labor on the basis of agricultural needs. Technical reform of interfield transportation tools is an important phase of agricultural technological reform. Consequently, to effectively help in the technological reform of interfield transportation tools in such areas as technical guidance, repair and maintenance and training of talents is also an important content for communications and transportation department in support of agriculture.

#### Coordination between Professional Transportation and Subsidiary Transportation

In the ranks of short-distance transportation in China, there is, in addition to professional transportation strength, also the subsidiary transportation strength of rural communes. The coordination of these two kinds of strength forms an important problem in short-distance transportation.

While the various carts using human and animal power and the wooden junks owned by production teams are used principally in the process of agricultural production and for interfield transportation, they nevertheless also form a portion of the strength of short-distance haul.

During farm recess, it is both possible and necessary to take out some of the interfield transportation tools to engage in short-distance haul. This is also an important subsidiary occupation of production teams. In so doing, it can not only save considerable strength of professional transportation and augment the subsidiary income of production teams, but also ensure the timely haul of rural means of production and subsistence as well as of agricultural products and by-products. In the meantime, subsidiary transportation strength may have regulatory functions in short-distance haul. Because agricultural products and by-products, manufactured articles closely related to agriculture and building and construction materials form the bulk of freight in short-distance haul, consequently the conditions of harvest and the scopes of national reconstruction can have decisive influences on the volume of short-distance transportation. Because of diverse factors, the conditions of harvests and the scopes of national reconstruction cannot be the same every year, while there is also a great seasonal character in agricultural production, capital construction and commercial market. Under these circumstances, there must be sufficient reserve strength if short-distance haul were to cope with objective needs. Nevertheless, it would be uneconomical for the professional transportation sector to

keep a large reserve strength, and this would be also difficult because of financial and material limitations. In this connection, subsidiary transport strength is a more reliable and more economical reserve strength. During the time of brisk transportation, it can exercise regulatory functions. Thus full development of rural subsidiary transportation is fraught with significance in consummating short-distance haul and supporting agricultural production.

How can the functions of subsidiary transportation be fully demonstrated? The most important thing is that we must organize the relay between the tools of professional transportation and subsidiary transportation. The points of relay for these two kinds of tools are generally located at fair markets and the gathering and distributing centers of goods. Haul from production team to market or centers of distribution should be done in principle by the transport tools of production teams. They may either handle their own goods or be employed by units which are charged with the tasks of consigning goods. Haul from market or basic level distributing points to harbors and depots as well as urban haul should be undertaken with the vehicles of state transportation department or transport cooperatives.

Why is it that market or distributing point is



generally used as relay point? This is because these places are the traditional assembling and distributing centers of rural resources and form the basic points of the rural short-distance transport network. To organize relay transportation here would facilitate cooperation between communications and transportation department and the supply and marketing units of commerce department as well as grain department. This would also enable rational transportation, curtail intermediary links, save transport facilities, and economize circulation costs. In the meantime, as markets or basic distributing centers are usually near production teams, a round trip can be made in the same day, thus enabling these teams to take time out in participating in transportation. Sometimes, it would also be possible for peasants to utilize their holidays, trips to market fairs or their attendance of meetings to engage in itinerary haul. However, since transportation routes below hsien level are determined by the transportation route of commercial cargo and traditional economic links, in selecting relaying points, we must pay attention to local conditions and to the time element and try to reduce the intermediary links. For instance, where it is near the hsien city, the hsien should be used as the relaying point; where it is near the city of a neighboring region or province with which it has traditional



economic relations, then direct relations should be set up with that city in transporting goods instead of going through market fair in a round about way.

An important measure of communications and transportation department in support of agriculture is to extend the strength of professional transportation to fair markets or distributing centers of resources on basic level in order to reduce the distances of the haul of goods by peasants. If the transportation task along the section from trunk routes to markets or distributing centers is not undertaken by professional transportation, it would then be necessary for the production teams to use their own transport tools to haul agricultural products and by-products and deliver means of production as well means of subsistence, and in so doing, their burdens of transportation will be increased and agricultural production will be affected. However, there are also certain teams that have more means of transportation, and where it does not affect production, they may also make available a portion of these tools to engage in subsidiary transportation and haul goods from markets or distributing points to harbors, depots and cities.

In order to organize relay transportation between professional and subsidiary transportation tools, transport control stations may be set up in markets or distri-

buting points and contracts may be signed between communications and transportation department and rural communes and production teams to link up their transportation plans, procurement and selling plans as well as plans for the delivery of agricultural products and by-products. In the meantime, economic measures should be adopted to implement rational price policy in order to accelerate the interflow of commodities between cities and countryside and to enable professional transportation and subsidiary transportation to operate with profits. Where communications are difficult or facilities of short-distance haul are insufficient, the method of combining commodity prices and transportation costs together may be adopted when purchases and sales are made in order to encourage production teams to participate in short-distance haul. In fixing up transportation rates for the subsidiary haul undertaken by communes, attention should be paid to prevent peasants from "giving up agriculture to engage in transportation," thereby undermining agricultural production.

#### Coordination Among Various Phases of Short-distance Transportation

In developing short-distance transportation, it is important not only to maintain a certain proportion between agricultural and industrial production and the growth of long-distance transportation, but there must

be also planned and portional development among various phases of its own operation. Carts and boats form the basic tools of short-distance haul, though these alone cannot undertake transportation tasks independently. They must operate on certain roads and on certain navigation courses; there must be depots and harbors which organizes the sources of freight and carry out stevedoring jobs; there must be repair and maintenance facilities as well as such supplies as fuels, materials, hay and harnesses, etc. Without these links it would be impossible to operate carts and boats.

How could the work of the various internal phases of short-distance haul be strengthened in order to better serve vehiocular transportation?

Based on available experiences, roads should be developed in keeping with needs and possibilities, and on the premises of local adaptability, local materials and economy, various kinds of road for the use of different vehicles should be built and road maintenance should be strengthened. It is only with good roads that transport efficiency could be raised and costs of transportation could be reduced, and in the meantime, the passage of agricultural machinery could be facilitated. In road maintenance it is important to maintain well the trunk highways which serve as the network of transportation. According to our

experience, first of all, we should apply the method of "self-support of highways" in which road maintenance fees are collected from vehicles using them, and in keeping with the principle of special funds for special purposes, what is derived from highways should be used on highways. Secondly, there should be coordination between professional road maintenance gangs and the mass road maintenance of rural communes so that on important highways where traffic is heavy, maintenance will be performed by professional gangs while on highways with less traffic which are of a seasonal character, maintenance will be done by both professional maintenance gangs and the peasant masses. Roads operated by communes should be self-controlled and self-maintained by the respective communal organizations. Last, technical reforms should be made on road maintenance tools in order to save labor. As to the other kinds of road, it is also necessary to forge the excellent traditions of our people in building bridges and repairing roads in order to keep them in constant maintenance and improvement. Where there are rivers, attention should be paid to repair and dredge navigational routes so that water haul could be utilized to its fullest extent.

In harbors and depots, stevedoring facilities should be strengthened in keeping with transportation needs; mechanized and semi-mechanized tools for loading and

unloading should be promoted gradually. It is also necessary to streamline organization and management, enhance stevedoring capacity, reduce stevedoring costs and ensure the quality and quantity of stevedoring.

In maintenance, the manufacturing capacity of spare parts and accessories should be stepped up, maintenance equipment should be improved, periodic maintenance should be enforced in order to keep tools and equipment in good conditions and increase the operational capacities of vehicles and boats. This is an important tactic in ensuring transportation safety, reducing transportation costs and developing transportation potentials.

In supplies, supply services along the routes of transportation should be strengthened. Under the close collaboration of the various pertinent departments and based on transportation needs, catering and resting depots, hay stores for horses and supply depots with diverse articles for transportation use should be set up at adequate points along routes of transportation.

Summing up what we have discussed above, the strengthening of the work of short-distance transportation is an important problem in China's national economic development and communications reconstruction, and it is also an important measure in support of agricultural production. In such a vast country as China, unless there is

a network for short-distance haul reaching all parts of the country, it would be impossible to enliven urban-rural interflow of resources or to successfully develop industrial and agricultural production, especially the latter. Consequently, to further summarize and promote all available experiences, consummate short-distance transportation and better support agricultural production as well as the production of industrial and mining enterprises constitutes an urgent task for the communications and transportation department.

HOW DID PLEKHANOV WHO HAD OPPOSED REVISIONISM DEGENERATE INTO A REVISIONIST?

Following is a translation of an article by Wu Chiang (0702 3068) in Hung Ch'i (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24, 5 Dec. 62, pp 40-55.

( 1 )

In his article entitled "Marxism and Revisionism" analysing the revisionism of the Second International, Lenin pointed out that in the international Social Democrats during the 1890's Plekhanov was the only Marxist who had criticized the vulgar thesis of revisionism from the viewpoint of dialectical materialism. During the first two decades of Plekhanov as Marxist and revolutionist (1883-1903), he had written many outstanding works, especially those opposing purist nationalism, revisionism and Ma-ho-ism. From the standpoint of Plekhanov's philosophical ideology he was unquestionably one of the best

theoreticians of the Second International. His propagation of Marxism educated a whole generation of Marxists in Russia. Plekhanov's function of enlightening the Russian working class from 19th century crossing into 20th century is like that of Krichevsky on Russian plebeian intellectuals. However, since 1903 Plekhanov opposed the Bolsheviks to join the Mensheviks, thus becoming the leader of Russian opportunism. Since 1914 he further degenerated into a renegade to the international workers' movement and to Marxism. Lenin made this appraisal on Plekhanov in 1906: "Although Plekhanov's theoretical writings (principally those criticizing pure nationalism and opportunism) are important and solid achievements of the Russian Social-Democratic party, nevertheless, his opportunism has brought dangers to Russian social-democratic workers "one-hundred times greater than the opportunism of Bernstein brought to workers in Germany." ("Preface to the Russian Translation of Kautsky's Book," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, Jen-min Ch'u-pen-she, p 398) Later Lenin called Plekhanov and Kautsky as model representatives of opportunists of the Second International and leaders of socialist chauvinism.

Thus an original Marxist became an exemplary opportunist and the warrior who had theoretically criticized revisionism degenerated into a revisionist himself.



How could a well-known theoretician like Plekhanov degenerate into a revisionist? It would be significant to recall this historic experience.

Although Plekhanov gained fame for his opposition to revisionism of the Second International, but his own revisionism later on was the direct continuation of this ideology.

At the close of 19th century and beginning of 20th century, Marxism had gained wide circulation, and simultaneously, attacks on Marxism and Marxist philosophy by bourgeois thinkers also were intensified. They resorted to attack both from within and the outside, and in the workers' movement, they used revisionism to assail Marxist theories. Such bourgeois thinkers as Ozerh-fu, Erentano, Sang-pa-t'e, Shu-erh-ts'ai, Ko-fu-ni-tzu, etc., emerged as "critics" of Marxism, in the hope of forcing Marxism to make theoretical concession to liberalism. Philosophically, they resorted to New Kantianism to attack Marxism. They raised the appeal of "return to Kant" by applying the most sinister subjective idealist spirit to reinterpret Kantian philosophy.

The "critique" of bourgeois ideologists on Marxism prepared the way for the views of revisionists. When Engels was still alive, revisionist activities were still somewhat encumbered. With his demise, revisionists among the

various Social Democratic parties in Europe appeared en masse. There were Bernstein, Schmidt and Vollman as well as Russian "legal Marxist" Starover (who later became a Constitutional Democrat), etc. They followed the neo-Kantians of the bourgeoisie in harping on the old theme against Marxism and in overtly advocating the amalgamation of Marxism with neo-Kantianism, Ma-ho-ism and socialist Darwinism, with neo-Kantianism to "supplement" Marxism. Bernstein, who was their exponent, says: "Social Democrats need a new Kant who can use his own critical weapon, need him to prove that ambivalent Marxism is an ideology most conducive to errors, and need him to prove that any contempt of idealism and any recognition of material factors as the omnipotent strength in the process of development is self-deceit which people who advocate materialism have also admitted to be so." (see Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophy, vol. 2, San-lien Bookstore, p 439)

Bourgeois thinkers stood on one side in lauding Bernstein: "His criticism is good, ingenious, and what is more important, this is his criticism. But if it were our criticism, it would be the criticism of 'the enemy,' and if it is their criticism, this would be the criticism of 'comrades.'" (op. cit., preface)

The theoretical victory of Marx has forced his foes

to use these "comrades" more and more, while the victory of Marxist world philosophy forced his foes to more and more don the cloak of philosophy so that Marxism would lose its philosophical foundation. Under this circumstance, defense of Marxist philosophical basis is therefore fraught with significance to the international workers movement.

However, leaders of the Second International had failed to realize this point and paid no concern to the philosophical basis of Marxism. Among them was the general concept that the economic and historical theories of Marxism could be separated from his philosophical basis. Consequently, they took the attitude of conciliation in regard to the rampant activities of revisionism, and so no matter it was in the German Social-Democratic party or in other social democratic parties in Western Europe, revisionism met no firm retaliation. Even such famous activists of the international workers' movement as La-fa-ko, Li-p'u-nei-k'o-hsi and Mei-lin had underestimated the perils of revisionism, not to say Kautsky who openly upheld Bernsteinism. Kautsky says in his letter to Plekhanov: "Under any circumstance I must say openly that neo-Kantianism has never perturbed me. Although I am not adept in philosophy and take the dialectical materialist stand, but I feel that the economic and historical views of

Marx and Engels can coexist with neo-Kantianism. We must know that coexistence between Darwinism and Pishina materialism is just like coexistence between Hegel's monism and Lange's Kantianism. If Bernstein has only shown his inclinations toward these aspects, I will not feel uneasy at all."

This affords an example of the extreme contempt for theory and of the lack of principles in which no distinction is made between friends and enemies!

After the death of Engels, it was no other than Lenin who first detected the dangers of revisionists who distorted the theoretical basis of Marxism. In 1895, Lenin published an article entitled "The Economic Content of Pure Nationalism and Mr. Starover's Criticism in His Book" in which he refuted Starover who was then exponent of international revisionism in Russia, thus hoisting the banner of opposition to philosophical revisionism. When Lenin was spending his time in exile, he conducted debates with those who were inclined towards Kant. He realized the urgency of criticizing philosophical revisionism in the revolutionary workers' movement. More than once he asked Plekhanov to oppose Bernstein's revisionism.

Plekhanov was a founder of the Russian Social Democratic party as well as the first delegate to the Second International, and he had already been an activist

and theoretician of tremendous prestige in the international workers' movement. He had attracted the attention of Engels by his earlier writings. When Bernstein in 1898 published articles in the New Epoch attacking Marxism more glaringly, Plekhanov began to publish a series of articles to oppose Bernstein's revisionism ( these articles include: "Bernstein and Materialism," "Why Must We Thank Him?" "Cant versus Kant, or the Spiritual Testament of Mr. Bernstein," "C. Schmidt against K. Marx and F. Engels," "Materialism or Kantianism," "Further on Materialism," "On the So-called Marxist Crisis," etc.). Although these articles caused the disaffection of opportunists in the German Social Democratic party, nevertheless, they immediately aroused the interests of that party's members. This combat enabled Plekhanov to emerge with great reputation.

During the reactionary period of 1905-1907 after the debacle of Russian revolution, Plekhanov ( though he had already become a Menshevik) continued to take part in the struggle with Ma-ho-ism and iconolaters and earned the praise of Lenin.

Plekhanov was a famous theoretician of the Second International, but he failed to rise above that organization. This was shown not only politically, but also in his theoretical viewpoints. The essays he wrote then show

that while on the one hand he was one of the better interpreters and propagandists of Marxist theories, on the other hand, he was not even then a thorough Marxist. His theoretical writings contain a great many mistakes, and a number of viewpoints were estranged from Marxism.

( 2 )

The reason that such exponents of revisionism as Bernstein, Schmidt and Starover returned to the viewpoint of "critique in philosophy" was to cater to the interests of the bourgeoisie. They tried to squeeze out the revolutionary content from Marxist theory and to exclude any principles that could served as a sharp weapon for proletarian revolution. All such theories as dialectics, materialism, materialist cognition, as well as theories concerning social contradictions as the motive power of social development and concerning surplus value, proletarian dictatorship, etc., were deemed by them as "incompatible with the existing scientific conditions" and "things of prejudice and imagination" that should be discarded. Plekhanov's criticisms were largely in the philosophical sphere.

Philosophical revisionists asked people to "return to Kant" with the purpose of concealing the differences between materialism and idealism and replacing Marxism by

Kantianism. Bernstein pointed out succinctly that materialism would finally belong to idealism. According to his view, materialism and idealism differ only in the methods of expression, there being no divergence in content and both are "spiritualistic." He says by way of "proving" that Kant does not deem any "being" can live "independently" beyond one's consciousness, while Marx and Engels did not seem to have overcome Kant's idealism or refuted the idealist viewpoint in their theory of cognition. Proceeding from the basic philosophical question --the relation of thought versus being--Plekhanov refuted this fallacious interpretation of Bernstein, pointed out the irreconcilability between these two basic schools of philosophy, and stressed that the emergence of Marxist materialist philosophy was the greatest revolution in human ideology.

In order to defend Marxist materialism, Plekhanov had, simultaneous with discussing principles concerning the first genre of matter, knowability of the world, functions of matter on sensory organs, and pragmatism as the norm of truth, carefully studied the history of materialism, especially the history of materialist development in France during the 18th century, thus elucidating the revolutionary changes accomplished by Marxism in the sphere of philosophical materialism. This was very significant then, because not only such bourgeois philosophers as Yu-po-wei-ko



and Lange, etc, were trying to distort the history of the development of materialist philosophy, but even some of the left wing theoreticians of the Second International could not understand the distinction between Marxist materialism and pre-Marxist materialism. They frequently confused these two and would even deem that Marx and Engels did not critically develop Feuerbach's viewpoint, and in its natural philosophy, Marxism was still mechanical materialism in that it had only brought materialism into the realm of history. Plekhanov pointed out the distinction of principles between Marxist philosophical materialism and pre-Marxist materialism, thereby criticizing the various muddled interpretations.

Nevertheless, Plekhanov's criticism of idealism and neo-Kantianism was not thoroughgoing enough. Bourgeois philosophers during the 19th century and the beginning of 20th century paid considerable attention to the study of the theory of cognition in order to revive the natural outlook of idealism. Under the disguise of materialism and applying materialist semantics, revisionists tried to camouflage their idealism and falsified the theory of cognition. It was just in the theory of cognition that Plekhanov committed a series of errors, especially when he misinterpreted the substance of sensation by presenting the interpretation of of so-called hieroglyphics.



According to this theory, it would seem that the senses and expressions of man are not the copying and duplicating of objective things and processes, but are simply signs, symbols and hierographs, etc., and the human cognition does not bring authentic reflections to these things and processes. This has, in fact, departed from the Marxist theory of reflection and is tantamount to making concessions to the theory of unknowability. Moreover, Plekhanov also misrepresented "experience" by not defining the boundary between idealist empiricism and Marxist empiricism, thereby also making concessions to idealism.

All this shows that there are factors of unknowability and Kantianism in Plekhanov's own philosophical ideology.

In his discourses Plekhanov had also in certain areas and to certain extent contracted or confounded the distinctions between Marxist materialism and old materialism. For instance, he confused Marxist theory of cognition with that of Feuerbach's by alleging that "Marxist theory of cognition is actually Feuerbach's theory of cognition, only that Marx had made an ingenious revision and made it more profound. ( "Basic Problems of Marxism," Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 3, p 147)

This is obviously incorrect. While Marx brought pragmatism into the theory of cognition as the basis and norm of

cognition, Feuerbach did not realize the function of social pragmatism in cognition. When Feuerbach speaks of pragmatism, what he implies is merely the direct sensation of individual things, and when Marx speaks of pragmatism, this would be social pragmatism--pragmatic activities that are both revolutionary and critical. However, in point of fact, Plekhanov had never understood it. Later he even chided Marx by saying that "the complaint made by Marx that Feuerbach did not understand 'pragmatic and critical' activities is not correct! Rather Feuerbach had understood it." ("From Idealism to Materialism," Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 3, p 776)

In his struggle with revisionism, Plekhanov elucidated Marxist dialectical methods and regarded dialectics as the soul of Marxist philosophy. He explained why the revisionists wanted to discard dialectics by writing: "If we say that Mr. Bernstein's abandonment of materialism is because he does not want one of the religions which 'menace' the interests of bourgeois 'consciousness and forms,' then, his abandonment of dialectics is due to his reluctance to use the 'miserable phenomenon of brutal revolution' in scaring the bourgeoisie." ("Cant versus Kant, or Mr. Bernstein's Spiritual Testament," Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 2, pp 440-441)

Bernstein said that the so-called development of

socialism from fancy to science has unfortunately fallen into the "trap" of dialectics, and scientific socialism is no more than a fancy, because it "neglects facts that have been established by experiences." Plekhanov used plenty of data to prove that Bernstein's denouncement was entirely without basis. He pointed out that why Marx and Engels have succeeded in translating socialism from fancy into a science is due to dialectics. The dialectical methodology of thinking is to place the study of things on concrete basis and it is only by applying this method in studying the realistic movement of capitalist society, the process of capitalist economic development and the conditions of class conflicts, thereby explaining the historic mission of the proletariat and the inevitability of the replacement of capitalism by socialism, that it would enable socialism to become a science.

Between the close of 19th century and beginning of 20th century, vulgar evolutional theory flooded bourgeois philosophical circles. The revisionists tried to use the "simple" (and placid) "evolutionism" to replace the "cunning" (and revolutionary) dialectics. ("Marxism and Revisionism," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 15, p 15) Whether it was Bernstein or the "legal Marxist," they all wanted to use the principle of gradual development in Kantianism to deny the possibility of social revolution and vulgar

evolutionist theory to "prove" that social reformism is the only feasible road. Plekhanov refuted time and again the "thesis" of the revisionists in changing Marxist revolutionary theory. He proved that whether it is in nature or human ideology and history, what have flourished were all things that have already been there in themselves. Dialectics does not neglect that in all changes there are similar processes which are producing repercussions incessantly; it only seeks to prove that gradual evolution is bound to transcend into conditions of phenomenal leap. In refuting Starover, Plekhanov pointed out curtly: Mr. Starover praises gradual progress but cannot tolerate phenomenal leap. Why? The reason is simple, because he cannot tolerate proletarian dictatorship.

Plekhanov wrote prolifically on dialectics, though he himself did not free himself entirely from the limitations of old materialism. As we all know, one of the basic setbacks of old materialism is that it does not understand the dialectics of the process of recognition and cannot apply it to the process of cognition and to the theory of cognition. Plekhanov was equally inept in applying dialectics to the birth and development of cognition, although in his earlier writings he said that without dialectics there would be no theory of cognition. He separated the theory of cognition (and logic) from dialectics, being

unable to recognize that there is an organic link between them. Lenin says: "Dialectics is also the theory of cognition of Marx (and Hegel): it is on this phase of the problem ( not the phase but the substance) that Plekhanov has failed to pay attention." ("Philosophical Notes," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 38, pp 410, and 190-191)

Plekhanov did not regard the law of opposites and unity as the substance and core of dialectics, and when he mentioned this law, he regarded it only as the "sum total of examples" instead of exalting it into the height of an universal law. Lenin has criticized this mistake of Plekhanov's and pointed out that while Plekhanov wrote almost 1,000 pages on philosophy, there is not a single page which mentions that dialectics is a philosophical science and that it is the objective law of the natural world and society and thinking. Plekhanov's philosophy is tinted by numerous vulgar and direct materialist views. Lenin points out: "Plekhanov's criticism on Kantianism (and the general theory of unknowability) stems largely from vulgar materialist standpoint, but rarely from that of dialectical materialism. This is because he has merely innocuously refuted their discourses instead of correcting them ( as Hegel did to Kant)." (ibid)

In his essay criticizing revisionism Plekhanov devoted considerable space in explaining the theory of

Marxist historical materialism. He studied such important problems as the relation between productive relations and productive force, the functions of consciousness and form, inevitability and accidentalness, the functions of masses and individuals in history, class and class struggle, etc. Revisionists, like all bourgeois thinkers, hate Marxist historical materialism and try to distort this theory because it treats history as a regulated process in which people can recognize the proletarian task of socialist revolution on the basis of this cognition. Bernstein and other "critics" of Marxism stated that Marxism, in recognizing the inevitability of history, has fallen into the "unilateral character" of determinism and dogmatism, thus overlooking the functions of subjective factors in social development. Bernstein observed with sarcasm that Marxists recognize inevitability on the one hand, and on the other hand, they wag eloquently about struggle for socialism. Since this is something inevitable, why should we accelerate it? Plakhanov pointed out this is a distortion of Marxism. While Marx regards the history of human society as an inevitable process in accordance with law, in the meantime, he also regards it as the product of human activities and so no incompatible opposites exist there. Marxism affirmed for the first time in history the correct relationship between historical inevitability.

and the free activities of people and has always considered the acceleration of the revolutionary consciousness of the masses as its direct pragmatic task. "Since the Social Democratic party views historical development from the standpoint of inevitability, it should regard its own activities as an important link of the necessary prerequisites (the sum total of which will make socialist victory inevitable) which form the chain. ("Preface to 'Development of Scientific Socialism,'" Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 3, p 54)

Plekhanov regarded historical materialism as the consummation of the system of materialism, and exalted historical materialism as the "algebra" for social development. Thus, he opposed its separation from the Marxist philosophical system. From this premise, he elucidated the theory of social contradictions as the motive power of social development and criticized the tactics of bourgeois thinkers who try to conceal the contradictions of capitalist society and constantly use the "relaxation of contradictions" as the theme of their propaganda.

Plekhanov was meritorious for his elucidations of the Marxist theory of historical materialism which had also been lauded by Lenin. But this does not mean that he did not make mistakes in the sphere of historical materialism as has been alleged by Mensheviks. In this connection,



he also committed a number of errors which led to opportunism and revisionism. For instance, he exaggerated the functions of geography in social development and went to say that the characteristics of geographical environment have decisive influences on the development of productive force. While he criticized Darwinism, but he also made concessions to social Darwinism by saying that "Marxism is the application of Darwinism in sociology." ("On the Development of Marxist Historical View," Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 1, p 767) On the one hand, he discussed the inevitability of socialism, and on the other hand, he regarded socialist revolution as a thing for the remote future. In this aspect he agreed with Bernstein in the view that the socialist ideal could not be realized in the near future. Concerning the functions of superstructure on the economic base and the functions of subjective factors, he also failed to hold his original viewpoint to the end. While concentrating his attention on the thesis that economy determines politics, he said very little about politics, thus underestimating the significance of political struggle. This kind of theoretical weakness was to lead to the denial of the need of proletariat to seize political power and to deducing political struggle as parliamentary struggle, etc.

Here we should mention Plekhanov's erroneous view



concerning the nature of the state. Even in his best opus, there is no full explanation on the substance of state and the principles of state and revolution in Marxism. Although he discussed the class nature of state and the state as an organ of class rule, he did not regard these as the main characters of the state. He exalted such topics as "needs of social production process" and the "importance of social division of work for labor" to the premier place in explaining the causes of the birth of state, and in so doing, he had separated himself further from Marxism. This is why in refuting Bernstein, Plekhanov did not mention Bernstein's distortion of the Marxist theory of state. In 1894 Plekhanov wrote a pamphlet entitled "Anarchism and Socialism" which was intended to wage a struggle against anarchism. But as pointed out by Lenin, Plekhanov has in this book "refrained to talk about the most realistic, pressing and urgent problem politically in the struggle against anarchism, that is, the attitude of revolutionists toward the state and general problems concerning the state! ...But by avoiding the entire state problem in 'anarchism and socialism' and by disregarding the entire development of Marxism both before and after the [Paris] Communes, it is bound to lead to opportunism." ("The State and Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 25, pp 462-463) Events had completely borne out later

that while Plekhanov had verbally recognized proletarian dictatorship, he was merely reciting something abstractly. At the crucial moment, he would forsake it and turn to support the state theory of the bourgeoisie ( such as beyond class nature and the necessary pattern of class cooperation, etc.).

( 3 )

The Menshevik class foundation was liberal bourgeoisie. Whether in ideology or in organization, the Menshevik formed the early opportunist group of Russia--direct successor of the "Economists." During the Russian revolution, the policy of the Mensheviks was to make the proletariat dependent on the liberal bourgeoisie and to spread liberal bourgeois ideology in the workers' movement so that the struggles of the proletariat would be adaptable to the liberal bourgeoisie. Since 1903 Plekhanov was the leader of the opportunist group.

It was no accident that Plekhanov turned to this shameful stand of opportunism. As has been said before, he had never risen above the Second International in his political vision and political activities as well as in the basic phases of his theoretical activities. Stalin once classified Plekhanov under the category of "peacetime" leaders. Most of these leaders had been nurtured in "legalism"

and had no contact with the formidable mass movements of revolution or with the broad masses on the lower stratum. They were used to engage in propaganda and agitations in parliament and in the press. They were easy to be affected by the sentiments of the upper segment of working class and accessible to the pressures of the bourgeoisie. They could display certain strength theoretically, but were impotent in actual combat and struggle. Divorce of theory from pragmatic and separation between theory and revolutionary struggle were the common ailment of the theorists of the Second International. This was undoubtedly a fatal setback to a political leader or a revolutionary strategist. This setback was extremely conspicuous in Plekhanov as it was in Kautsky.

Lenin has pointed out that in order to be a thorough revolutionary Marxist in theory, it is necessary to observe the revolutionary spirit of Marxism rather than to treat the words of Marxism abstractly. But no matter what a true Marxist Plekhanov had been during the first stage of his revolutionary activities, and regardless of the fact that he had great merits in the struggle against pure nationalism and opportunism and had observed the general principles of Marxism subjectively, as has been said by Lenin, he was a person who was most adept in treating Marxism abstractly but most inept in observing the revo-

lutionary spirit of Marxism. He knew only how to seek answers to specific problems from the simple logical development of general principles, but could not make specific analyses on social, economic and political conditions as well as on practical struggle problems. This could not but vulgarize Marxism. Plekhanov did not understand the significance of social pragmatism and so he tried to make a half-baked defense for Feuerbach's philosophy. He did not understand dialectics as a philosophy and science and the fact that the application of dialectics to the theory of cognition must be demonstrated by his own action. Whether in his writings on theories or his writings on revolutionary strategy, Plekhanov has shown this special feature clearly.

Separation of theory from pragmatism and abstraction of Marxism often cause lack of thoroughness in the theory itself, the separation of theory from politics and the loss of partisan character and principle in Marxist theory.

As theoretician of the Second International, Plekhanov had only the "general concepts" about capitalism, but did not comprehend the special stage of capitalist development-- the imperialist stage and its historic characteristics, nor was he aware that proletarian revolution had already been brought into the agenda. He accepted Kautsky's definition on imperialism completely, deeming that imperialism

is only a policy of industrial capital rather than a special stage in the development of capitalism. He called Kautsky's definition Marxist definition. Consequently, Plekhanov did not understand the overall reactionary character of the bourgeoisie during the period of imperialism and proletarian revolution and the intensification of its attack on the proletariat ideologically. Nor did he understand the reflection of the development of class struggle in this period on philosophy. Although he recognized the need of criticizing revisionism philosophically, but in point of fact he did not understand that philosophical struggle would "reveal in its final analysis the tendencies and ideological systems of rival classes in modern society." ("Materialism and Empirical Criticism," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 14, p 379) According to him, the historic conditions in which neo-Kantianism and capitalism had by then entered the stage of imperialism seems to be unrelated.

Because of this Plekhanov failed to appraise fully the political iniquities of revisionism. This is why he showed such great reluctance and wavering over the question of criticizing revisionism. For instance, concerning the problem of criticizing Bernstein, Plekhanov said in his letter to Axelrod in 1898: "Naturally I don't despise Bernstein as I despise O-lung-tso-fu; he is a comrade of

merits ..... and though I am opposed to his advance, this is not something for which I am fully determined..” Thus while on the one hand Plekhanov criticized revisionism, on the other hand, he did not thoroughly expose and analyse the reactionary nature of revisionism and the social and political conditions that produced it. Nor did he point out that revisionism had by then become an international phenomenon. In his criticism of Bernstein, the greater portion was limited to exposing and deriding Bernstein's errors in the philosophical sphere, while he did not use the attitude which behooves a proletarian revolutionist in more profoundly exposing the political content of these errors. Plekhanov admitted that he was "waiting," in the case of Starover, that the bourgeois viewpoints in the writings of this impatient vanguard of Marxism "would soon be vanquished by Marxism." ("Criticism on Our Own Critics," Selections from Plekhanov's Philosophical Writings, vol. 2, p 586) From his standpoint, Starover was merely a young "Marxist" who accidentally committed some errors, and so it would be all right if the Social Democrats would help him "consolidate" his original "Marxism." This shows that Plekhanov had failed to see through the reactionary character of this bourgeois liberal who donned the cloak of Marxism.

It should be mentioned here that in regard to this

attitude of Plekhanov which made theory to depart from politics, Lenin had pointed out more than once. For instance, in the commentary which Lenin made when reading Plekhanov's Krichevsky, Lenin says: Plekhanov "sees only the theoretical difference between idealist historical viewpoint and materialist historical viewpoint, but overlooks the difference of political pragmatism and class between liberals and democrats." ("Philosophical Notes," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 38, p 611)

It is very obvious that Plekhanov lacked the ability to undertake the task of cleaning the filthy stable of the Second International nor could he thoroughly oppose Ma-ho-ism later on. Only such a theoretician like Lenin could assume these tasks.

If we say that through the divorce of theory from pragmatism and the abstraction of Marxism such consequence as this was bound to be produced in the theoretical struggle, then the consequences would be even much more serious in political pragmatism and in strategy.

Lenin points out: "What the Marxists will borrow from the theories of Marxism is undoubtedly only the valuable methodology that is essential to explaining social relations. So in criticizing their own estimates on social relations, they would not use abstract formula as the norm, but would use the authenticity of the estimate itself and



its conformity with reality as the norm." ("What are the 'Friends of People' and How They Assail the Social Democrats?" Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 1, p 173) On the question of revolutionary strategy of Russian bourgeoisie, Lenin called for specific analysis of capitalism under Russian conditions (Lenin's famous book Development of Russian Capitalism was written this way). He also asked that specific tasks be pointed out to the revolutionary class so that "from the study of the special features of Russian bourgeois revolution it would be possible to draw conclusions on the general concepts of mutual relations between modern Russian bourgeoisie and the proletariat and peasants," instead of drawing conclusions from the "'general concepts' of bourgeois revolution." ("Preface to the Russian Translation of Li-p'u-k'o-nei-hsi's Book," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, p 389) .

As we all know, Russian bourgeois revolution was then under new historical conditions in which the proletariat had become a selfconscious and independent political force, while the liberal bourgeoisie had become a reactionary class and was no longer a dependable force for revolution. In the meantime, the broad peasants under the oppression of serfdom urgently demanded the solution of their land problem. Consequently, the task of the Russian proletariat in democratic revolution was to seize leader-



ship power, isolate the liberal bourgeoisie and form a solid alliance with the peasants in order to secure the democratic dictatorship of proletariat and peasants. This is to say that Russian bourgeois revolution was no longer the same as the general bourgeois revolution of Western Europe, but it had its own characteristics. Plekhanov, however, was entirely incapable of making this kind of analysis. All he knew was to make general abstract descriptions concerning capitalism and to quote from the "Communist Manifesto" concerning the general historical functions of bourgeoisie during the stage of liberal capitalism in the hope that he could draw from the general definitions of capitalist and bourgeois revolution the "unique features" of Russian capitalist and bourgeois revolution. Lenin says: Plekhanov "discussed dogmatically about the 'general character' of bourgeois revolution and regarded the terminology of 'bourgeois revolution' as admitting the foremost status and leadership function of bourgeoisie in Russian revolution." ("Proletariat and Its Allies in Russian Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, p 350 and 356) The result was the opportunist conclusion that socialists should support the liberal bourgeoisie and constitutional democrats, but forsake the leadership of proletariat in the revolution and abandon the alliance between proletariat and peasants

(Plekhanov considered peasants as being conservative and reactionary), thereby shifting his ground completely to the liberal bourgeoisie.

Lenin points out: This kind of tactical opportunism on the part of Plekhanov is "a complete denial of the principle of Marxist methodology." ("Preface to the Russian Translation of Kautsky," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, pp 398-399) "By trying to seek answers to specific problems from the simple logical development of the general truth of the basic character of Russian revolution, it is merely to vulgarize Marxism and a sarcasm to dialectical materialism completely." ("Development of Russian Capitalism," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 3, p 12) What a pertinent remark this is!

No matter it is Kautsky or Plekhanov, from the standpoint of cognition, they had both degenerated because they betrayed the principle of Marxist methodology. What they followed was an extremely abstract and unilateral idealist line alienated from specific things. After they degenerated into opportunists, they had been adept in using certain Marxist semantics to defend their own opportunist pragmatic and their own complete betrayal of Marxism.

After shifting to the Menshevik stand and becoming leader of Russian opportunists, Plekhanov had, during a certain period (before 1914), adopted a "special stand,"

that is, on the one hand, he had already betrayed Marxism on a series of principal problems of revolution and engaged in a series of smears and brutal attacks on Lenin and Bolsheviki. He branded Lenin as being a "tactical idealist," "a theorist of Boulangerism" who "would not even verbally observe Marxism," and "a dogmatist," etc. In his "Letter on Tactics and Lack of Tactics" Plekhanov said to the Bolsheviki: "You are really dogmatists as you have spent your entire energies on pragmatism. You regard your own will as the main motive power of revolution. When we show you the realistic relations, you would impute on us the nonexistent crime of opportunism." (Complete Works of Plekhanov, vol. 15, 1926 Moscow Russian edition, pp 109, 125 and 108) Plekhanov and his company also openly upheld the revisionist viewpoint. (see "How the Plekhanov Group Upheld Revisionism," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 15) On the other hand, however, Plekhanov had, during this time, expressed his views several times opposing the Mensheviks and launched a struggle against the Negativists. Especially in theory he had joined the struggle with Ma-ho-ism and with iconolaters and continued to write on Marxist philosophy. Based on these facts some people held the view that it would seem that in Plekhanov theoretical views and political stand were separated, and it seemed to imply his opportunist stand did not impair his Marxist viewpoint.

Such a view is, of course, unfounded.

While under certain circumstances ideological viewpoint and political stand can and should be adequately distinguished ( this admits that in one person there may exist contradictions between these two things), nevertheless, they are indivisible in the final analysis. We may give an instance which is the opposite of Plekhanov's conditions. Po-ko-tan-no-fu of the same period was a Ma-ho-ist in philosophy, but politically he agreed with the Mensheviks and collaborated with the Bolsheviks. Lenin says: "In the summer and autumn of 1904 our views completely agreed with such Bolsheviks as Po-ko-tan-no-fu and others and we had an understanding that we should not discuss philosophy and place philosophy in a neutral area." ("Letter to A. M. Gorki," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 13, p 426.) It is just like someone who, because Plekhanov continued to write articles criticizing Ma-ho-ism and on this question he and the Bolsheviks had formed an ideological alliance, would deem that Plekhanov was theoretically a Marxist throughout. On the ground that Po-ko-tan-no-fu had collaborated with ~~Bolsheviks~~, Plekhanov began to assail Bolshevism viciously, placing Ma-ho-ism and ~~Bolshevism~~ on the same footing together and alleging that there were certain links between their tactics and views. This kind of attack had stemmed obviously from Menshevik sectarian

stand. Lenin exposed this and pointed out: "In Plekhanov's opposition to Ma-ho-ism, instead of saying that he was concerned with denouncing Ma-ho-ism, we would rather say that he was concerned with bringing about sectarianist dangers to Bolshevism." See Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 14, p 376, footnote 1.) But Lenin realized that unless Po-ko-tan-no-fu anti-Marxist philosophy, this kind of collaboration could only be temporary. A few years later, Po-ko-tan-no-fu had eventually "created dissensions on the basis of resisting empirical monism" and was separated from the Bolsheviks politically. ("Letter to O-lo-fu-ssu-chi," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 34, p 404) Similarly, while certain contradictions existed between theoretical and political viewpoints in Plekhanov under certain circumstances, but they had their internal links, and consequently they were indivisible. Plekhanov's lack of thoroughness and his errors in philosophical views could not but influence his political interpretations, while likewise his political opportunism could not but be reflected in his theoretical views. After Plekhanov turned into an opportunist, he shifted from a proletarian stand to a liberal bourgeois stand politically. It was only in certain areas, mainly in the field of philosophy where had struggled before that he continued to write some Marxist articles criticizing Ma-ho-ism. Undoubtedly, we must treat

discriminately these writings and his opportunist ideology which had already occupied a dominant position. On the whole, with the further progress of Plekhanov on the ignominious road of opportunism and his further fall into the abyss, he had retrogressed more and more from the ground of Marxism. He was abandoning his original viewpoint and developing the erroneous viewpoint that he had cherished until finally he had completely betrayed Marxism and degenerated into a revisionist.

( 4 )

Beginning from 1903, that is, since the second congress of the Russian Social Democratic party, Plekhanov had turned to the Menshevik opportunist stand and on all important revolutionary questions he opposed the Bolsheviks. After the outbreak of world war in 1914, he further espoused the cause of socialist chauvinism, thereby thoroughly betraying the revolution. With the end of the period of peace, the revolutionary careers of leaders of the Second International also came to an end, and secret opportunism became overt opportunism. Lenin says: "Social chauvinism is the most ripened opportunism." ("The Bankruptcy of the Second International," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 21, p 220) Plekhanov had then lined up with Kautsky, forming two of the most conspicuous opportunist

banners of betrayal against the international workers' movement. Plekhanov sided with the Czarist government in the war, and later he sided with the bourgeois Provisional Government, thus becoming their firm supporter and the intransigent opponent of revolution. Because of his historical status in the Russian Social Democratic party, and because of the fact that the focus of world revolution had shifted to Russia where the proletariat became the vanguards of international proletariat, consequently the iniquities of Plekhanov's betrayal to Russian proletarian revolution were much greater and more serious than Bernstein's to the German proletariat.

Under these circumstances, how did Plekhanov who had been a famous Marxist theorist previously treat Marxism? It would suffice to cite his conduct in certain aspects.

We have already discussed Plekhanov's attitude on the question of leadership and on agrarian problem during the bourgeois democratic revolution. As we all know, the views of Marx and Engels regarding the need of the proletariat to seize independent leadership powers in democratic revolution in order to realize the idea of incessant revolution and their views concerning worker-peasant alliance (Marx has said that the victory of proletarian revolution depends on whether they can secure the help of peasants' war) had been circumscribed by opportunists



since the Second International of which Plekhanov was included. In abandoning these basic ideas of Marxism, he could not but be trapped by opportunism on the question of revolutionary tactics.

A striking feature of the revisionists, as has been pointed out by Lenin, was their circumcision of the vivid soul of revolution. While they admitted everything in Marxism, yet they would exclude the use of revolutionary tactics in struggle, the preparation and propaganda for revolution and the use of this spirit in educating the masses. Beginning from the December incident of 1905, Plekhanov had treated Marxism in this way. After the advent of the period of proletarian revolution, the question of how to deal with the armed uprisings of the masses became a basic problem in Marxism. The December workers' uprising failed. But Lenin says: "The October and December struggles of 1905 were great proletarian movements since the Paris Communes. It is only by developing this kind of struggle that we will ensure future revolutionary victory. The examples of these struggles should serve as the beacon in our work of educating a new generation of warriors." ("About Appraisal of Russian Revolution," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 15, p 43) He further says: Marxists would "under any circumstance and even the worst political conditions, propagandize uncompromising class



among the working class and educate them to prepare for new revolutions in order to shake off the bourgeois influences of unthoroughness and weakness and to approach proletarian socialist revolution." ( "Plekhanov and Vasiliev," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, p 411) What did Plekhanov do? His comment on the December uprising was that "they did not have to use arms." He played the role of the penitent intellectual, lectured the workers who participated in the uprising in the parlance of a business shark, and then turned over to the Constitutional Democrats to kowtow to the Czarist parliament--the Duma, eulogizing that "Duma is the broad road of revolution," but denouncing the "reckless action" of Bolsheviks as Boulangist. He denounced Lenin and Bolshevism by alleging that Lenin's strategy was tinted with "obvious traits of petty bourgeois idealism and petty bourgeois spurious revolution" and accusing Lenin for "lowering the ideological level of revolution" and "bringing the elements of fancy into our viewpoints." Consequently he deemed that "Boulangism or Marxism? -- is the question we must resolve today." (Complete Works of Plekhanov, vol. 15, pp 62 and 72) During the first World War, Plekhanov supported, on the one hand, the imperialist war of the Czarist government which sacrificed innumerable lives among laborers, and on the other hand, he used the phrase that

"internecine war would cause the rampage of a river of blood" in order to scare the people and prevent their revolution. He was waiting the burial of revolution like waiting for the holiday.

All revisionists are wont of using Marxist terms to defend their own opportunist stand, and to do this, they must defile Marxist dialectics by distorting it as sophism. In this area Plekhanov was also outstanding, and Lenin once derided him by calling sophistry as "dialectic of Plekhanov's type." He says: "In the lofty enterprise of using sophistry to replace dialectics, Plekhanov has really created a new record." ("The Bankruptcy of the Second International," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 21, p 194)

For instance, when Plekhanov was trying to befriend the liberal bourgeoisie and Constitutional Democrats and laud the Duma, it was just about this time that he had in his speeches and writings stressed the question of applying dialectics to strategy. He pointed out that dialectics requires there should be flexibility, adaptability, adeptness of using diverse struggle tactics, and amenability to compromise, etc., in tactics. He loudly decried against rigidity and "dogmatic" refusal for compromise. What Plekhanov called "dogmatic noncompromise" referred to the slogan of the Bolsheviks in opposing

the "omnipotent Duma" (namely: all powers should go to the Duma and everything must be passed by the Duma). Nevertheless, Plekhanov had subscribed to this slogan, and this was an opportunist conduct to the fullest extent. Lenin denounced this conduct; he deemed that Plekhanov though seemed to oppose dogmatism, was in fact smuggling opportunism, while his so-called "flexible strategy" was nothing but the "strategy" to deceive and confuse people's ideology. ( see "New Interpretation for State Council," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 11, pp 314-323)

When Plekhanov deemed it was opportune to reconcile and compromise with and make concessions to the Mensheviks, he also adopted similar tactics. He quoted this dialectical principle: there is no abstract truth, and truth must be concrete. He discussed abstractly that it is necessary to treat the revisionists concretely by refraining from an overly violent and noncompromising attitude. He hoped to use this to defend his unprincipled concessions to opportunists and to help such opportunists as Martynov and others who openly created dissensions in the party. This is in fact a great satire! This Plekhanov who had once before so violently opposed Bernstein and the German Social Democratic party which made unprincipled concessions to Bernstein was now advising the people: you must use the method of individual concession in struggling with

the revisionists like the German Social Democratic party struggled with Bernstein. As we all know, when such people as Pei-peierh and others of the German Social Democratic party were struggling with Bernstein, they regarded him as "one of their own family" and addressed him as "comrade," and moreover, they reiterated that there were many views of their own which coincided with Bernstein's and made him a member of parliament. They announced to members of their party that they would unleash the anti-revisionist struggle, but would not resort to overly drastic tactics, because in so doing they could "strangle" revisionism. Plekhanov deemed that they should follow this example, because only by so doing that revisionism could be "rectified." Plekhanov thought that with his past prestige he could camouflage this tactic of connivance with revisionists. In fact, he did not play his role too skillfully, with the result that he was easily caught. Lenin comments: the reason why Plekhanov got into this predicament is "because he has violated the basic thesis of dialectics which he had presented improperly-- that there is no abstract truth, and truth is always concrete. It is because of this that his attempt of using an abstract pattern to conceal this very concrete ideology as concessions to Martynov elements after the congress was a very inadequate one." ("Advance One Step, Retreat

Two Steps," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 7, p 363).

To use the abstract terms of "Marxism to wrap up the concrete contents of opportunism and disguise these wares as the "new development of Marxism"--this has been the "dialectics" used by all opportunists in history!

After the outbreak of World War I, Plekhanov had thoroughly turned over to the chauvinist stand. He tried his best to defend the war policy of the Czarist government and exalted its imperialist war as a "sacred," "just" and "defensive" war in which he resorted to "dialectics" in order to embellish all of his theses. This was, as has been pointed by Lenin, not dialectics, but a distorted version of it used ignominiously to please the bourgeoisie. Lenin says: the basic principle of dialectics applied to war is: "War is nothing but another kind of policy," that is, the "continuation of the method of brutal force." Nevertheless, "Mr. Plekhanov (like the Plekhanovs and Hsieh-te-mans of Germany) had already degenerated into a most vulgar and most commonplace bourgeois chauvinist. He did not want to know (or perhaps he had never known) that war is the continuation of policy and war and policy are linked with the interests of a specific class. It is therefore necessary to analyse what classes are waging war and for what they fight." ("Follow the Footsteps of 'Russian Will Journal,'" Complete

After the February revolution in 1917, Plekhanov embarked on the course of giving his entire support to the Provisional Government and appealed to "socialists" to align themselves with the bourgeoisie. Based on the reactionary "theory of productive force" he predicted that in Russia capitalism had not ripened to such an extent as to hasten its own demise. Consequently proletarian revolution was bound to fail. He further predicted that the bourgeoisie was not a completely outmoded social class. Thus, there would be no "logical right" for anyone to despise the bourgeoisie. Plekhanov deemed that after the February revolution Russia would and should pass through a long stage of the peaceful development of capitalism, while socialist victory and the collapse of autocracy could not occur simultaneously. These two historic events would be separated by a protracted period of time. Thus he violently opposed Lenin's policy of changing democratic revolution into socialist revolution. He dubbed Lenin's renowned "April Program" as "dream talk," and in his article entitled "On Lenin's Program and Why Dream Talk May Be Interesting Sometimes" he said that this program "may be likened to the speech of quixotic hero created by the pen of a great artist" and that it was written "where the elements of time and space have been completely

eliminated." Plekhanov even stated openly that the Marxist principle of incessant revolution is incorrect.

It is therefore understandable why Plekhanov opposed the delegation of "all powers to the Soviet" and why he opposed the October revolution. In his attitude toward the Provisional Government, Plekhanov described the concentration of political power in bourgeois exploiters as the "expansion of the basis" of power and so he deemed this to be the most rational form of government in Russia. He also regarded this regime as the most suitable pattern for transition from capitalism to socialism. Thus, he deemed that at present the proletariat must not try to infringe on it, but should collaborate with it, and even in future, they should not destroy it, but should "reform its pattern" and "utilize it" in accordance with their own objectives.

In so doing, Plekhanov had thoroughly forsaken the Marxist principles concerning proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship. This was also the logical development of his original view concerning the state.

Based on the above, this conclusion can be drawn: Plekhanov who was once a Marxist before had been, in his latter career, completely deprived of any trace of Marxism. There was a time when he endeavored to elucidate Marxist dialectical materialism, but in his hands now



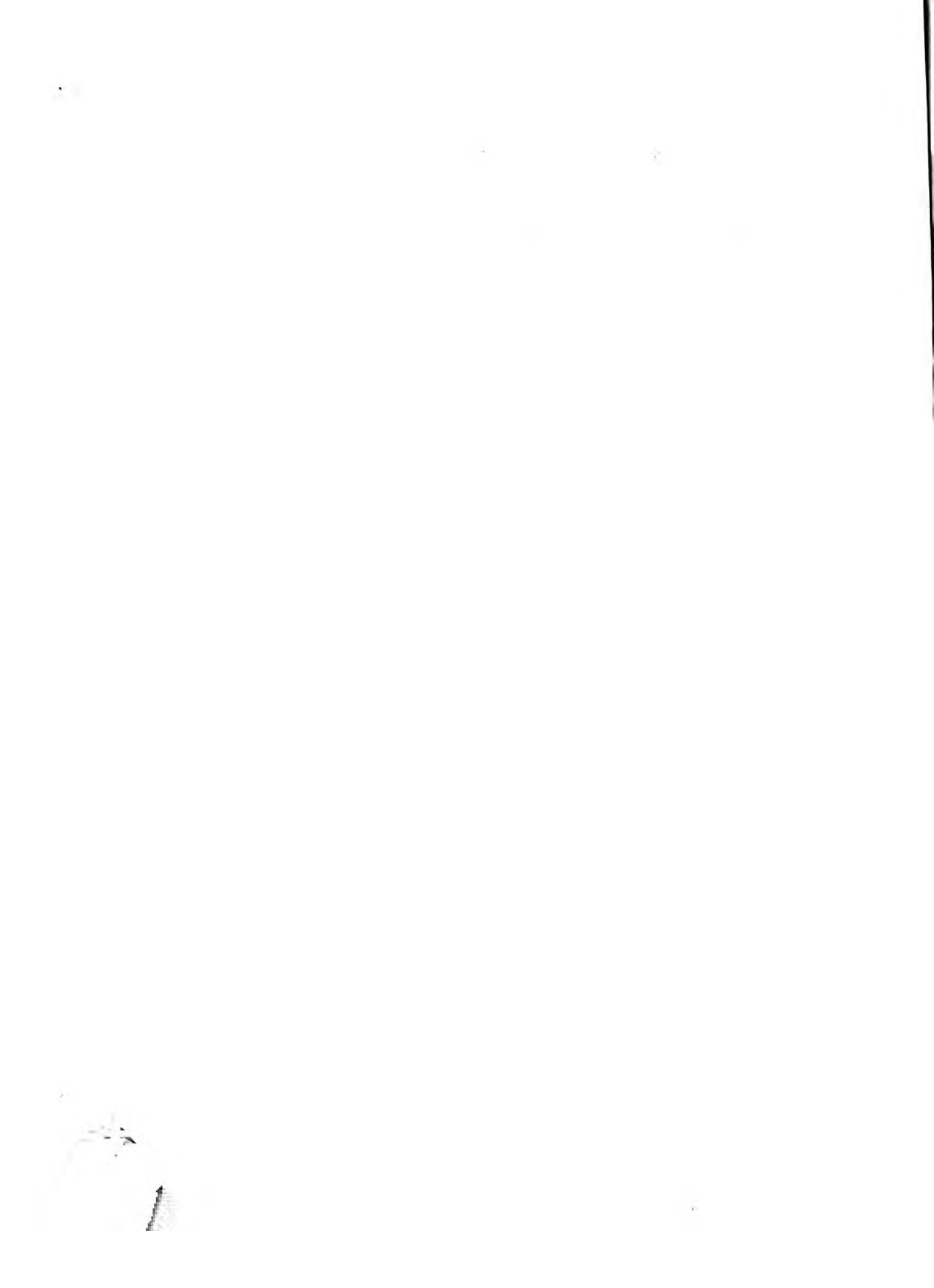
it had changed into crass sophism, a kind of scholastic philosophy and formula with which "to seek answers to concrete problems from the simple logical development of general truth," and a kind of methodology for the extreme vulgarization of Marxism.

Since the emergence of Marxism, struggles have been waged incessantly with all attempts to "revise" it. Plekhanov had been an anti-revisionist warrior and had written a number of valuable philosophical works on Marxism, but he later on degenerated into a revisionist himself. Lenin gave sufficient appraisal on these Marxist philosophical writings of Plekhanov and deemed that it behooved all Marxists to cherish and study these works. However, he also unrelentingly criticized Plekhanov's conduct of betraying and distorting Marxism. In appealing to people to study and apply Marxist theories. Lenin points out specifically: "If anyone in this age of ours would not wage a ruthless struggle with the conduct of such people as Plekhanov and Kautsky in distorting this theory, then he could not become a socialist or a revolutionary Social Democrat." ("The Righteous Voice of French Socialists," Complete Works of Lenin, vol. 21, p 333)

That revisionism is not a casual phenomenon is also true with individual personages. There is no doubt that in the person of Plekhanov are contained many historic



lessons which deserve attention. In recalling these historic lessons, it is undoubtedly useful in that it will enable us to increase our knowledges during the realistic struggle.



THE "PRICE" OF NEHRU'S ANTI-CHINESE  
POLICY

Following is a translation of an article  
by Ts'ui Oh'eng-k'ai (1508 2110 2818) in  
Hung Ch'1 (Red Flag), Peiping, No. 23/24,  
5 Dec. 62, p 55.7

On 27 November Prime Minister Nehru of India stated at a public meeting: "No matter how long it will take and what price we have to pay, we will deal with China's "challenge." The Nehru government is using its expansionist policy to deal with the "challenge" of the Chinese government which proposes to settle the Sino-Indian border problem through peaceful negotiations under any circumstance. What price has this made India to pay, and what price it will still have to pay?

India is the country in the world which has received the most United States "aid." By end of July this year this reached \$6.5 billion, of which some \$3.8 billion

have been received since Nehru actively opposed China in 1959. In order to repay the United States for this "generous aid," the Nehru government concluded a secret military agreement with American government as early as 1951, and recently a formal protocol concerning the question of military aid was concluded. According to this agreement and protocol, the Indian government has the obligation to "furnish intelligence" to the United States government, while the United States embassy staff have the right to conduct "inspections" on Indian territory and to "guide" and "supervise" the use of American "aid." As commented by the British Observer, the serving of principal and interests of this huge amount of American dollars is "a rope tied on the neck of India" which has further become the political bastion of the United States.

India is a nation with the heaviest taxes in the world. However, the Nehru government, with a view to financing an increased and rapidly mounting military budget, has already observed the wish of United States to expand the Indian army to one or two million strong. They are increasing various taxes and levies, forcing Indian people to subscribe to all kinds of "bonds," to "voluntarily donate" gold, jewelry, precious stones, wages, clothes, food and even their blood. "Society leaders" of the ruling clique even appealed to the 420 mil-

lion people of India who have not got two full meals a day" to "eat one meal less each week."

Indian authorities declared a "state of emergency" on 26 October, promulgated the "Indian defence law," suspended the articles which "guarantee the equality of all persons before the law" and which protect the freedom of speech, assembly, travel and domicile. These authorities ordered that under "emergency conditions," people will not be allowed to strike or discuss the proposal of China for peaceful negotiations. Arrests will be made to all who dare to openly criticize the policy of the Indian government and who refuse to believe the lies of so-called Chinese aggression. The people have no right to accuse the authorities, to know the reasons of arrest, to undertake defense, while trials and sentences can be held and announced at "special courts" clandestinely.

In asking the people of India to pay such exorbitant prices to promote the anti-China policy, what is the unspeakable purpose of the Indian ruling clique? They think they can hoodwink the Indian people and they can use lies to deceive them. But contrary to their wish, more and more people have learned about this unspeakable purpose. According to a report published in the British Observer: "We have seen many people in Punjab province and other places 'under wartime emergency' who asked why

should their sons die in order to protect the merchants of Calcutta and Bombay? This war of attrition is bound to further aggravate this sentiment." The reactionary clique of India has sowed the seeds of bitter fruit. Let them pay this inconceivable price to reap these bitter fruits.



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